

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XXXI.



London:

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION

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T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.



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British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate, all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.
2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.
3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.
4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.
5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.
6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.
7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and by means of Correspondents preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.
8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.
9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held, on the second and fourth Wednesdays in the month, during the season, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Members have the privilege of introducing their friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Members, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to receive the Parts of the *Collectanea Archæologica*, etc., at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA. The annual payments are due in advance.

THE CONGRESSES AND PRESIDENTS HITHERTO HAVE BEEN :

1844	CANTERBURY	-	-	} LORD ALB. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A. (afterwards LORD LON- DESBOROUGH)
1845	WINCHESTER	-	-	
1846	GLOUCESTER	-	-	
1847	WARWICK	-	-	
1848	WORCESTER	-	-	
1849	CHESTER	-	-	} J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1850	MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	-	-	
1851	DERBY	-	-	
1852	NEWARK	-	-	
1853	ROCHESTER	-	-	
1854	CHEPSTOW	-	-	} RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1855	ISLE OF WIGHT	-	-	
1856	BRIDGWATER AND BATH	-	-	} THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1857	NORWICH	-	-	
1858	SALISBURY	-	-	THE MARQUIS OF AILESBUURY
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1873	SHEFFIELD	-	-	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1874	BRISTOL	-	-	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
				KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.

Essays relating to the History and Antiquities of these several places will be found in the volumes of the *Journal*. The *Journals* already published are sold at the following prices, and may be had of the Treasurer and other Officers of the Association :

Vol. I, £2 to the Members.

The subsequent volumes, £1 : 1 to Members ; £1 : 11 : 6 to the public.

The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1 : 11 : 6 ; to the Members, 5s.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries. Sold to the public at 15s. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 10s. The third Part of Vol. II, with title-page and index, contains the following subjects :

Cromlechs and other Remains in Pembrokeshire. Six Plates. By Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, D.C.L., F.R.S.

Camps, Roman Roads, and Pavements, in Suffolk. By George Vere Irving. Fountains Abbey. Twelve Plates. By Gordon M. Hills.

Roman Villa at Nennig, Prussia. One Plate. By J. W. Grover.

Itinerary of King Edward the First. Part II, 1291 to the death of the Monarch. By Rev. Charles Henry Hartshorne, M.A.

An Index for the thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared for publication by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.R.S.L., and will be printed as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers are obtained. Present price to Associates, 7s. 6d. ; to the public, 10s. 6d. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.¹

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,²—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.
2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council ; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee, and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published

¹ The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced, and indicated by notes.

² Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.

3. The Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, ten¹ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with seventeen other Associates, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the second Wednesday² in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

¹ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, and in 1864 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

² In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852, till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
 2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
 3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
 4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
 5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
 6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.
-

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the fourth Wednesday in November, the second Wednesday in December, the second and fourth Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,² for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
 2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
 3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.
-

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

² At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1875.

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Those marked with an Asterisk are *Ex-Officio* Vice-Presidents.)

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British Archaeological Association.

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1875. .

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SOME NOTES ON ST. MARY REDCLIFF CHURCH, BRISTOL.

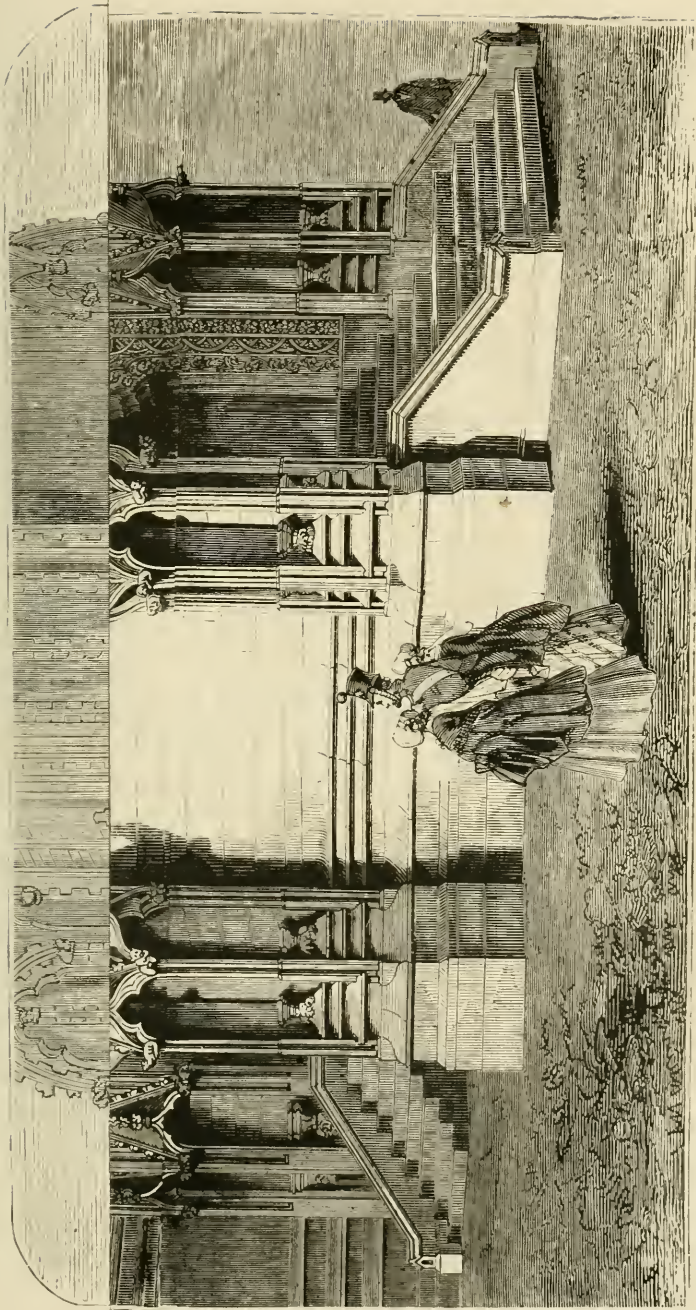
BY GEORGE GODWIN, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P.

I do not intend, on the present occasion, to attempt to give you a minute history of the church, and to reconcile the various differences in respect of it which exist. I will tell you very briefly something of what has been said about it, and then show you how the church itself bears out or contradicts these statements.

A story often related, and long accepted, tells how that Simon de Burton having to meet Sir Ferrars Nevylle at a tourney on Mary's Hill, in the year 1285, made a vow, according to the fashion of those days, that if he conquered he would there build a church to our Lady; and that, being successful, he did build a goodly church, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary by the Bishop of Chichester on Christmas Day, 1301. The year in which he commenced to build was said to be 1293 or 1294. The history goes on, that in 1376 "William Canynge built the body of Redcliffe Church from the cross-aisle downwards, and so the church was finished as it is now." We do not hear of this first William Canynge after 1396, the date of his will. In 1442, as we are told, the second "William Canynge, with the help of others of the worshipfulle town of Bristol, kepte masons and workmenne to edifie, repayre, cover, and glaze, the church of Redcliffe." He did so much, indeed, and in so exquisite a manner, according to the received account, that he came to be considered the founder of the church. In 1445 a storm threw down the spire, which did great damage

at the west end of the church ; but Canynge set this all right again. He died in 1475.

Looking to the church itself, we find it consists of an outer and inner north porch, a tower, nave with aisles, south porch, transepts with double aisles (a most rare occurrence), rooms for residence, and Lady Chapel. A number of years ago I gave some particulars of the church on the occasion of a visit by the Archæological Institute (printed in their Bristol volume), and, desiring to treat existing opinions with respect, said, as to the inner porch and lower part of the tower, that they might be earlier than the time of Simon de Burton, certainly were not later. Speaking, however, with less deference and more precision now, I have not the least doubt that they were built long before Simon de Burton is said to have commenced the work. The year 1250, by which time Salisbury Cathedral was nearly finished, is later than I should be inclined to date them. 1240 is probably nearer the right time. Nor is it likely that a porch was built without a church ; and pieces of Early English masonry built up in the walls of the present church, and brought to light during our works, confirm to some extent this opinion. It is clear, therefore, that the story, so far as it credits Simon de Burton with the commencement of the church, is incorrect. Nevertheless he may have done good work there, and the misstatement may be only verbal. The tower, when carried up just above the range of niches, was roofed over. The evidence of this is obvious inside ; but the work probably went on again before the close of the century, when the Early Decorated style was growing into shape. At Wells and elsewhere good work in the Decorated style had been done by 1300. The south porch, the south transept, and much of the lower part of the rest of the church, belong to the same style, and the north porch is an exquisite specimen of it. The tower is as fine a thing of its kind as can anywhere be found. The remainder of the church, including the great clerestory, or "ovyrstorie" as William Wyrester calls it in his curious *Itinerary*, written in the year 1478, is of the Perpendicular period, and may belong to the time of the second Canynge. The contention lately has been that the Canynges did not do so much for the church as Barrett and other writers have asserted ; at any rate that they did it only in conjunction with other



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[AS RESTORED BY MR. GODWIN.]

PLATE I.



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PLATE I.

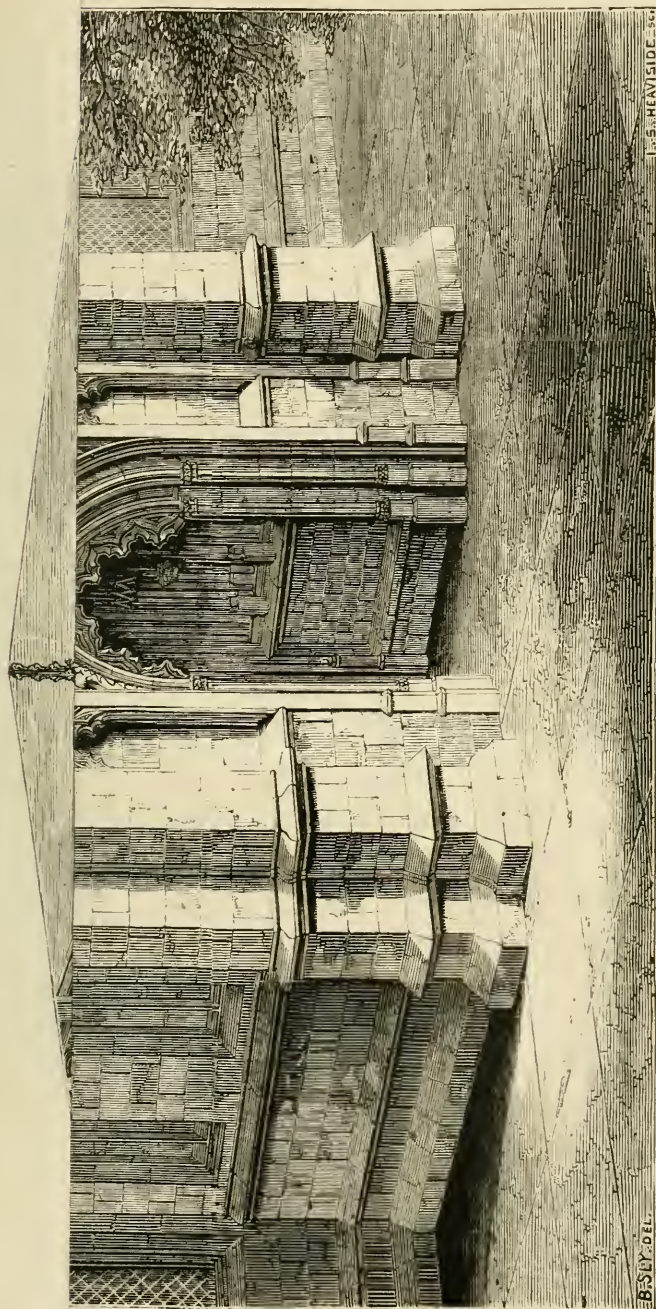
citizens. They were representative men, and were possibly credited with the works of lesser men, doing much themselves nevertheless. All the jokes of a certain period in French history were attributed to Talleyrand; and, to go farther back, I have a dim recollection of an ancient proverb which says many hundreds of rills went to make the river of Homer.

I wish particularly to point out the north porch and the "treasury", where Chatterton found or imitated deeds and manuscripts that created at one period much mystery in Bristol and elsewhere.¹ The bosses are of a very fine nature, and some hundreds of different patterns have been counted among them. The groining also especially recommends itself to the student of Gothic architecture for variety and beauty. Glancing very briefly at some of the monuments, the earliest in the church—probably the oldest in Bristol—is a recumbent figure of a cross-legged knight, in chain mail, and which I suppose cannot be older than quite the commencement of the thirteenth century, and is ascribed to the second Robert of Berkeley. There is also a slab, very little later, found under the north porch, and there is a stone marked "Johannes Lamyngton," found under St. Sprite's, close to the church, when taken down in 1766. Lamyngton lived in 1393. There are also the monuments of the Medes—about 1475. The canopied altar tomb at the end of the south transept has been ordinarily called Canynge's monument. It bore two effigies, male and female, evidently not originally intended for that position. In 1852 we discovered in the south wall of the nave two sepulchral recesses, the ornamentation of which had been chopped off and destroyed, to allow wooden panelling to be put up when the church was re-pewed at the commencement of the eighteenth century, and these recesses precisely agreed in length with the two effigies, and now contain them. The canopied tomb is a poor, coarse work of more recent date than that of the effigies, and could not have been executed in Canynge's time. The date of it is very little before, if not after, the Reformation. Dallaway² quotes a document in which Canynge speaks of "the monument which he erected for

¹ Some of Chatterton's manuscripts were exhibited at the Congress, and will be described further on.

² *Antiquities of Bristowe*, p. 207.

himself and wife, soon after her death, "in loco quam construi et feci in parte australi ejusdem ecclesiæ," meaning (adds Dallaway) "the southern transept." This, however, is by no means certain. "In the southern part of this church" would just as well apply to the sepulchral recesses in the south wall as to the transept. Anyhow, I feel quite sure that the tomb, or place he had constructed, was not the canopied altar tomb of which we are speaking. The effigy of a man in priest's robes in the south transept, is also ascribed to Canynge, in the belief that it recorded him as Dean of Westbury; for late in life he entered the church, about 1467; and its presence in Redcliff Church is accounted for, there being one effigy of him there already, by the story that it was brought here from Westbury College, when the college was burned down in 1643. When, however, we find that this second monument is mentioned by Camden as being in the church long before the college was burned, the story of course goes for nothing. There is another altar tomb with recumbent effigy, commonly said to be that of Canynge's purse-bearer. There are three fine brasses in the church, viz., those to Sir John Inyn, 1439, in the Lady Chapel; John Lay, and Johanna his wife, 1480, in the chancel; and near it one to John Brook and Johanna his wife, 1522. The wife of John Lay was the sister of William Wyrcestre; the father of John Brook, we know, occupied, in 1500, Canynge's-house, which still remains in Redcliff-street—a fact which brings him and us closer together. Amongst the more modern monuments is one at the west end, erected to the memory of Sir William Penn, who died 1670, and was father of the proprietor of Pennsylvania. Citizens of the United States sometimes travel from London expressly to see it, as I happen to know. A tablet to Mrs. Fortune Little bears an epitaph, written by Hannah More, who was born in Bristol. In concluding, I feel bound to say two or three words of the restoration, as the committee so thoroughly deserve it. The church had been absolutely a ruin, and parts must have fallen down had they not been taken in hand. The ground was piled around the base to a considerable height, and the outer wall was simply a mass of honeycombed stone. I refer to the exertions of Mr. Alderman Proctor, Mr. Wm. King, Mr. Jefferies, members of the family of Hare, and others, who formed themselves into a com-



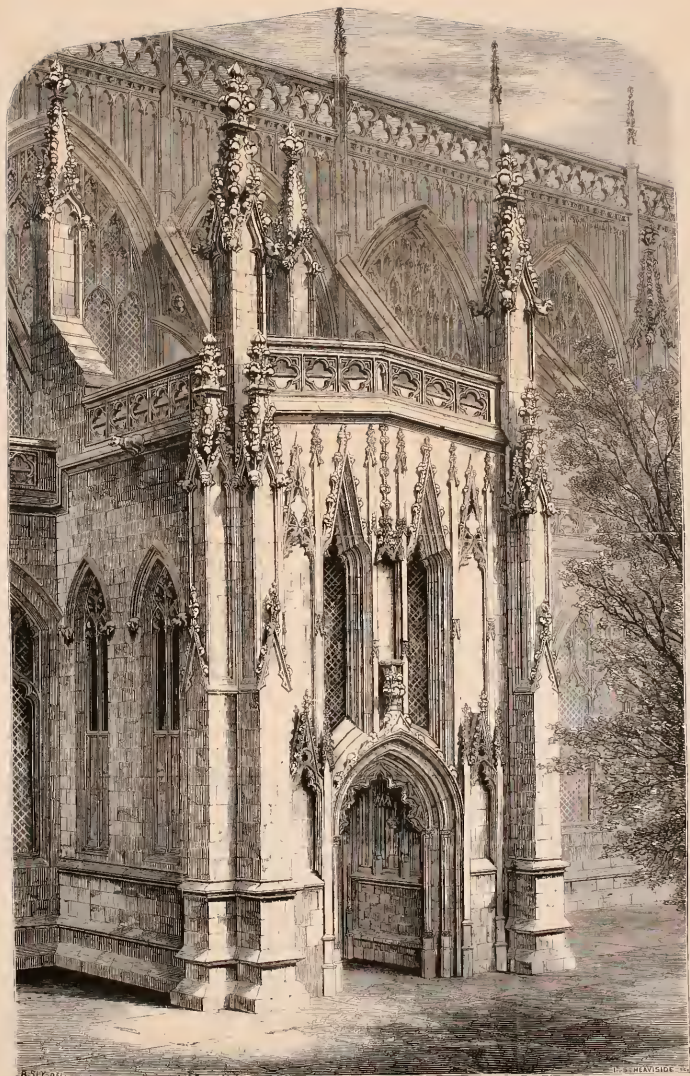
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PLATE II.

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SOUTH PORCH, ST. MARY REDCLIFF, BRISTOL.

AS RESTORED BY MR. GODWIN.

PLATE II.

mittee, and would speak in the highest praise of their perseverance in the work, notwithstanding many discouragements at times when they were in debt to their treasurer, Mr. Proctor. The sons of some of the gentlemen named are still carrying on the noble work of restoration. It had for a long time been the desire of certain Redcliff men to put up a spire, and, despite the report of well informed persons that the tower was not strong enough to bear it and that it was simply impossible, the thing has been accomplished and the spire erected, after strengthening the foundations and enlarging the piers ; and I trust that it will remain for some hundreds of years. And that spire had a memorable incident connected with it. When the capstone was laid in 1872 the wife of the Mayor, Mrs. Proctor Baker, was brave enough to ascend in a very risky lift to help to lay the capstone. I fancy there are few more striking instances on record of bravery on the part of a lady. I will mention as to the west door, which has been quite recently finished, that it was restored after a fashion some years ago, all the mouldings having been cut away and altered. By a curious accident, William Wyreestre has recorded in his Itinerary a technical description of the mouldings forming the doorway, as given to him by Norton, the master of the works ; and from this, with the aid of the published comments on it by Professor Willis, we have brought the doorway back, so far as we know, to its original form — a curious, probably unique, incident. I must not forget to mention the name of Mr. W. Rice, the enthusiastic clerk of the works, who is almost the *Quasimodo* of the place, and knows every stone in the church. Some of the modern glass met with in the edifice is particularly to be pointed out, and there is a general scheme in this direction, so that everybody who now contributes must adopt one of a particular set of subjects.

ON THE EARLY RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF SOMERSETSHIRE.

BY THE LATE E. LEVIEN, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

IN an unpretentious but useful little volume entitled *Fasti Monastici Ævi Saxonici, or an Alphabetical List of the Heads of Religious Houses in England previous to the Norman Conquest*, by our honorary palæographer, Mr. W. de G. Birch, published in 1872 under the direction of the Royal Society of Literature, will be found the names of the following religious houses situated in the county of Somersetshire during the period of which it treats, indicating at the same time the orders to which they severally belonged, and the dates ascribed by various authorities for their respective foundations. They are thus enumerated: Glastonbury, A.D. 31 (Tanner), 63 (Dugdale), occupied by monks under St. Patrick, 435; refounded, according to Florence of Worcester, 688; a house of Benedictines under St. Dunstan, 984;—Bath, a nunnery, 676; a house of secular canons, 775; of Benedictine monks, 970;—Wells, episcopal see and collegiate church, 704, 709, or 909;—Froome, a monastery, 705;—Congresbury, episcopal see, founded, according to the *Glastonbury Chronicle*, in 167; a college of canons, *circa* 711;—Banwell, a monastery, *temp.* King Alfred;—Athelney, an abbey for monks, also *temp.* King Alfred, *circa* 888;—Michelney, a Benedictine abbey, 939; and Bruton, a house for monks, 1005. In vol. xxviii of our *Journal* (pp. 45-64) are “three lists of monasteries compiled in the thirteenth century”, also printed by Mr. Birch from three Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, in which, in addition to the above recited religious establishments, appear the names of the following: Fareleya, S. Mariæ Magdalenæ, a priory of Black Monks;—Bristowe, S. Jacobi; Stoke, S. Andreæ; and Muntagu, SS. Petri et Pauli, priories of Black Monks of Clugny;—Keynsham, S. Mariæ; Bristowe, S. Augustini, and Bekelande (Minchin Buckland), priories of Black Canons;—Tantone, SS. Petri et Pauli; Bearwe (Minchin Barrow), SS. Mariæ et Edwini; and Canintone, S. Mariæ, priories of

Black Nuns ;—Bathonia, SS. Petri et Pauli, seat of episcopal see and house of Black Monks ;—Glastingebery, S. Mariæ ; Ethelingeeya (Athelney), SS. Petri et Athelwyni ; Muchelneya, S. Petri, abbeys of Black Monks ; and Welles, S. Andreæ, a deanery and house of secular canons. Thus in these lists are given the names of the religious establishments in this county from the earliest ages of Christianity, commencing with the alleged foundation of Glastonbury by Joseph of Arimathea in A.D. 31, down to a period when Mr. Birch conjectures that the latest of the MSS. was written from which he has printed his paper, *i. e.*, some time during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307).

Since, however, the annals of all the most famous of these early religious houses have been thoroughly investigated, and many documents illustrative of their history published in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, Le Neve's *Fasti*, Tanner's *Notitia*, Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and the early English chronicles ; while several of them, as for example Glastonbury, Bath, Wells, Frome, Taunton, Michelney, Cannington, and Minchin Barrow, have been ably and exhaustively treated by such painstaking and accomplished scholars and antiquaries as Collinson, Warner, Hearne, Sir R. Colt Hoare, the Rev. Joseph Hunter, the Rev. Thomas Hugo, and various other writers, both in the volumes of our own Association¹ and in those of the Archæological and Natural History Society of this county, as well as in separate works devoted to special subjects, and the religious establishments of this city will receive ample consideration during our visit here, I propose upon the present occasion to touch only upon those which have received less attention, and, consequently, are less known than those I have just mentioned, and to refer to some few facts and documents relating to them, which have either, perhaps, escaped the observation of those who may have previously been engaged on these or similar researches, and which, even if they have not been unnoticed by them, have never yet received such a degree of consideration as, according to my judgment, they seem to deserve.

To begin, then, with that establishment to which the earliest date has been assigned, *viz.*, that of Congresbury, as we have seen above, according to ordinary tradition, in

¹ See especially the volumes of the *Journal* for the years 1856 and 1857.

A.D. 167, and in compliance with those strange contortions upon which our native tongue seems peculiarly to pride itself, commonly pronounced Coombsbury. It is not my intention to fan the flame of that pretty little quarrel as it stands respecting Pre-Augustine Christianity in Britain, which has exercised so many erudite and otherwise calm minds, or to enter into any speculations with regard to what is likely to have been the general nature and effect of episcopal or ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority in these islands when

“Wild in the woods the naked savage ran.”

I would simply state that with respect to Congresbury, at least under that name, there is not, as far as I can gather, sufficient proof of the existence of any religious house there, much less of its having been an episcopal see, before the commencement of the eighth century.

The main evidence upon which the assumption for the earlier date rests, is the following passage in one of the Glastonbury chronicles : “Anno Domini centesimo sexagesimo septimo episcopatus Somersetiæ per SS. Faganum et Deruvianum sumpsit exordium, et in Kungresburia per multum tempus sedes episcopatus fuit.” Now there is no *primâ facie* reason for doubting that St. Fagan and St. Deruvian may have visited this part of Britain in a missionary tour, which, as we shall see presently, they had undertaken to this country, where they were, at the above period engaged upon the conversion of the natives ; being, in fact, perambulating gospellers and papal legates *in eyre*. But Capgrave, who wrote *circa* 1450, in his life of St. Cungar, contained in the *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516, expressly states, that “Ina, King of Britain, gave the whole territory around Congresbury” to St. Cungar, in recognition of his holy life, and in testimony of the miracles he had performed, and adds that it was St. Cungar who first founded there an “oratorium,” or religious house for twelve canons, “qui regulariter viverent”, *i. e.*, according to rule—“et in honore sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis Deo officiosissime deservirent.” Neither is there any doubt but that the name Kunegsburia or Congresbury may be derived from St. Cungar or Congar. But as King Ina did not reign till from A.D. 668 to 728, it is manifestly impossible that the religious house of Congresbury should have

been in existence under that name as early as A.D. 167, for we do not learn that *elixir vite* was among the institutions of these ages ; and albeit we are told in Capgrave's " Life" of many astounding acts of St. Cungar, notably of his adventures with a sagacious pig, who conducted him to the site of the future monastery, and of various miracles wrought by him, yet we are not informed that he was enabled to prolong his days to the green old age of five hundred and forty-three years, which he would have attained had he been alive to found Congresbury at the earlier period assigned to it, and had still been flourishing when King Ina was on the throne. The truth would seem to be that Lucius, the British king, who had himself become a Christian, and who governed the kingdom at the period above indicated, applied to the Pope to send over certain apostles or missionaries to these islands for the purpose of expounding, and, if possible, of founding establishments for the teaching and promulgation of the new doctrines throughout the length and breadth of the land. The Pope acceded to this request and accredited two holy men, who are called indiscriminately Fugatius and Damianus or Duvianus, or Faganus and Deruvianus, or in the old Welsh chronicles, Dyfan and Ffagan. They ultimately settled in Wales, where they became the first metropolitans of Caerleon, and we may not unreasonably conclude that on their way there they preached with so much zeal and effect in that part of Somersetshire, where Congresbury was afterwards founded, that they succeeded in leaving behind them a congregation and a place of worship there ; for Stowe, the first edition of whose chronicle appeared in 1560, writing of his own times says : " to this day there remaineth in Somersetshire, in the deanery of Dunstor, a parish church bearing the name of St. Deruvian, as a church either by him founded, or to him dedicated."¹ But since the religious house at Congresbury was, as we have seen, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, this is an additional reason for concluding that there was no regular establishment there until about the end of the seventh or the commencement of the eighth century.

And even here a difficulty presents itself in reconciling the precise year assigned by the Glastonbury Chronicle as

¹ See *The Chronicles of the Ancient British Church*, London, 1851.
1875

the date of the foundation ascribed to SS. Fagan and Deruvian, with the facts as stated by the historians in connection with the missionary expedition of those apostles to this country. The Pope, to whom King Lucius is said to have applied, is stated to be St. Eleutherius, who occupied the papal chair from A.D. 177 to 192. If, therefore, the religious house at Congresbury had had its origin in 167, it must have been founded during the papacy of St. Anicetus or St. Soter, the predecessors of St. Eleutherius, and not during the episcopate of St. Eleutherius himself.

On the whole, then, we may assume that generally throughout these islands, even from the very earliest ages of Christianity, attempts were made from Rome to disseminate the new religion, and certain primitive buildings may have perhaps been erected, where any saints who might be enabled to effect a settlement among the inhabitants might illustrate their doctrines by their lives and miracles, and worshippers might assemble to rejoice in the gospel light which was now beginning to be shed around them, and for the first dissemination of which we owe an everlasting debt of gratitude to Rome; but the absence of any authentic documents which may serve to indicate to us the actual establishment of any religious house during these remote periods must always cast, at any rate, a certain degree of doubt upon the matter, and render extremely problematical any statement which asserts the establishment of any regularly constituted religious community prior to the arrival of St. Augustine, with his forty monks, in A.D. 597.

There is, however, another passage in that now well known MS. in Lincoln's Inn library, which contains such a mine of wealth relative to the early ecclesiastical history of this country, part of which was edited for the Camden Society by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, with an English translation and many valuable notes and appendices in 1840. This also states that the bishop who first governed the church of Somerset had his pontifical seat at Congresbury. Here again, however, the writer does not give us any particulars of the early history of the place, or the names of any of the bishops till the time of one Daniel, who is said to have transferred the seat of the episcopate to Wells in, *circa*, 725. Mr. Hunter, moreover, doubts even about this date, and does not think that we arrive at authentic history till

the time of Gyso, who was bishop of the see from 1061 to 1088. He also conjectures that the name Congresbury is derived not from St. Congur or Congar, but from Königs-bury, *i.e.*, the town or borough of the King; and that Kings-bury, near Langport, and not Congresbury, is the place indicated in all these primitive histories. As, however, he has entered fully into all the arguments upon the matter in the work I have just mentioned, I need not linger any longer over this branch of my subject. The name of King Alfred is so inseparably connected with this part of the country, that I trust I may be pardoned for some slight reference to the monastery or abbey in the Island of Athelney, founded by him, as William of Malmesbury tells us, at some period subsequent to his defeat by the Danes [in 877-8], ten years before the date assigned to the actual foundation by Mr. Birch. I shall not enter into details with respect to this house, as not only the structure itself, but the site on which it was placed, and all its internal arrangements, have received ample consideration at the hands both of the early chroniclers and of various successive writers down to our own times. In fact every topic connected with this monarch, not forgetting those friends of our youth, the heavy-handed neat herd's wife, and the king himself in the disguise of a wandering minstrel, singing the ballads of the period in the Danish camp, these and all other matters, I say, whether legendary or authentic, have been thoroughly examined and discussed.

Still, however, it is perhaps worthy of a passing remark that it was at or near this monastery of Athelney that the much tried king enjoyed what was probably the greatest triumph of his eventful life, in the baptism of his arch enemy Guthrum the Dane, to whom he stood sponsor, and whom, with thirty of his followers, the king here received into the bosom of the church, under the Saxon name of Athelstan, and with all the pomp and circumstance which befitted the rank of so powerful and illustrious a convert. It is, indeed, well known that Guthrum or Athelstan by no means carried out all the professions that he made upon this auspicious occasion, and that in many respects it was the old story of

"The Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be;
The Devil got well, the Devil a monk was he."

But yet the peace of Wedmore, and the obligations entered into by the pagan chieftain at Athelney, exercised such a lasting influence upon the religious principles and practice of the inhabitants of this part of the country, that not even all the outbreaks and atrocities which were subsequently committed were ever able entirely to subvert them.

The monastery at Athelney never appears to have attained any great degree of prosperity, partly, perhaps, on account of its secluded position, or more probably because of the evil reputation it had gained, even at the commencement of its existence, from the malicious attempt upon the life of its first abbot, John, about the year A.D. 880. The circumstances of the case, as related by Asser,¹ who was himself the contemporary and the "guide, philosopher, and friend" of Alfred, are as follows: "Several of the Frankish monks, as the house was at this time almost full of foreigners, having entered into a conspiracy against their Saxon superior, two of them, armed, stole by night into the church when all the other inmates of the house were wrapped in the deepest slumber, and every sound was hushed at the house when the abbot was wont to repair thither unattended, in order to perform his devotions. Their movements, however, and the rustling of their gowns, caught the ear of their intended victim, and springing to his feet, not however before he had received a wound, he defended himself with the utmost valour against his cowardly assailants, until the well-affected of the brethren, roused by the unusual clamour and the cries of their venerated superior, arrived to rescue him from the hands of his would-be murderers. They conveyed him, half dead with loss of blood and exhaustion, to his lodgings in the Abbey; and although they speedily captured, tortured, and executed the miscreants who had attacked him, yet so flagitious and unprecedented an act caused such an evil name to attach to the monastery, that after this time foreign monks ceased altogether to repair thither, as thinking perhaps that they would always be regarded with a certain degree of suspicion, while its native inmates dwindled down to such a miserable and half-starved contingent of recluses that William of Malmesbury, writing of it in the twelfth century, says: "Sunt ibi mon-

¹ *Annales Rerum Gestarum Ælfridi Magni*, ed. Franciscus Wise (8vo, Oxford, 1722), pp. 62-64.

achi pauci numero et pauperes, sed qui egestatem suam quietis et solitudinis amore vel magni pendant vel consolentur." Happy they who could thus console themselves by solitude and quiet contemplation for want of the bare means of subsistence ; but we may not uncharitably surmise that it was rather a case of absolute necessity than of choice, and that they would probably have consoled themselves still more had they not been perforce compelled to observe so many *jours maigres* by circumstances over which they had no control, but had been able to solace their lives with those comfortable "aids to faith" of which their brethren in more fortunate communities were not slow to avail themselves.

Our visit to Axbridge and Weston-super-Mare will take us into the vicinity of another religious house, founded in the reign of King Alfred, viz., the Monastery of Banwell, with which also the name of the learned Asser is intimately connected. He himself tells us that at an interview which he had with his sovereign, on Christmas eve, probably in the year 880, the latter handed to him two letters, in which, "to use his own words," was written down a detailed inventory of all the goods and chattels in two monasteries, called in the Saxon tongue Amgresbyri and Banuville ; and these two monasteries did he make over to me on the self-same day with all their contents, together with a silk *pallium* of very great value, and as much incense as a strong man could carry.¹ From this passage some writers have concluded that Amesbury, in Wiltshire, was thus placed under the jurisdiction of Asser, together with Banwell in this county. A MS., however, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, reads "Kungresbyri," instead of "Amgresbyri," which would lead us to infer that the text has in some way become corrupted, and that it was not Amesbury, but Congresbury, or, as above stated, Kingsbury, which was handed over to Asser upon this occasion.

You will, I am sure, be happy to hear that I am about to bring my remarks to an end, by a brief reference to certain original documents relating to the last religious house on our list, viz., that of Farleigh, which have never yet been published, but which will, I hope, appear in the pages of

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.



our *Journal* for the present year.¹ There are five charters in the collection presented to the British Museum by Lord Frederick Campbell in 1814, and they may be thus summarised: 1. A grant by Walter Croc, “Deo et Beatæ Mariæ de Ferleia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus”, of one and a half virgates of land in Wadeswie [Woodwick, near Presford] for the salvation of his own soul and those of his relations, both living and dead. This document is without date, but is of the time of Henry III, and has attached to it an imperfect equestrian seal in light brown wax, bearing a representation of Walter de Croc in armour, with the legend SIGILL’ W...[.D]E.CROC. 2. A grant to the same religious house of the hermitage at Hauescumbe [Horsecombe, near South Stoke], and various other pieces of land, by William, the son of John, and Dionisia his wife. There is no seal, and this instrument is also undated; but R. Bishop of Bath attests it, and as this initial must indicate Reginald Fitz Joceline, its date would be somewhere between 1206 and 1242. 3. A grant of a messuage, with its appurtenances, in Bradford, by Robert of Farley, the foundation-builder [cimentarius]. A fragment of a seal in brown wax remains, bearing an implement somewhat resembling a mallet, and with the legend ...[CEMENT.]ARII D’FER [LEGH]. Again, this charter is undated, but is, to judge by the handwriting, of the reign of Edward II (1307-1327). 4. A grant by Simon Porter to the prior and brethren of St. Mary Magdalene, of Farleigh, of lands and tenements with their appurtenances in the parishes of Langley and Chippenham. The instrument is without a seal, but is dated at Farleigh on the Sunday before the Feast of St. Katherine (*i.e.*, 25 Nov.), 2nd Henry IV (1400). 5. A grant by Adelelmus, son of Geoffrey Dapifer, to the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, of Farleigh, and the monks there, of one virgate of land in Hornigeham (Horningsham, co. Wilts), also without seal or date, but written some time during the reign of Henry II, *i.e.*, between 1154 and 1189.

In the same collection are also several unpublished charters, relating to the first Carthusian house existing in England, viz., that of Witham, or the Charter House in Selwood, built and endowed by King Henry II, to the honour of the

¹ These original deeds, as yet unprinted, will be inserted in a future part of the *Journal*, if space can be found for them.

Blessed Virgin, St. John Baptist, and All Saints, in A.D. 1181. This early establishment has been fully described and illustrated, not only by Dugdale, but by that learned antiquary Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in a very rare and elegantly printed volume, entitled *Monastic Remains of the Religious Houses at Witham, Bruton, and Stavordale, co. Somerset, collected anno 1824*. Only fifty copies of this book were issued for circulation among Sir Richard's own private friends. Of these, the Hon. Thomas Granville was one, and the work will be found in the magnificent collection bequeathed by that gentleman to the nation in 1846. As these charters will also probably appear in our *Journal*, there is no need for me to dilate upon them now, and therefore it only remains for me briefly to call your especial attention to the Lincoln's Inn MS., to which I have already referred. This volume is too bulky for reproduction by our Association, but it should most certainly be printed by some society or individuals who are more especially interested in the early ecclesiastical history of this county. It is an original register of the Priory of Bath, written on vellum, and contains copies of all the documents relating to the transactions of the house from A.D. 1200 to A.D. 1360, and comprising, *inter alia*, a long quotation from a treatise written, as Hunter believes, by Bishop Gyso, who was nominated to the see by Edward the Confessor, and continued to exercise his episcopal functions till nearly the end of the reign of William the Conqueror. And not only does this volume possess a peculiar value as containing a chartulary of the possessions of the early religious establishments at Bath, but also as being a repertory of many transactions connected with the episcopal history of the diocese which required to be ratified by the prior and convent of Bath, when the seat of the bishopric had been transferred again to Wells. Moreover, in it there is a record of the appropriation of many of the churches in the diocese and of the ordination of the vicarages, together with an immense mass of information respecting the proceedings on the election of the successive bishops throughout the whole of the period of which it treats.

Thus, then, I have brought to a conclusion these necessarily imperfect remarks upon the early religious houses of Somersetshire during a portion of those historic times which are usually known as "the dark ages"; and this term may,

perhaps, be not altogether unjustly applied to them in regard to the general gloom of ignorance and superstition which then pervaded most classes of society. Yet we must never forget that in these monastic establishments the lamp of religion and learning was still kept burning, and gradually diffused itself over the length and breadth of our land, until the rites and observances of paganism "paled their ineffectual fires" before the bright rays of Christianity; and "it is impossible", to quote the words of an eloquent modern writer upon this subject,¹ "to get even a superficial knowledge of the mediæval history of Europe without seeing how greatly the world of that period was indebted to the monastic orders; and feeling that, whether they were good or bad in other matters, monasteries were beyond all price, in those days of misrule and turbulence, as places where (it may be imperfectly, yet better than elsewhere) God was worshipped; as a quiet and religious refuge for helpless infancy and old age, a shelter of respectful sympathy for the orphan maiden and the desolate widow; as central points whence agriculture was to spread over bleak hills and barren downs and marshy plains, and deal its bread to millions perishing with hunger and its pestilential train; as repositories of the learning which then was, and well-springs for the learning which was to be; as nurseries of art and science giving the stimulus, the means, and the reward, to invention, and aggregating around them every head that could devise, and every hand that could execute; as the nucleus of the city which in after days of pride should crown its palaces and bulwarks with the towering cross of its cathedral."

¹ The preface to the Rev. R. S. Maitland's *Dark Ages*, 8vo, London, 1844.

ON VERNAL FESTIVALS IN ANCIENT ROME AND ELSEWHERE.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, ESQ., HON. TREASURER.

THE season is opportune for leaving awhile severer studies to touch with lighter hand the subject of vernal festivals among the Romans, and trace therein the origin of some customs which have descended almost to our own times. When we are warmed by the agreeable change from winter to spring, and a southerly wind,¹ and birds and flowers invite us to outdoor amusements, folk seem as much inclined to go on pilgrimages as when the Roman satirist filled a volume with the hopes and fears, joys and vexations, merry makings and excursions of his countrymen. Let us make a pilgrimage up the stream of time, so to speak, to Rome during the latter period of her aristocratic republic. Let us see what the calendar said :—

C.	K. APR. N.	-	-	answering to our	1st April
D.	C.	-	-	"	2 "
E.	C.	-	-	"	3 "
F.	C. LVDI MATRI MAG	-	-	"	4 "
G.	NON LVD	-	-	"	5 "
H.	NP. LVDI	-	-	"	6 "
A.	N. LVDI	-	-	"	7 "
B.	N. LVDI	-	-	"	8 "
C.	N. LVDI	-	-	"	9 "
D.	N. LVD IN CIRC	-	-	"	10 "
E.	N.	-	-	"	11 "
F.	N. LVDI CERERI	-	-	"	12 "
G.	EID. NP. LVDI	-	-	"	13 "
H.	N.	-	-	"	14 "
A.	FORD. NP. LVDI	-	-	"	15 "
B.	N. LVDI	-	-	"	16 "
C.	N. LVDI	-	-	"	17 "
D.	N. LVDI	-	-	"	18 "
E.	CER. N. LVDI IN CIRCO	-	-	"	19 "
F.	N.	-	-	"	20 "
G.	PAR. NP.	-	-	"	21 "
H.	N.	-	-	"	22 "
A.	VIN.	-	-	"	23 "
B.	C.	-	-	"	24 "
C.	ROB. NP.	-	-	"	25 "

¹ "Gratâ vice veris et Favone."

D.	F.	-	-	-	answering to our	26th April
E.	C.	-	-	-	"	27 "
F.	NP. LVD. FLOR.	-	-	-	"	28 "
G.	C. LVDI	-	-	-	"	29 "
H.	C. LVDI	-	-	-	"	30 "
XXX						
A.	K. MAI. N.	-	-	-	"	1 May
B.	F. COMP.	-	-	-	"	2 "
C.	C. ¹	-	-	-	"	3 "

This shows a month given up more or less to festivities in praise of earth's rich gifts; the Megalesian festival, in honour of Cybele, or the great mother earth, ushered in the holidays on the 4th of April, and was the fashionable week among the patricians for throwing open their houses for banquets and the entertainment of their friends.² The games in the circus took place on the 10th, and the festivals of Ceres on the 12th. The Palilia on the 21st, in honour of the goddess Pales; the Robigalia,³ for warding off mildew

¹ Extracted from an old calendar in marble, preserved in *Ædibus Maffæorum ad Agrippinam apud Grævium*, vol. viii. The letters in the first column represent the *nundinæ*, or eight days interval between the market and other business days of the old Roman calendar. This idea of letters has been adopted into our ecclesiastical tables to divide the weeks and to mark the Sundays. The *Fasti*, marked *F*, were days when the solemn words *Do, Dico, Addico*, might be pronounced, which contained the substance of the prætor's judicial rights. On the *Nefasti*, marked *N*, no law business could be transacted. On the *Comitiales*, marked *C*, the *Comitia* might legally be held. The holidays were solemnly kept; no work might be done. They were announced by the public crier or herald of the priests. We have the following such announcement preserved in Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.*, lib. vii :

"Lavatio Matris Deum est hodie,
Jovis epulum cras est,
Æsculapi geritur, celebraturque vindemia
Lectisternium Cereris erit idibus proximis."

² "Quam ob causam Patricii Megalensibus mutitare soliti sint, Plebes Cerealiibus?" (A. Gellius, xviii, 2.) C. Fannio et M. Valerio Messala Coss. (A. U. C. 592), a law was made that the principal men of the city must swear before the consuls that they would give no banquet at the Megalesian games, to cost more than 120 asses over and above the vegetables, bread, and wine; and this latter article was to be strictly home produce. Nor were they to display more silver than a hundred pounds in weight. (A. Gell. ii, 24.) As luxury increased this law was modified by others giving more latitude for spending money. Both Sylla and Julius Cæsar extended the sumptuary restrictions which had been dictated by the frugal habits of their forefathers.

³ "Rubigalia Numa constituit anno regni sui xi Floralia quarto kalendas easdem instituerunt urbis anno dxxvi ex oraculis Sibyllæ ut omnia bene deflorescerent. (Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, xviii, 69 [29].) See also Varro, *De Re Rustica*, i; and C. Vell. Patere, i-xiv. The *vinalia priora* on ix kal. Maias I pass over as having reference only to the tasting of wines made the year before; and as Pliny observes, "nihil ad fructus attinent". I must draw the line somewhere in describing Roman spring festivals, and therefore omit mention of the *Lupercalia* on 4th February, as well as the lustrations of the fields by the *Fratres Arvales* in the latter part of the month of May.

from the corn, on 25th, the day of mid-spring, and these festivals retained much of their primitive religious character. I shall speak first of them, and then touch upon the great popular holiday of the Floralia, which lasted five days from 28th April to 3rd May, and during which the people gave themselves thoroughly up to merry-making in a way which could hardly be approved by those who had been brought up in the severer school of the Claudii, Æmili, and Portii.

Cybele, the venerable grandmother of the muses, was paraded in effigy before the people, on a car drawn by lions to show the divine power over brute force, and the mural crown on her head signified how mother earth sustains the cities and fortresses which have been placed upon her. The sculpture was borne upon the shoulders of a Phrygian man and woman,¹ wearing medallions suspended round their necks, and accompanied through the city by musicians, playing flutes and cymbals and singing the praises of the great goddess.

When her worship was first introduced, a large stone, apparently of volcanic or aerolithic nature,² was brought to Rome from Phrygia, being, as it were, the raw material out of which a goddess was to grow. The ceremony of bringing over the stone in A. U. C. 547 (B.C. 206) occupies a prominent place in Roman history,³ and seems to have been designed to reform public manners by imposing upon men a livelier sense of religious responsibility through the presence of a goddess sent from another sphere; but the occasion was the panic caused in Italy by the invasion of Hannibal. The oracle of the sybil was consulted on the subject of the frequent showers of stones which had fallen, and it was declared that when the soil of Italy should be invaded by an enemy, the safety of the Romans could only be secured by bringing over the statue of the goddess-mother Idæa from Pessinus in Phrygia. The Senate thought the occasion sufficiently serious to send envoys to consult the Pythian Apollo at Delphi, who promised them deliverance and the capture from the enemy of booty far more valuable than the sum they were expending upon the god. Little as the Romans had had to do up to this time with eastern nations, they decided upon sending an embassy to Attalus,

¹ Dionys. Halic., *Ant. Rom.*, ii.

² Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.*, vii.

³ Livy, xxix and xxxvi; Val. Max., viii.

and this was composed of men of rank :¹ M. Valerius Lævinus, who had been twice consul ; M. Cœcilius Metellus, a former prætor ; S. Sulpicius Galba, who had been ædile, and two who had served the office of quæstor.

They were embarked on board five *quinqueremes*, that they might present themselves with a dignity worthy of the republic. They looked in at Delphi, *en route*, and were assured that Attalus would comply with their request, and that the goddess must be received on Roman soil by the most honourable man among the Romans. The King of Pergamus gave them the best reception, conducting them to Pessinus, and placing in their hands the sacred stone which the inhabitants assured them was the mother of the gods. M. Valerius Falto was sent home to make preparation for the reception of the goddess, who was soon announced as having arrived at Terracina, and the most honourable chosen among so many honourable men was P. Scipio, son of Cnæus, who was killed in Spain. What were his special qualifications to place him over the heads of others, particularly as he was not yet of the age to qualify for quæstor, Livy excuses himself from conjecturing.² The Roman ladies were to proceed to Ostia, and were to receive the goddess from the hands of Scipio, who went on board as soon as the ship hove in sight. The only lady among these whose name has descended to posterity was a Claudia Quinta, who was specially favoured by the goddess, and the tongue of slander, which had been somewhat ill-natured against this lady, was silenced for ever when she drew the ship along, which had stuck in the mud, by a rope with her own hand, as easily as if a high wind were propelling it.³

The goddess was deposited in the temple of Victory on the Palatine, on the eve of the Ides of April, which was henceforth a gala day. There was a *lectisternium*, but her temple⁴ was not ready till thirteen years after, when stage

¹ "Mittuntur proceres." (Ovid, *Fast.*, iv, 265.)

² Silius Italicus (xvii) says, "multâ fulgebat imagine avorum", which probably gives the clue to the selection made of him by the Senate. He came of a good stock. Valerius Maximus (viii, 15) is eloquent on this appointment. He says : "Unfold all the *Fasti*, place in order all the triumphal chariots, and you will find nothing in the domain of ethics comparable to this."

³ T. Liv., xxix, 10, 11, 14. Propertius (lib. iv) places her among the female celebrities.

"Vel tu, quæ tardam movisti fune Cybellen,
Claudia turritæ rara ministra Deæ."

⁴ It stood near the Temple of Apollo built by Augustus. The circular church

plays were performed for the first time in Rome, according to Valerius Antias. Cicero has lauded the Megalesia as most chaste, solemn, and religious.¹ More than once a day would her temple be visited by her most devoted worshippers.² Her priests, imitating Curetes and Corybantes, clanged the cymbals, and made the tambourines resound through the arched roof, while the deep clarionet played the Phrygian measures which excited the devotees to a phrenzy as they recalled the mysterious birth of Jupiter on Mount Ida, when the Pyrrhic or armed dance was performed by the Curetes round his cradle, that the noise might drown the infant's cries and so conceal his birth from father Saturn, who had a habit of eating up his children as soon as they were born.³ Solemn rites performed, recreations followed, and on the third day stage plays in the theatre called forth the approval or censure of a critical and discriminating audience. Three at least, if not four,⁴ out of the six plays of Terence, which have been preserved to our times, were exhibited at the Megalesian festival, presided over in due form by the curule Ædiles, and accompanied at intervals by wind instruments of music, properly attuned to treble and bass. The magistrates appeared in the toga with a border of purple (prætexta); no one of servile class was allowed to be present, and the strongest invective Cicero could utter against Clodius was that he admitted slaves to the stage plays at the Megalesia, and thereby drove away all respectable persons. A priestess of Cybele⁵ is represented

of S. Theodoro is conjectured by T. I. Dyer (*Rome, in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities*) to be the site of the old, probably circular, Temple of Mater Idæa.

¹ Cicero, *De Harusp. Resp.*, 12.

² The Galli, her effeminate priests, "Semiviri" (Juv., *Sat.* VI, 419) in Rome, Persius (*Sat.* V, 186) calls *grandes*, satirically, as having grand ideas. They were assiduous beggars, and so troublesome in their applications at the houses of citizens, that it was said they should be restrained by law to limit their demands to certain days in the year.

³ The early Romans had not introduced into their religion that phrenzy and excitement to which the Greeks were addicted, and of which the *Bacchæ* of Euripides furnishes an excellent example; nor were these Phrygian rites ever quite nationalised by the Romans. No Roman could be appointed to the priesthood of Cybele because, according to Dionys. Halic., no Roman citizen could officiate at the rites of foreign divinities. If Ceres originally came from Greece, her priests were obtained from the Greek towns to the south of Rome, Naples, or Velia, and they received the Roman franchise, which was not the case with the priests of Cybele.

⁴ The *Andria* in A. U. C. 687; *Eunuchus*, A. U. C. 593; *Heautontimorumenos*, A. U. C. 591; and perhaps *Phormio*, A. U. C. 593, according to the headings of the plays.

⁵ "Laberia Felicia sacerdos maxima matris Deum Magnæ Idææ."

on a marble bas-relief, holding in her right hand a patera over the altar, as if about to make the libation, and in her left a chain, perhaps covered with bells, or it may be a chaplet of flowers. Her veil is thrown over the head, as was customary when the sacred rites were performed, and round her neck is the head of Jupiter suspended on her breast by a chain. The bust of another priestess¹ is also preserved, and beneath it her husband's grateful record that she was frugal, modest, and dutiful. Faustina Junior, the wife of Marcus Aurelius, who can hardly lay claim to these three qualifications, appears on a coin² habited as Cybele, her head covered with a mural crown. She sits between two lions, leaning with her left hand on a cymbal, and holding in her right an ear of corn, and doubtless wished to resemble the traditional Melissa, the first priestess who with Amalphæa tended the new-born Jupiter.

The Roman citizens cared not to listen to a dismal Greek tale mouthed by a sorry-faced tragedian,³ they preferred the coarse jokes and quick repartee of their old-fashioned farces; and the races and games in the circus, which were held on the 10th, were more to the taste of the people than the stage plays in the theatre, and this was the commencement of their spring festivities which ushered in the Cerealia on the 12th, the eve of the Ides, when formerly, according to Livy, the Megalesia had been held.

The Circenses⁴ opened with a grand procession and military parade, which set out from the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, proceeding across the Forum, up the Velabrum and Forum Boarium to the Circus Maximus, which stood between the Palatine and Aventine Mounts. No people knew better than the Romans how to give effect to such a show. The long line was headed by the chariots of four and those of two horses, attended by the charioteers or drivers; the single horses, too, destined to take part in the races, followed with their riders; then the athletes for heavy and light combat, including boxers, wrestlers, and the like, equipped or stripped ready for the struggle, marched in order, and were followed by men dressed as Satyrs; then

¹ Sempronia Mos. (Sponii *Misc. Eru. Antiq.*, Lugd., 1685, p. 150.)

² Vaillant, *Numism. Imp.*, ii, p. 180.

³ Persius, *Sat.* V, 3.

⁴ See Omphrius Pauvinius, *De Ludis Circensibus apud Grævium*, vol. ix. Dionysius Halic. gives a full account of the *pompa Circensis* at the end of the seventh book of his *Antiquities*.

the trumpeters ; the inferior order of priests with the thuribles of frankincense and other implements used in the sacrifice ; then the superior order of priests with their public scribes ; and behind them the images of the gods, some carried on men's shoulders, others on cars (*thensæ*) made for the purpose, and each divinity bearing the insignia and gifts for which he or she was celebrated ; then followed the *armamaxi*, a kind of Scythian double chariot, filled with trophies made up of bronze crowns, breastplates, shields, and other implements of war ; the *rex sacrorum*, with the college of augurs, came next ; and the *quindecimviri*, for administering the sacred rites, with their chief ; and he whose duty it was to give the death-blow to the victim, brought up the rear with the numerous officials, heralds, and attendants. Entering the circus, which from its length was well adapted for the display of a line of procession, the civil and military functionaries took up their positions in the state box (*mænianum*) and balcony (*podium*), extending the length of the building, in front of the public seats ; and the amusements commenced, of which the principal were the horse and chariot races, the equestrian combat, athletic sports, the game of Troy on horseback, combats with wild beasts (called *venatio*), and combats on foot, with sometimes a naval battle on the water, which could be introduced into a canal for the purpose, perhaps from the stream of the Aqua Crabra which ran below or through the Circus.

But the Roman populace could not expect to have all these amusements together each time, and probably the combats with wild beasts were usually reserved for the *Floralia*,¹ as public men who paid for them liked to bestow their largesses on the occasion when they would be most appreciated. The habitual loungeur of the metropolis could no more absent himself a whole year from the Circus than he could go as long without his dinner. Here he met his friends, and here the old Roman spirit and patriotism were kept alive. Ovid, that adept in the art of love-making, recommends a lover to go to the Circus, and place himself down as close as he can to the girl he admires.² His advice goes on to say, "Ask whose horse is running, and never mind what he is, but applaud the one she applauds ; and

¹ "Et Floralicias lasset arena feras." (Mart., viii, 67, 4.)

² Ovid, *De Arte Amandi*, i, passim.

when the celestials make their appearance, mind you shout at Venus as she passes,—the favourite, of course, of your beloved. Take care the knees of the people sitting behind do not run into your backs ; and be careful to pick up anything she may have dropped, or raise her cloak if it happens to be trailing on the ground ; then assiduously keep off any draught of air with a screen ; and you will end by finding the Circus a very agreeable place for love-making. But remember that you who have been so long looking at wounds in the arena, will find at last that you have been wounded yourself.”

The Circus was luckily too large for close inspection of all the horrors of wounded and dying men and animals, and the conversation, merriment, and uproar, prevented the spectators from dwelling long upon any tragic incident. Let us suppose that if the fashionable and wealthy ladies were in the habit of going to the Circus, the Servilias, Portias, Tullias, and other ladies of their degree, would be satisfied with a little masquerading and the plays exhibited at the wooden temporary theatres during the Magalesian week, after the religious services at the various temples had been duly performed. Juvenal, however, says that all Rome seemed to be at the Circus ; but he lived a hundred years after the times I am describing. Foreign and effeminate manners had been creeping into Rome, but now were imported by shiploads with the dates and the pepper.¹ Julius Cæsar was the first to pamper the “ Quirites ” with a silken awning to stretch over the open circus, and the people were ready to take the cue from such an example of luxury by vying in the richness of their costumes and equipages, and especially in the number of their attendants. The ladies were not slow to take the hint.² Ogulnia would hire her dress as well as palanquin (*lectica*) and footmen, not having any of her own ; but go to the Circenses she must, and appear there she must with a dignity proportionate to her pretensions. She may have been one of those ladies who were criticised for the very light material of which their dresses were made. The *Coæ vestes*, of a kind of silk gauze bespangled with gold and rich colours, it was said seemed rather adapted for displaying the person than for clothing it.

¹ Pers., *Sat.* VI, 39.

² Juv., *Sat.* VI, 273.

We may take a hint of the small talk in the circus from the author quoted before, "That lady dyes her hair with a herb from Germany, for she thinks to make it look better than the natural colour. See that one sailing along with very thick hair, but it is the produce of other heads transferred to her own by the payment of some money."¹ That scraggy head of hair is only fit to be present at the meeting of the Bona Dea, where no men are admitted. What is that disturbance among the benches? A proud vulgar man has pushed his way in, to the discomfiture of some military officers of high rank. In his face is to be read "Five shops bring up my fortune to over £3,200,² then let the brigadier generals make way for me."³ Another man there is displaying his fat fingers, covered with jewelled rings, made of light fabric for the coming warm season, having left off those of heavier metal used by him in winter only, but the affectation of the wearer makes only more prominent his servile origin, which is confirmed by the perforations of his ears. In such an assembly, after the long and noisy sports, it is not to be wondered at that the young rustic would begin to grow weary and impatient to get back to his mother and the old farm house and the young goats. By this time, too, the tender whisperings, whether in Greek or Latin, of Ovid's young lovers, must have been somewhat interfered with by the clamours and shouts of a Roman audience. Our northerly manners can scarcely realise the noise and excitement when, as some favourite team of horses passed, or first turned the goal, the victory alternated with the whites and the greens, the blues and the reds; or when other incidents of the circus roused the enthusiasm of the spectators to boiling point.

We will leave them to settle down to a quiet day, but after this interval the 12th would be ushered in as a festive day, by the door-posts of the houses being decorated with garlands and lamps early in the morning, as was customary.⁴ Feasting was an important part of the popular amusements on a festival day, and such large entertainments were given that there was no room in the saloons for a per-

¹ Ovid, *De Arte Amandi*, iii.

² The estate of an *eques* or knight, *quadringenta* (*sestertia*).

³ Juv., *Sat. I.*, 104-5.

⁴ Juv., *Sat. XI*, 91-2.

son to pass up to the other end of the table without standing upon the forms or couches. (Plautus, *Men.*)

The Roman populace was probably a little remiss in performing those simple devotions to Ceres which the goddess delighted in ; an offering of wheat and crystals of salt, with a few¹ grains of frankincense thrown upon the altar, satisfied her requirements.

“Parva bonæ Cereri, sint modo casta, placent.”

Ovid, *Fasti*, iv, 412.

Sacred ablutions and fasting were also to be practised. There is something peculiarly national about Ceres, and her name even is not derived from the Greeks. She had a magnificent temple near the Circus Maximus, and yet after the civil commotions of the Gracchi it was decreed that an embassy should be sent all the way to Sicily, where the goddess was supposed to dwell in person, in order to appease her wrath. (Cicero in *Verr.*, xlix.)

Cicero upbraids the sacrilegious Verres as another Pluto coming to Henna, not to carry off Proserpine, but the great Ceres herself, and accuses him of stealing a fine marble figure of the goddess, and another of brass, and from one which was too large to carry away he seized the figure of Victory, beautifully modelled, which the goddess held in her hand (*ibid.* l). The decrees of the Senate were deposited in the temple of Ceres for the inspection of the tribunes of the people (T. Liv., iii, 55 ; xxxiii, 25), which seems specially to connect her with the plebeian order.

The games in the Circus, in honour of Ceres, on the 19th, differed from the Megalesia, inasmuch as it was customary for the spectators to go dressed in white,² and it is probable that these games, like the Floralia, were under the charge of the plebeian Ædiles. We must take leave of Ceres as those did who went to Eleusis and came away, thinking themselves initiated into the mysteries when they had really only seen the outer porch of the temple, but found that all had still to be learned by returning another time. (L. Ann. Sen. *Nat. Quæst.*, vii, 31.)

The Palilia on the 21st was the great pastoral festival. Invocations were made to the goddess Pales for the health

¹ Ovid, *Fast.*, iv, 409-10.

² “Alba decent Cererem, vestes Cercalibus albas.” (Ov., *Fast.*, iv, 619.)

and fecundity of the cattle.¹ Bonfires were kindled which sent forth a lurid smoke from the sulphur thrown on them. The ashes of a calf and the blood of a horse drawn in October, and carefully preserved by the Vestal virgins for this occasion, were added to the fire, as well as the husks of beans. It was auspicious to jump three times over the pile through the flames and suffocating smoke, and in the country to compel the sheep to jump over also. Fire being the type of purification, and as it purged the metal from the dross, so it was supposed to cleanse the sheep and extirpate the germs of decay. Frankincense, rosemary, and water, were also sprinkled by laurel branches over the pens and stables of the cattle, which were decked out with evergreens on the occasion. A basket of millet was an acceptable offering to the goddess. A pole (*palus*) stuck in the ground and adorned with flowers seems to suggest an origin from the sacred tree of the earliest nations, celebrated sometimes as a god *Palus* instead of the goddess *Pales*.

The rustics then enjoyed their feast, moistened with milk and wine, mixed with boiled must. (*Ov. Fast.*, iv, 780.) The *Palilia* were popular in Rome, because the day of their celebration happened to be the anniversary of the foundation of the city, and it was customary to frequent on this occasion the temple of *Venus Erycina*, near the *Colline Gate*; otherwise *Ceres* and *Pales* were probably more thought of in the country than by the populace of Rome, and the same may be said of *Robigo*, the goddess who preserved the corn from mildew, and on whose altar were sacrificed the entrails of a dog and a sheep, the first being the emblem of the dog star, whose influence on the crops was feared at this time of year.

In the country, where the old religion was better observed than in town, and where the produce of the soil and the health of the cattle was a matter of vital importance, these festivals had a deeper significance, and it is worth while to refer to a bas-relief figured in *J. Spon (Miscel. erud. antiq.*, p. 310) where the ceremony of the *Suovetaurilia* is portrayed to the life. This is a procession conducting the three victims, a pig, a sheep, and a bull, which gave the name to this solemnity. First advance the crowned officials, one of whom carries the laurel branch to sprinkle the lustral water; the

¹ Propertius, iv, 1, 19, 20; Tibullus, ii, 5.

sacrificing priest comes next, with head covered, and carrying a flag. The three victims are followed by three soldiers with shields and a horse, because the citizens were accustomed to go armed on the occasion. Bands bring up the rear of rustics, satyrs, and Bacchanalians, dancing and sporting to the sound of musical instruments, trumpets, flutes, and bagpipes. This procession was displayed in the Campus Martius at Rome, when success was to be invoked on an army assembled there, or when any lustration was to be made, or to celebrate the census every fifth year. It was peculiarly appropriate, however, to the Ambarvalia for blessing the fields of growing corn. The procession moved round them while prayers were sung to Ceres for success on the crops. These belong, however, to the latter end of the month of May, and therefore do not fall within the range of vernal festivals which I proposed to describe.

The worship of Flora, sometime known as Chloris,¹ was said to have been brought to Rome by Tatius from the Sabines, but they needed no teaching to embody a goddess whose gift of flowers could be appreciated by old and young, serious and gay. The story of her marriage was a fit subject for the poets to enlarge upon. She was carried off by Zephyrus (the south wind), who married her and bestowed as a dowry on his bride a basket with every kind of flower. The sad tale of Hyacinthus remained inscribed upon the petals of the flower bearing his name.² Narcissus,³ the unhappy, Crocus⁴ and Attis,⁵ Adonis,⁶ who became an anemone, and many others, figure in the warm colours of Ovid's flowers, whose varieties, he says, he in vain endeavoured to count. If the poets had not been as plentiful in Sicily as the flowers they describe, we should perhaps not be now led to associate the poets and the flowers with the Trinacrian plain of Henna.

On the 1st of May, a thousand household altars in the city burned with incense to the Lares and to the general⁷ who

¹ "Chloris eram quæ Flora vocor." (Ov., *Fast.*, v, 195.) A temple to Flora stood near the ascent to the Aventine, and therefore near the Temple of Ceres, overlooking the Circus Maximus. Another temple of Flora was near Martial's house on the Quirinal, overlooking the old Capitol, "Qua videt antiquum rustica Flora Jovem." (Mart., v, 23-4.)

² "Manet in folio scripta querela suo." (Ov., *Fast.*, v, 224.)

³ Ov., *Met.*, iii, 407 et seq.

⁴ *Ib.*, iv, 283.

⁵ *Ib.*, x, 103.

⁶ *Ib.*, 728.

⁷ M. Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus, if the reading, "Voverat illa quidem *Curius*", is the correct one. (Ov., *Fast.*, v, 131)

first introduced their worship. The shrines were profusely decorated with flowers and shrubs. The man of business, who had money to pay, and perhaps even he who had to receive it, might forget the Kalends, that heavy settling day in the Forum, and run riot in the general enthusiasm. No serious business could be transacted when the head was crowned with wreaths of rose-leaves, nor could the revellers bind themselves with chaplets of flowers, unless they had imbibed something more invigorating than pure water.¹ Though the old might for a time forget wrinkles and grey hairs, the season was more peculiarly attractive to the age of joy and hope. Many a May-queen had her bracelet-pledge or ring snatched from her arm or half-reluctant finger, and the fortunate possessor of the prize might be seen to take more than ordinary care in the evolutions of his horse as he guided him through the figures of the game of Troy in the Circus.²

On the last day of the holidays, games were performed in the Circus;³ wild beasts were fought with and slaughtered, the scene being perhaps emblematic of the antagonism between lions, tigers, and wild animals, with cultivated flower gardens or fields of corn.⁴ As night closed in, the flaming torches, the flutes and cymbals, and bands of dancing girls, led to those scenes of riot and debauchery, of which the poets and satirists speak with reproach, and latterly with disgust.⁵ The movements of the ballerinas of our modern stage are not impeded by any superfluous drapery, but the dancers of Flora were even less restrained in this respect.

A story is told of that *magister morum* Cato visiting the floral games, when Messius was the ædile. The people were so awed by, or ashamed at, his presence that the action of the drama flagged, and his friend (and shadow) Favonius, sitting by, hinted to Cato the awkwardness caused by his presence. Cato at once left the theatre and brought down the applause

¹ *Fast.*, v, 342.

² The unsuccessful lover would have to hang up garlands of flowers on the doorposts of his disdainful mistress if he wished to continue his suit. (*Lucr.*, iv, 171.)

³ It used to be considered that a Circus of Flora, where the games were held, was situated on the Quirinal Hill, near the Temple of Flora referred to before; but according to Dyer (article, *Rome*, in Smith's *Dictionary*), this supposition arose from misconstruing an inscription relative to the games of Flora in the Circus Maximus.

⁴ *Ov.*, *Fast.*, v, 373-4.

⁵ *Juv.*, *Sat.* VI.

of the house, and the people were led by this circumstance to impose those restraints on the dancers required by ancient manners. (Val. Max., ii, 10). The modern Bayle is not a little severe upon Cato, saying, why did he go to the Circus of Flora, when he knew what to expect? or did he go merely for the effect to be produced by taking himself off in disgust?¹ If Cato brought about a salutary reform in the votaries of Flora, it certainly was of short duration, and the games went from bad to worse.

The first celebrations of Floral fêtes seem to have been at uncertain intervals, and for some special purpose, but in the consulship of L. Postumius Albinus, and M. Popilius Lænas, A. U. C. 581 (B.C. 172), it was directed that the Floral games should be celebrated every year.² They had been established and endowed with the produce of the fines imposed upon those who had exceeded the number of head of cattle or sheep which was permitted by the Licinian law to be fed by those who rented the public pastures. This occurred in A. U. C. 457³ (B.C. 296), and some golden pateræ were placed in the temple of Ceres at this time.⁴

Concurrently with the Floral sports and popular amusements, the ladies had set apart the 1st of May for the worship of the Bona Dea, whoever she might be. Her priestesses were the Vestal Virgins; her worshippers the noblest matrons of the city. Some think, from her temple being situated up the steep of the Aventine⁵ and cut from the native rock, or perhaps a natural cave on the side of the

¹ Martial noticed this before Bayle,—

“Cur in Theatrum Cato severe venisti?
An ideo tantum veneras, ut exires.”

Mart., i, 3 (3, 4).

² To spend money on the floral festival seems to have been a mode of court- ing popular favour; hence Persius says, “Cram the populace with beans that you may be a sunshiny old man, and may look back with pleasure upon our floral sports.” (Pers., *Sat. V*, 177 et seq.) An inscribed stone at Rome, immortalising the generosity, *without example*, of T. Ancherius Priscus in providing for the games of the *Floralia*, is given in Grævius, *Thes. Antiq. Rom.*, vol. ix. The liberality of Scæurus in furnishing the arena with wild animals is as well known as the estimate that history has fixed upon his motives.

³ An ancient temple to Flora, close to the Circus Maximus, was repaired by Tiberius A. U. C. 773. (Tac., *Ann.*, ii, 49.)

⁴ T. Liv., x, 47.

⁵ “Templa patres illic
Lenitor acclivi constituere jugo

Livia restituit.”

Ov., *Fast.*, v, 153-4, 157.

hill, that the goddess was some old local divinity ; others identified her with the great Idæa Mater herself. A temple was dedicated to her on the Appian way, a few miles from the Porta Capena, near the river Almo,¹ and we may well suppose the road crowded with vehicles on this occasion, full of ladies in white, old and young, the latter, perhaps, having but lately hung up their votive dolls at the shrine of Venus,² and all glad to get away from the turmoil and smoke of Rome to the quiet seclusion of the venerated temple of Bona Dea in the country. They may well be supposed to have made a day of it in some of the picturesque suburbs. Ostia would attract many, whether they went, a whole family³, stuffed into a *rheda* drawn by four mules, or, according to the more modern and fashionable style, in the *lectica*, with a long retinue of slaves and attendants to make a show. At all events there was fun going on at Ostia ; the gardens were pleasant, and great multitudes of people spent the day there to get a breeze from the sea, and to plunge into it in honour of Castor and Pollux, whose festival it was and who were the patrons of sailors and of voyages, the season for which was now about to commence.

It was a sign of the times when Clodius, that bold innovator, could obtrude himself on the private and mysterious assembly of ladies met at the official residence of the Consul or Prætor, at the foot of the Palatine Hill. No man was ever permitted to be present, and even the portrait or figure of a man had to be concealed or turned face to the wall at these rites, and the wife of the great Julius himself was presiding on this occasion. Some said Pompeia had encouraged the delinquent, who was found by one of the lady's maids, but the worst followed, for the culprit was pardoned by tampering with the judges who tried him, and Cæsar held aloof. Seneca says that Cato came forward as a witness (though no other author confirms this), and adds

¹ She had a temple also between Aricia and Bovillæ, in presence of which Clodius met with his death, "insignem pœnam." (Cic., *Pro Milo*, 31.)

² "Veneri donatæ a virgine pupæ." (Persius, *Sat. II*, 70.) From this last word seems to come the French *poupée*, as our word for the same thing from the last syllable of "idol." A temple to Venus Erycina, situated near the Porta Collina, was frequented at this season. (Ovid, *Fast.*, iv, 871-2.)

³ Juv., iii, 10, 4.

⁴ Yet a quæstor and senator, "homo nobilis, disertus, audax." (Vell. Pat., ii, 45.)

that every age will produce more than one Clodius but not one Cato.¹

The republic fell, and if Augustus and his friend, the poet Virgil, strove to recall ancient manners by encouraging pastoral and bucolic tastes, his successors seem to have found *panem et circenses* still to be the best remedies in Rome for disorders of the State. Nero was in his glory in the Circus, bedecked with flowers, and warbling soft melodies to the notes of his imperial cythara, and we may conclude that the spring festivities were carried on with accustomed spirit throughout imperial times. If mother earth is represented by Mylitta or Beltis in Assyria, by Isis in Egypt, and by the many-breasted Artemis at Ephesus, we have the same idea also reduced to form in the goddess Hertha among the sturdy² brotherhood beyond the Rhine. Tacitus (*Germania*, xl) gives an account of a festival in her honour held in an island in the Baltic. The goddess was robed by one priest privileged exclusively to conduct her on a car drawn by cows. Festivities and hospitalities were practised on this occasion, war ceased, peace reigned. The statue was returned to the sanctuary, the vestments, and perhaps the image itself, washed secretly in the lake, wherein the servants in attendance were at the same time drowned. This very much resembles the custom of washing the image of the goddess Cybele every year in the river Almo, where its turbid waters flow into the Tiber. (Ov. *Fast.*, iv, 346; Lucan, *Pharsal.*, l, 600.) The heifers which drew her car were symbolical of the month of May, which the Saxons named Tre-Milch, because the cows were then milked three times a day.

We will change the *venue*, to use a legal phrase, from the Baltic to Constantinople. What says the calendar in the days of Constantius, the son of Constantine? A very curious copy of one made in the Consulate of Eusebius and Hypatius (A.D. 359) is preserved in the Imperial library at Vienna. All the festal days, the Megalesia of six days, the Cerealia of nine days, and Floralia of four days, differ but little from those expressed in our former calendar. Some of the days of the month are marked Egyptian, which is a

¹ "Minus crimine, quam absolutione peccatum est." (L. An. Sen., *Epist.* xcvii.)

² "Ingentes Rheni" for "Rhenani". (Pers., *Sat.* VI, 47.)

novelty, and it is not at all clear what this means. For a learned discussion of this subject, see *Analecta Monumentorum omnis ævi Vindobonensia*; A. F. Kollerii *Vindobonæ*, 1761, tom. i, p. 946, which work gives the calendar in full, with its quaint illustrations of the months.

The Hippodrome at Constantinople has obtained an historic renown for keeping alive the games of the Circus almost to the disruption of the government in the disturbed times of Theodosius and Justinian. The blue and the green factions were notable instances of party feeling.

Before leaving the Romans, Claudian must not be forgotten. In his poem on the elopement of Proserpine with the despot of Hades, the author shows his veneration for Ceres and the gifts of the earth. His picture of the maiden with her companions in the bespangled flower-gardens of Sicily before she was carried off, is a gem of antiquity illustrative of our subject. Space will not permit even an attempt to bridge over the many centuries which elapsed before the modern nations emerged from the political chaos into which all Europe had been involved after the fall of the Roman empire. A reaction was observable in the public mind in favour of the ancient sports, as soon as the superstitions of antiquity could be looked upon calmly, and studied without fear of contamination.

Little knowledge, however, of history would suffice to prompt the lads and lasses of England to go out in parties into the country on May-day morning, to gather hawthorn branches and flowers wet with dew, wherewith to deck the "kirk pillars" and door-posts of the houses before daylight. The poets of the Elizabethan age loved the theme, and did honour to the custom.

Stubbes, at a later period, gives the following account of the "Maie poole which they bring home with greate veneration, as thus: They have twenty or fourtie yoke of oxen, every oxe having a sweete noseгаie of flowers tyed on the tip of his hornes, and then oxen drawe home this Maie-poole, which is covered all over with flowers and hearbes, bounde rounde aboute with stringes from the top to the bottome, and sometyme painted with variable colours, with twoo or three hundred men, women, and children, following it with greate devotion. And this being reared up, with handkerchiefes and flagges streamyng on the toppe, they

strewe the grounde aboute, binde greene boughs about it, set up summer haules, bowers, and arbores hard by it. And then they fall to banquet and feast, to leape and daunce about it."

Here is some analogy with the "floralia," and we may trace the "circenses"¹ in the manly sports which were also in favour on May-day. Thus, "King Henry the Eighth in the seventh yeare of his reigne, on May-day in the morning, with Queene Katherine his wife, accompanied with many lords and ladies, rode a-maying from Greenwich to the high ground of Shooter's Hill, where, as they passed by the way, they espyed a company of tall yeomen clothed all in greene, with greene hoods and with bowes and arrowes, to the number of two hundred. One, being their chieftaine, was called Robin Hood, who required the king and all his company to stay and see his men shoot; whereunto the king granting, Robin Hood whistled, and all the two hundred archers shot off, loosing all at once; and when he whistled againe, they likewise shot againe; their arrows whistled by craft of the head, so that the noise was strange and loud, which greatly delighted the king, queene, and their company."²

The feast of venison and wine is afterwards described, and the arbours made of boughs, wherein the royal party were regaled.

The tide set in strongly against May festivities after the revolution, and on the 6th of April, 1644, all May-poles were to be taken down, and the parish officers to be fined five shillings weekly till this had been done. Over the water, however, the "renaissance" of classical tastes had done much for Ceres and Flora. The "Grand Monarque," like another Augustus, encouraged pastoral and bucolic tastes, after his own fashion. The duchesses and youthful earls and "gentils hommes" of his court strutted about in silks and brocades, shaped in the conventional costumes of shepherds and shepherdesses, while their tiny spaniel dogs

¹ The name of "bull-ring" in some of our provincial towns is all that remains to mark the spot where combats with wild animals amused the people in modern as heretofore in Roman times. Bankside with its bear-gardens, bull-rings, cock-pits, and ancient Globe Theatre, probably attracted the people to the very places they had frequented for similar pastimes since the Romans left us; but they are not such good representatives of the arena as the bull-circus in Spain, where the amphitheatre and its arrangements are still very much after the ancient model.

² "An honest gatherer of old chronicles", from Hone's *Every Day Book*.

protected the imaginary sheep from the equally unseen wolves. Our picture galleries are much indebted to the gay colours and fanciful dresses of these pretty shepherds in their trimly cut and terraced flower gardens, which have been transmitted to us in the life-like semblance of a Watteau, and in our own country in the speaking portraits of a Sir Joshua Reynolds.

The prologues or interludes of Molière's plays, in which figure continually Flora and Vertumnus, Venus and the Graces, in company with Dryads, Sylphs, and Naiads, are characteristic of the taste of the day, and of Molière's audience, who were not only the Condés, the Turennes, and Dukes de la Rochefoucault, the de Montespons, and de Thiange, but the people of France, who responded to the tone of the court. Our merry monarch or his followers lost no time in erecting a May-pole,¹ for the first May-day, 1661, after the restoration, in the Strand, a door or two westward of Catherine Street, and this fared better than the one kept at St. Andrew-under-shaft, which Stowe describes as being cut in pieces and carried off by the shopkeepers of Leadenhall Street, in 1552, after it had rested on the hooks in front of the church for thirty-two years. Charles's May-pole in the Strand stood there till 1717, when it was falling into decay, and was bought by Sir Isaac Newton, who carried it through the city to Wansted, in Essex.

The name of May Fair is preserved in the space now covered with houses, which at the beginning of George the Third's reign was the great centre of attraction on May-day in London. Numerous sheds and houses for shows, and amusements of all sorts, extended as far as Tyburn, but the sports not under cover are described as mountebanks, fire-eaters, ass racing, sausage tables, dice tables, up-and-downs, merry-go-rounds, bull-baiting, grinning for a hat, running for a shift, hasty-pudding-eaters, eel-divers, and other similar pastimes.²

We have lived to see May-day amusements in London degenerate into an occasional Jack-in-the-Green, or itinerant chimney-sweep dressed in gaudy colours, but even

¹ Blessing the fields in Rogation Week by a procession around them, and sprinkling holy water over the cattle on the Feast of St. Anthony, may be customs borrowing something from the forms of antiquity.

² Carter, writing on 6th March, 1816, is quoted in Hone's *Every Day Book*, where many curious customs of our ancestors on May Day are collected.

these are fast disappearing. A May-pole may still linger on the banks of the Wye, as it does in Sweden and other countries, and some few relics of bough gathering and garland weaving may be traced in some of our counties in England ; but if such customs are becoming obsolete here, what does not die out is the taste for nature's bounteous gifts at this season of the year ; " Spring, gentle Spring," has as many charms as ever, and science, which has multiplied the varieties of Flora's gifts, has not lessened the eagerness with which they are sought out and admired by the tens of thousands who flock to our garden parties and flower shows.

THE NATIONAL FLAGS OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

BY HENRY W. HENFREY, ESQ.

" Our red cross triumphant see
Riding without a rival on the sea."¹

ALTHOUGH several accounts, more or less complete, of English national flags have been published at various periods and in different places, I find that all that have come to my knowledge are very deficient in their mention of the flags or banners of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate.

It is obvious that these flags must always possess considerable interest for Englishmen, as being those under which that undisputedly great general, Oliver Cromwell, so rapidly reduced Ireland and subjugated Scotland. They were the victorious ensigns at Dunbar and at Worcester, and, above all, the flags under which Blake, Penn, Monk, and other admirals gained their glorious naval victories, and rendered the English the acknowledged masters of the sea.

It was, moreover, to the Commonwealth's banner that " the honour of the flag " was first formally conceded by any foreign power, viz., by the Dutch in the treaty concluded with Cromwell at Westminster, 5th April, 1654, in these words :—

" Article 13. That the Ships and Vessels of the United Provinces, as well Men of War as others, meeting in the

¹ Edmund Waller, *On a War with Spain and Fight at Sea*, 1656.

Narrow Seas, commonly called the British Seas, any Men of War of the State of *England*, they shall strike the Flag, and let fall the Fore-saile in such manner as the same hath been observed in former times in any Government." Page 7 of the *Articles of the Peace*, etc., small quarto pamphlet in the author's possession, London, printed May 2, 1654.

This treaty, it is almost unnecessary to remind the reader, was entirely the result of the great naval victories over the Dutch in the months of September, 1652, and February, June, and July, 1653. For a very good account of the naval history of this period, I would refer those interested in the subject to Granville Penn's *Memorials of the Life and Times of Sir William Penn, Knt.*, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1833. Neither should it be forgotten that the Dutch war of 1652-3 was in a great measure brought about through the refusal of the Dutch to lower their flags and dip their topsails to the English flag (then the standard of the Commonwealth) in the narrow seas between this country and the continent, and thus acknowledging our sovereignty over the British seas.

It was owing to the successes of our navy in the Dutch war, in the Spanish war, and in the Mediterranean (1653-1657), that the Protector's banner gained that reputation which a contemporary poet refers to in these lines, speaking of the Spanish fleet :—

"Of wind's and water's rage they fearful be,
But much more fearful are your *flags* to see.
Day, that to those who sail upon the deep,
More wish'd for and more welcome is than sleep,
They dreaded to behold, lest the sun's light
With English streamers should salute their sight."

From Andrew Marvell's verses "On the Victory obtained by Blake at Santa Cruz, 1657."

The national flags of the Commonwealth¹ may be conveniently divided into three classes :

Firstly, those in use between the death of Charles I and the inauguration of the Protector Oliver, 30th January, 1649, to 16th December, 1653.

¹ By the term *Commonwealth* I here mean the whole period of government between 1649 and 1660, because, although Oliver and Richard Cromwell ruled as Protectors from 1653 to 1659, the nation was still spoken of as a "Commonwealth", and the supreme head styled "Protector of the Commonwealth."

Secondly, those used during the Protectorates of Oliver and Richard, 16th December, 1653, to 25th May, 1659.

Thirdly, those used in the period between the resignation of Richard Cromwell and the restoration of Charles II, 25th May, 1659, to 29th May, 1660.

I.—*The Flags of the Commonwealth, 1649-53.*

I will now describe the flags of the Commonwealth which came into use in the year 1649, according to the following order, made by the Council of State sitting at Derby House.

Thursday, 22nd February, 1648-9. Ordered "That the Ships at sea in service of the State shall onely beare the red Crosse in a white flag.

"That the engravings upon the Sterne of y^e ships shall be the Armes of England and Ireland in two Scutcheons, as is used in the seales, and that a warrt¹ be issued to y^e Com^{rs}² of y^e Navy to see it put in Execution wth³ all speed." Page 4, Draft Order Book, No. 29, of the Council of State, Interregnum, in the Public Record Office.

The communication thus ordered to be made to the Commissioners of the Navy was addressed to them in the form of a letter from the President of the Council as follows :—

"To y^e Com^{rs} of y^e Navy.

"Gentlemen,—There hath beene a report made to the Councell by S^r Henry Mildmay of yo^r desire to be informed what is to be borne in the flaggs of those ships that are in the service of the State, and what to be upon the Sterne in lieu of the Armes formerly there engraven; upon the consideration whereof the Councell have resolved that they shall beare the Red Crosse onely in a white flagg, quite through the flagg. And that upon the sterne of the ships there shall be the Red Crosse in one Escotcheon, & the Harpe in an other, being the Armes of England & Ireland, both Escotcheons joyned according to the patterne herewth sent unto you; And you are to take care that these Flaggs may be provided wth all expedic'on for the Ships for the sum'er guard and that these engraveings may also be altdred⁴ according to this direction wth all possible expedition; w^{ch} Wee recom'end to yo^r care, & expect certificate of yo^r proceeding herein.

"Signed in y^e name & by order of y^e Councell of State
appointed by Authority of Parliament,

"Derby House, 23^o February, 1648.

OL. CROMWELL,
Præses pro tempore."

From the letter-book of the Council of State, Interregnum, No. 115, pp. 1, 2; in the Public Record Office.

¹ Warrant.

² Commissioners.

³ With.

⁴ Altered.

It will be observed that the only flag referred to in these quotations is the national flag for the State's ships of war, which, bearing the cross of St. George alone, was to replace the union flag, introduced by James I, in 1606.

The *Standard*, however, which replaced the *Royal Standard*, bore the arms of the Commonwealth, *i. e.*, the cross of St. George and the Irish harp upon two shields. Mention is made of one in an interesting and curious work, the *Res-publica* of Sir J. Prestwich, Bart. (4to, London, 1787), who gives the following description of—

“*A flag of the Commonwealth....azure, in fess a double shield, that is, two shields conjoined like those on the front of the Public Acts of the Commonwealth, or; the first being argent, a cross gules for England; the other being azure, the harp or, strings argent; these within a label or scroll, like a horse-shoe, but forming three folds argent; in Roman letters sable, FLOREAT-RES-PUBLICA; without this, two branches of laurel stalked and slipped or, leaved vert, and placed in the like form as the scroll; fringed or and azure.*” (P. 82.)

This appears to have been a military standard, and the description of it, and of many other flags of the Parliamentary commanders, is given by Sir J. Prestwich from the contemporary manuscripts of his ancestor, the Rev. John Prestwich, who died about 1680.

A somewhat similar standard appears to have been carried by Captain William Penn, as commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth's fleet, sent to the Mediterranean in 1650, *viz.*:—“The then Long Parliament's flag, which was, the St. George's cross next the staff, and the Irish yellow harp in a blue field next the flying part; and, off Cape Spartell, hoisted his flag on a staff at the main top-gallant-mast-head.” Page 612, vol. ii, of Granville Penn's *Memoirs of Sir W. Penn*.

A contemporary representation of the Commonwealth's standard may be found on the reverse of the naval honorary medals given by the Parliament to the victorious commanders of the fleet in 1653. The principal ship in the sea fight figured on these medals has a flag at her mast-head, divided vertically into two divisions, with St. George's cross in the left hand (or dexter) and the Irish harp in the right hand compartment.¹

¹ A pattern farthing in the British Museum has on one side a representation of a three-masted ship carrying the banners of the Commonwealth. On the main and mizen-masts are flags with St. George's cross only, as Plate 3, fig. 2;

It, however, appears that the admirals were to carry a special kind of flag, a variation of the standard, *i. e.*, the two shields of arms were placed within a yellow compartment or square, the whole on a red ground. I have never seen any representation or any specimen of such a flag, and all my information regarding it is derived from the following order of the Council of State :—

Monday, 5th March, 1648-9, afternoon.—Ordered “That the Flagg that is to bee borne by the Admirall, Vice-admirall, and Rere-admirall be that now presented, viz., the arms of England & Ireland in 2 severall Escotcheons, in a Red Flagg, within a compartment *Or.*” (Draft Order Book of the Council of State, No. 29, Interregnum.)

There seems to be only one example of a Commonwealth flag now in existence in this country. It was the standard hoisted during this period on the flagstaff at Chatham Dockyard; and it is still preserved in the Dockyard. A sketch and description of it were contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, by “J. S.,” March, 1803,¹ but his account of it is not very complete. The same flag is also mentioned in the *Kentish Gazette*, of January 11, 1822, in these terms:—

“*Cromwell's Standard.*—When his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester visited the Dockyard at Chatham a few days since, he was shewn Cromwell's Standard, supposed to be the only one remaining in the kingdom. Its ancient simplicity and good preservation excited the attention of his Royal Highness. When his late Majesty visited the Yard in 1781, it was shewn to him, and he expressed a desire that particular care might be taken of it. This Flag is red, 21 feet by 15, having on it St. George's cross (red) on a white field, and the Irish harp (yellow) on a blue field, the shield surrounded by branches of palm and laurel.”²

The newspaper writer errs in calling it *Cromwell's* standard, since it carries the arms of the Commonwealth of England and Ireland only, which, as will be shown further on, differ considerably from the bearings of the Protectorate.

Through the obliging courtesy of the Captain Superin-

on the fore-mast is a flag bearing St. Andrew's cross; and in the stern is a flag divided vertically into two equal compartments, with St. George's cross in the part nearest the staff, and the Irish harp in the other compartment. The presence of the Scottish cross of St. Andrew shews that this farthing cannot have been made earlier than the annexation of Scotland to the Commonwealth in 1651.

¹ Vol. lxxiii, Part I, Plate III, fig. 10, and p. 220.

² This extract was kindly furnished by our learned Vice-President, Mr. H. Syer Cuming.



tendent of Chatham Dockyard, Captain Charles Fellowes, C.B., I am enabled to produce (Plate 3, fig. 1) a rough sketch of this valuable historical relic, which I have made direct from the flag itself. From my measurements I find the size to be 20 feet 9 inches by 14 feet 6 inches. The flag is composed of well preserved old bunting, mended only in a few small patches, and is now sewn on to another newer flag for its better preservation. The colour of the ground is red, the wreath of palm and laurel is dark green, and the left-hand shield bears St. George's cross in red on a white ground. The field of the other shield is blue, the harp being yellow, with white strings. All the colours are rather dull and faded, the result of age and wear. Archæologists will be glad to hear that this unique relic is most carefully preserved by Captain Fellowes at his private house, where it is deposited in a curious chest of carved cypress wood, taken by Sir George Rooke out of a Spanish galleon in Vigo Bay, 1704, and which was used for holding colours.

The two *National Flags* introduced by the Commonwealth were, then, the *Standard* (which replaced the Royal Standard), and the *St. George's Ensign* or *Jack* (which replaced the Union Jack). These were, no doubt, our national flags from the year 1649 up to the 16th December, 1653, the date of Cromwell's inauguration as Protector, and may be thus described: the standard bore, on a red field, two shields conjoined; the first or dexter one having *argent*, the cross of St. George *gules*, for England; the second, *azure*, a harp *or*, stringed *argent*, for Ireland. The two shields are surrounded by a wreath of palm and laurel branches united *proper*. See Plate 3, fig. 1.

It will be noticed that the two countries of England and Ireland only were represented in this national banner. The explanation is that in 1649 England and Ireland only were under the government of the Commonwealth, and it was not until 1651 that Scotland was brought under its rule, and the ordinance for the union with Scotland was passed as late as the 12th April, 1654. The two shields of England and Ireland appear similarly conjoined on all the Commonwealth seals, and on their coins of every year from 1649 to 1660 inclusive.

With regard to the *St. George's ensign*, or national flag

of the Commonwealth, as fixed by the order of the Council of State of the 22nd February, 1649, quoted above, it is obvious that as the Commonwealth did not include Scotland at that date, the *Union flag*, which bore the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, would have been quite out of place. The Union flag, after having been used as the national flag during the reigns of James I and Charles I, was discontinued by the Commonwealth in February, 1649. Our national flag for ships of war, the army, etc., from 1649 to 1653 was, therefore, *argent*, a cross *gules*, called the cross of St. George. See Plate 3, fig. 2.



II.—*The Flags of the Protectorate, 1653-59.*

I am enabled to throw much new light upon the Protector Oliver's flags by means of the following unpublished order of his Council. Tuesday, 18th May, 1658, ordered

"That the Standard for the Generall of his Highness ffileete be altered, and doe beare the Armes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with his Highness Escutcheon of p'tence,¹ according to the impression of the Great Seale of England; and that the Jack fflaggs for the fflagg officers of the ffileete and for the general Shippes of Warre of his Highness be the Armes of England and Scotland united, according to the auncient forme, With the addic'on of the Harpe, according to a Modell now showed; and that the Com^{rs} of the Adm^{ty}² and Navy to take order That the standard and Jack fflaggs be prepared accordingly."³

I have not been able to find any other orders on the subject in the Record Office; but I conclude, from various reasons, that the flags thus ordered were in use until the resignation of the Protector Richard, 25th May, 1659, when the inescutcheon bearing the arms of the Cromwell family was disused.

The *Standard* of the Protectors Oliver and Richard is represented on Plate 3, fig. 3, constructed, according to the above order, from the great seals, etc. It bears quarterly,

¹ Pretence.

² Commissioners of the Admiralty.

³ Pages 626, 627, Entry Book No. 106 of the Protector Oliver's Council of State.

first and fourth, *argent*, the cross of St. George *gules*, for England ; second, *azure*, a saltire *argent*, being St. Andrew's cross, for Scotland ; third, *azure*, a harp *or*, stringed *argent*, for Ireland. On an escutcheon of pretence, in the centre, are the paternal arms of Cromwell, *sable*, a lion rampant *argent*.

The *national ensign* was, in all probability, up to the year 1658, the flag of St. George introduced by the Commonwealth in 1649, as represented on Plate 3, fig. 2 ; but in May, 1658, as we learn from the order of the Council quoted above, the old Union Jack, bearing the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew combined, was revived, but with a singular alteration. This was the placing of the Irish harp over the centre, as I suppose, of the flag (see Plate 3, fig. 4). I am unaware of the existence, at the present day, of any actual example of this flag ; but at any rate the Admiralty were commanded by this order to prepare such flags, and it is, therefore, highly probable that they were made and used. This altered Union Jack was, of course, disused upon the restoration of Charles II ; and it is worthy of notice that Ireland was not represented in the Union flag (except during this short period, 1658 to 1660) until the reign of George III, when the cross of St. Patrick was added to the Jack on the union with Ireland, 1st January, 1801.

The banners used at the funeral of the Protector Oliver were very curious, and Sir J. Prestwich gives engravings and descriptions of them in his *Respublica*. Similar engravings and descriptions may be found in the Rev. Mark Noble's *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*, and I need not, therefore, reproduce them here. I will only remark that the flags so engraved are twenty-five in number, viz., four large standards of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales ; a guidon with the crest of Oliver Cromwell ; eight large banners, the first bearing the shields of England and Scotland on a mantle, crowned, etc.,—the second, St. George's cross,—third, St. Andrew's cross,—fourth, the Irish harp,—fifth, St. George's cross,—sixth, the national arms as on Plate 3, fig. 3,—seventh, the family arms of Cromwell in six quarterings,—eighth, the private arms of Cromwell alone ; and twelve banner-rolls bearing private coats of arms of families allied with Cromwell.

III.—*The Flags of the Interregnum, 1659-60.*

The national flags used in the period between the resignation of Richard Cromwell and the restoration of Charles II (May, 1659 to May, 1660) were, as I gather from the seals, etc., probably these: the *standard* was the standard of the protectorate with the escutcheon of the Cromwell family omitted; or exactly like Plate 3, fig. 3, leaving out the small shield in the centre. The *ensign* was, perhaps, the altered Union Jack appointed by the Protector Oliver in 1658, or the same as Plate 3, fig. 4, although I am not able to adduce any contemporary example of it.

In conclusion I venture to express a hope that these imperfect notes will help to make this interesting subject a little clearer than it has hitherto been; and I also hope that other archæologists will exert themselves to increase still further our knowledge of the national flags of the Commonwealth.

ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF BRISTOL.

BY JOHN TAYLOR, ESQ., LIBRARIAN OF THE BRISTOL
MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

IN a lecture delivered at the Bristol Philosophical Institution in November 1857, Mr. Freeman distinctly asserted that he did not find the name "Bristol" occur in history before A.D. 1051. Authentic details concerning the existence of the town before this date are certainly very scanty; but there is sufficient evidence that the spot was occupied, if not by the Romans, at least by the Saxons and the Danes. Concerning the Roman origin or occupation of the town there is some question; but readers on the subject are aware that *Caer Brito*, one of the twenty-eight Roman cities, was interpreted by Henry of Huntingdon (A.D. 1154) to mean Bristol. He says: "Britain was formerly distinguished for twenty-eight cities, which, as well as numberless castles, were well fortified with walls and towers and with gates secured by strong locks. The names of these cities, in the British language, were Kair-Ebrauc, York; Kair-Chent, Canterbury;

Kair-Gorargon, Worcester ; Kair-Lundene, London ; Kair-Legion, Leicester ; Kair-Collon, Colchester ; Kair-Glou, Gloucester ; Kair-Cei, Chichester ; *Kair-Bristou*, Bristol," etc. There have been found, it is true, but few tangible relics of Roman occupation. Mr. Seyer, however, enumerates coins of Constantine, Constantius, Gordian, and Tetricus, dug up on St. Michael's Hill by Mr. Tyndal, at the Fort, in 1750 ;¹ others on Kingsdown, and beneath a house in Bell Lane, Broad Street. During the late excavations about the exterior of the Cathedral, various Roman coins were discovered ; and still more recently (*i. e.*, within the last few months), many hundred bronze coins of Constantine and other emperors have been unearthed at Easton, an outskirt of the city. In lack of all positive evidence, except what these facts supply, and the utter want of historical record, it might be unwise to press the argument for the Roman foundation of the city. Our object here is to show in the fewest words, that the date assigned by our great living historian is later than existing data require. It is singular that all writers on the history of Bristol have overlooked the fact of the Danish conquest of the place. Mr. Seyer, indeed, mentions that there was a Danish mint here established, and thus sanctions the inference that the place was a Danish settlement of some importance. Of this there can be no question ; and by the fact that the Danes were ejected by the Saxons, we learn the alternate possession of the place by these two peoples. Polydore Virgil, the historian (A.D. 1525) records that Edmund Ironside, being proclaimed king by the citizens of London, A.D. 1016, "reclaimed his soldiers out of their wintering colonies, and in hoope to receive againe divers places, in greate jornies, and with a swifte bande of menne, he marched westward ; and for the more terroure of his adversaries, with a well furnished armie he gave assaulte to Gloucester and *Bristowe* ; and with noe less stouteness than policie he caused the Danes which weare lefte in garrison, and victualled but for a daye, to comm forthe to hand strokes. For feare of beeseeging, they sus-teyned for a season the broonte of this skirmish, notwithstanding that they were amazed with the sodaines thereof ; but in shorte time beinge put to flighte, while eche manne hyed to places of safetie, manie of them weare slayne in the

¹ Seyer, i, p. 207 ; Henry of Huntingdon, lib. i.

chase ; with the whiche thinge divers of the places adjoyn-
inge, as all astonied, yealded themselves, and plyghted
pledges of theyr faythe." That Bristol was subsequently
repossessed by the Danes is indisputable, many coins of
that people, minted at Bristol, being yet extant. "The first
coin bearing the name of Bristol", remarks Ruding, "which
I have met with, is a penny of Cnut, of which there are four
or five varieties." Bristol is one of the few places in which
Harold I, son of Canute, is known to have established a
mint. The local inscriptions, *Bric* or *Brie*, will be found
in the writer we have quoted.¹ On Harold's death, in A.D.
1040, his brother Harthacnut was invited to the English
crown. His reign was short, and the places of his mintage
only about ten in number. Of these, Bristol (*Brucs*) is
named as one.² Edward the Confessor, and Harold the last
of the Saxon kings, of the former³ of whose coinage two
varieties, and of the latter six, are particularised in the
Annals of the Coinage of the learned Ruding to have been
struck at Bristol. The type of the obverse of one of Harold's
Bristol coins was, with the addition of a sceptre before the
face, exactly copied by William the Conqueror. It has the
word *Pax* running across the middle, which word is only to
be found on the coins of the Confessor, Harold, and Wil-
liam I. It is supposed to have been inscribed first on
account of the peace between Godwin, Harold's father, and
King Edward, A.D. 1052, when he granted his peace to the
Earl, as the *Saxon Chronicle* informs us.⁴

In speaking of the Danish invasion, Mr. Worsae remarks
that, in the districts to the south, the repulsed Anglo-Saxons
had concentrated the last remnants of their former power.
A great number of wealthy and leading Danes were indeed
also settled here, either in the country, or, with a view to
commerce, in the principal towns on the coast, as in Win-
chester, which, like London, long had its "Husting"; Exeter,
where a church was in later times dedicated to St. Olive;
and *Bristol*. But out of London, the Danes scarcely formed
at that time (about A.D. 1000) any really strong and united
power in the south of England. The predominating people
were the Anglo-Saxon, and, in general, the old Saxon
characteristics had been preserved.⁵

¹ Ruding, i, p. 386.

² *Ib.*, p. 388.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 392, 402.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 390, and Plate 26. Harold II, 2, 3.

⁵ Worsae's *Danes and Norwegians in England, etc.*, p. 21.

It may not much strengthen the chain of evidence to add a weaker link, and such, perhaps, will be thought the story, as contained in the romance of Merlin (A.D. 1220-30), of the Danes landing at Bristol to avenge the death of Hengist. As, however, the passage has not, we believe, been hitherto quoted, in at least a local connection, and our argument being of a cumulative character, it may help to illustrate the present point. The incident, as there related, is to the effect that in Denmark were two stalwart "Sarazens" (Saxons) of King Hengist's kindred, one being the son of Hengist's brother, and the other of his sister. These Cyclopean heroes were respectively named Sir Gamor and Sir Malador. They were great lords in their own land, one holding two duchies, and the other three. When they heard how Hengist was slain in England, they gathered a numerous host to avenge his destruction :—

"Unto shipp they gone anon,
And the seas to flow began;
The winde soe well began to blow
That they landed att Bristowe.
Then Merlyn knew itt well anon,
And told it Uther and Pendragon,
How there was comen from Denmarke
A strong oste stout and starke,
With many Sarazens of Price,
For to avenge King Anguis (Hengist).
In England, sayd Merlyn then,
Such an oste was never scene."

A great battle was fought, in which 3,031 "Christian men" were slain, and of the Saracens only five escaped alive. A hundred Danes surrounded Pendragon, who fought till "he lost his hart's bloode." The poem concludes with the following touching picture of the finding of his body and of his burial in the west :—

"Pendragon was out sought,
And to the chureh devoutly brought.
He was graven and layd full merrye
In the towne of Glasenburye,
And thus ended that doughty knight.
God grant his soule to blesse so bright,
And all that done so for the right.
I pray Jesu for his might
He grant them heaven's bliss above;
Amen, amen, for his mother's love."¹

¹ Merlin. Bp. Percy's folio MSS., Early English Text Soc., vol. i. p. 496.

On the whole, we may safely conclude that Bristol was demonstrably "a habitation and a name" before A.D. 1051.

Gloucestershire was one of the last English provinces subjugated by the Conqueror, and was wholly within his power before he kept his Easter feast at Winchester in 1068. Though Bristol is not specially mentioned, there is no reason to believe that it made any futile resistance to the sweeping tide of conquest. A few months later, three sons of Harold—Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus, resolving to reconquer the kingdom of their fallen sire, came at the head of fifty-two ships¹ from Ireland up the Bristol Channel; and laying waste the coast as they went, sailed up the Avon to Bristol. Their reception by the townsmen was not encouraging. Had their city been hemmed about by grim destruction (which perhaps it was), the men of Bristol could not have sent out a thicker storm of arrows and javelins against the Saxon chiefs, and repulsed them with sterner severity. Unencumbered by the weight of any additional spoil, the fifty ships with judicious speed returned down the Avon, leaving Bristol under the shadow of the Norman banner.² The bad beginning of their enterprise did not prevent their landing at some point on the coast of Somerset, not since identified, where they were received more fervently. Forming an alliance with some of the disaffected Saxons, they met in battle the principal troops of Normans stationed in the west, but were forced to retreat, after sustaining a loss of 2,000 men. To completely quell and avenge the insurrection, Geoffry Mowbray, Bishop of Coutance, came with the garrisons of London, Winchester, and Salisbury, and seizing a great many men of Dorset and Somerset, either in arms or suspected of having rebelled, cruelly mutilated them by cutting off their hands and feet.

Bristol Castle is not mentioned in *Domesday Book*, but appears first in history in connection with the constableness of this Bishop of Coutance, who has been hence inferred to be the original builder of the fortress. Like some feudal tower, such as he himself might have erected, that has outlasted town and village, and still stands a magnificent object in the landscape, the figure of the haughty baron-priest we

¹ *Annales Monastici (Winchester Annals)*, vol. ii, p. 154. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says sixty-four ships.

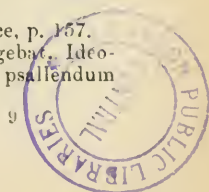
² Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, iv, p. 226; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

have named lifts his head in the historic page, above the level of the invading host who came over with the king that was to be hereafter. He was munificent, for the glorious cathedral of Coutance owes to him its erection; and he derives reflective lustre from his family connections, for he was nephew to the chivalrous Tancred,¹ the starry hero of Tasso's classic romance. He took part in the Council of Caen (A.D. 1061), when the curfew was instituted; also in the notable Council of Lillebonne, which decided on the invasion of England. He received confessions, gave benedictions, and imposed penances on the Norman soldiers, before the English arrows flew and battle-axes were plied on the day of the Battle of Hastings.² It was he also who, in Westminster Abbey, at the crowning of the grand invader, asked his countrymen if they would have the Duke of Normandy for their king: when such a shout arose, that it startled the Norman horsemen outside the church, who, suspecting treachery, began the work of revenge by firing houses and slaying the inhabitants. We find him at Bristol in the year 1088, in company with Robert Mowbray, "the peace breaker," his nephew; a huge, dark-complexioned, harsh, proud, and melancholy man, who rarely smiled when speaking. These had combined with Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, against William Rufus, in favour of his brother Robert, Earl of Normandy. The plot was concerted during Lent; and when Easter came, they marched forth, and plundered and burnt the lands of the Crown, and lay waste the estates of those who stood loyal to their sovereign. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* proceeds to tell us that each of the head conspirators went to his own castle and manned and victualled it as he best could. Bishop Geoffry, and Robert, his nephew, having sacked Bristol, brought their spoils into the castle. Afterwards, they plundered Bath and all the surrounding country, including the Honour of Berkeley. We may agree with an old chronicler, that Geoffry was more distinguished in the camp than in the church, and was better able to array mailed soldiers for battle than to teach cowed priests to sing psalms.³ The rebellion was unsuccessful, and the belligerent prelates were driven out of the kingdom. William

¹ *Biographie Universelle*.

² Wace, p. 157.

³ He died 2 Feb., 1093, "magis peritia militari quam clericali vigeat. Ideoque loricatorum milites ad bellandum, quam revestitos clericos ad psallendum magis erudire noverat. (Order. Vital, viii, 23)



Rufus, being now in peaceable possession of the kingdom, granted the royalty or honour of Gloucester, including the castle and town of Bristol, to his cousin, Robert Fitzhamon, whose daughter Mabel marrying Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the splendid heirdom came into the possession of that powerful noble, and thence to William, his son. I do not pursue the subsequent history of Bristol. By grants, concessions, and charters, extensions of liberties and privileges, it ceased in process of time to be a barony ; it ceased to be a royalty, and finally came into its own power.

CADBURY CAMP AND SIMILAR WORKS NEAR BRISTOL.

BY J. W. GROVER, ESQ.

As Cadbury Camp forms one of the local objects of our 1874 Congress, I think a few words on the subject of ancient "digging and spading" may be desirable ;—although it is probable such operations were not performed with a spade at all, but with an instrument more resembling a hoc, as they still are in many primitive parts of Europe. The first idea of a defensive work was a raised bank of earth, behind which the defender stood ; a stockade on the top of the bank was probably the second step. Now, in the most ancient earthen ramparts it is usual to find no hollow or ditch from which the bank was formed, but in the more advanced type of works, the ditch comes regularly outside the rampart, and one made the other, as in a railway the cuttings form the banks ; we, therefore, may look upon the ditch as the third step in progress.

Again, the earliest works appear to have had only single ramparts, but those of later times or rather of more civilised times had several. I have at Maiden's Castle,¹ near Dorchester, counted seven banks with alternating fosses to guard a weak front ; whereas on the strong sides where the ground is favourable, there are only two. In all cases, the ramparts become loftier as they approach the centre of the work, so that as they are successively carried they can be rendered untenable from the fire of the next line of defence.

So much for the profile, as it is called ; the tracing or the

¹ See plan especially prepared for the Association, in *Journal* for 1874.

general outline-plan of ancient earthworks does not seem to give any very certain peculiarities, which can in all cases be relied upon. It is very common to hear even antiquaries say this is a British work because it is round, and that is Roman because it is square, and this was the work of the Danes, for it is harp-shaped. These forms afford no certain guidance, because the configuration of the ground itself is the true origin of the form adopted in most cases. I believe, however, that the square or rectangular form does invariably indicate a Roman origin; but it is equally certain that the Romans did not invariably adhere to regular figures, and many round or oval camps belong to them. Another great difficulty besets us in endeavouring to fix the original constructors. Earthworks were occupied by successive conquerors, who no doubt added to and altered them to suit their own ideas.

The earlier residences of the Anglo-Saxon chiefs consisted of a large wooden hall and other buildings surrounded by an earthen rampart. It was called "beorg," or "burg," from the Saxon verb "beorgan," to defend, and generally elevated spots were chosen. Hence we have from "burgh" the derivation of "bury," "burrow," "borough," and such names as Cadbury, Abury, Kingsbury, which show a Saxon occupation at least, but do not prove a Saxon origin.

The word "Caer," applied to earthworks in Wales, is supposed to have been derived from "Gaer," and is supposed to have come from the Roman word *castrum*, a camp. Hence we have Caer Went, Caer Leion, Caer Caradoc, respectively *Castrum Ventæ*, *Castrum Legionis*, *Castrum Caradoc*. In English, Chester is from the same derivation. The adjunct "ham" is of Saxon derivation, and corresponds to the modern German "heim", and the English home; it signified a village surrounded probably with "weallas", or entrenchments. The final syllable *din*, *den*, or *don*, so very common all over the country, is, I believe, considered to be of ancient British origin. We have it in London, Wimbledon, Croydon, Clevedon, etc. In the case before us in Cadbury, we certainly have a work which at one time formed a Saxon chief's headquarters or "borough." The prefix *Cad* is probably the corruption of the Welsh word "Coed".

The most scientific camp builders in our country were the Romans, and wherever we find much development of

defensive skill in earthworks, we may be pretty safe in ascribing the work to the legions of that all-conquering race. According to Livy, their armies never passed a night without pitching a camp and fortifying it with a rampart and ditch ; regular officers were appointed to select favourable situations for the camp, and they marked out the area with little flags called *vexillæ*.

According to Polybius, the Roman camp was square, but in later ages, when Greek influences prevailed, we are told by Vegetius that a circular or other form, adapted to the contours of the ground, was used. Sharp stakes were generally stuck in a row along the top of the rampart. The gateways were generally four in number, and particular care was taken to protect them by either small covering ramparts, or by flanking works. I venture to believe that these features indicate, essentially, a Roman origin, for we find the same peculiarity of construction in the masonry of the Roman fortress of Richborough, the ancient Rutupiaë. The flanking work or traverse is well shown at Cadbury, and, therefore, I should have been disposed to assign that work to a Roman body of troops, had there been indications of any small covering rampart at the principal gateways ; there is none, however, and the entrances, though protected, are put in without that precision which we should require in Roman works.

In the year 1868 I had a careful survey made of Cadbury Camp, and the plan is now before you (Plate 4). Its area within the inner rampart is 7 acres, 1 rood, and 28 poles ; and it is 594 feet one way, and 561 feet the other way. The inner rampart varies from 16 feet to 6 feet 6 inches high, and the outer one from 10 feet to 6 feet. There appear to be six entrances ; the two on the northern side have small flanking traverses ; the others are so arranged that the openings in the two ramparts are not opposite each other, so as to afford protection. There are about 23,331 cubic yards of earth-work to throw up in making it ; and supposing a man to throw up 4 yards in twelve hours, it would take nearly 6,000 men to do it in that time. It has evidently been executed by a race who had some idea of the true principle of defence ; and if it is not of Roman work it is probably of later date and not earlier.

If we cast our eyes over this district in the vicinity of

Bristol, we shall perceive that the military and strategic lines of the country are parallel to the Bristol Channel, that is from south-west to north-east, and are determined by the direction of two important ridges of hills—having eight or nine miles space between them (Plate 5). Commencing at the south-western point at Weston, there is Worle Hill, surrounded by a stone rampart containing the sunken hollows of ancient British wigwams. Many of these holes can be traced near Clevedon, and indicate British dwellings. Carrying the eye along the ridge parallel to the channel, we come successively upon Cadbury Camp; then to Portbury, where there are two camps. Crossing the Avon at Pill in the same direction, we notice the entrenchments of oval form at Blaise Castle. From thence, an ancient British trackway, now a road called Cribbs Causeway, leads to Knole Park, where another ancient encampment commands the country. The road then joins the ridgeway, a line of communication following the top of the hill to Thornbury and Titherington; and at the last place there is a long irregular earthwork, apparently of high antiquity.

The other line of defence, commencing at Keynsham, on the Great Western Railway, runs also parallel to the Bristol Channel, and north-east, and has a considerable number of defensive works. It seems to have formed a kind of *Torres Vedras* of some Wellesley in ancient times. First of all we come upon the Roman camp at Bitton. Near Tracy Park there are some Druidical stones, and within a mile of them there are three other camps. More north-east, at Dyrham, a horseshoe-shaped entrenchment on the crest of the hill; near West Littleton, there is a small square work of probably Roman construction; but further north still comes Little Sodbury Camp, a most perfect and extensive entrenchment, undoubtedly the work of the Legions, and very near the Roman road leading to Aust Passage over the Severn. Adjoining this, and at no great distance, are two more camps—one at Badminton, I believe primitive, and British; and another at Horton, on the crest of the hill.

The Sodbury Camp is by far the most perfect, being nearly square, and having a fine double row of ramparts in true Polybian fashion.

On the high ground opposite to Clifton Down, on the left bank of the Avon, are two extensive entrenchments, called

Stokeleigh Camp, and Borough Walls : they are of horse-shoe form, and rest upon the edge of the steep ground—they have double ramparts.

It must be remembered that Cæsar describes a British *oppidum*, or city : “*Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quem sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierant*”; and Strabo repeats the description (lib. iv., cap. 5, sec. 2) ; but such entrenched positions of habitable towns need never be confounded with camps, for not only are the dimensions of the former much greater than the latter, but they generally occupy spots near the rivers, and not the lofty elevations of the country where water would be difficult to procure. We have good illustrations of Cæsar’s description in Cirencester and Verulam, both ancient British cities ; afterwards Romanised and walled, but at first having only vallum and fosse.

It will now be well to say a few words as to the dates when this district became such camping ground. Before Roman times all is lost in darkness, so it is of little use to speculate upon it. We can in the dim darkness see the forms of grim, reindeer-coated chiefs and warriors, driving their scythe-armed chariots amongst hostile ranks ; and we can picture the rude contests in which stone axes and flint-headed javelins were arrested by wicker shields. Then comes an age in which bronze formed the weapons of offence, and still later iron, too, superseded that.

From the position of Sodbury Camp, the most undoubted Roman work, on the crest of a lofty ridge whose steep slope is to the west, we see at a glance that the advance of the Roman army was from south-east to north-west, and that the line of their approach was that of the same ridge of hills, extending north-east from Keynsham. By the position of the camps on the other, or Cadbury ridge, we see the line of the defenders, who were falling back on the Bristol Channel and Wales. These events probably occurred in the time of the Emperor Claudius, and probably during the campaign of Aulus Plautius, *circa* A.D. 43 : that commander overran the whole of the south of England as far as Gloucestershire, then inhabited by the tribe of the Dobuni.

The Britons were led by Caractacus and his brother Togodumnus ; and it is not too much, therefore, to suppose that those famous chiefs have trodden the ground of our Cadbury Camp, and from thence watched the approach of

the helmeted hosts of Rome. Afterwards, Claudius came over in person; and on the authority of monkish chroniclers, and of that quaint poet, John Haskyng, we learn that he made peace with the king of the Dobuni, the valiant Arviragus, whose capital was at Cirencester, and whose dominion extended over the site of our Congress.

My theory as to the respective positions of the invading and defending armies on the two great ridges of this district, would be further borne out by remembering that the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales, were commanded by Caractacus, and that their tribe would, doubtless, have crossed the Bristol Channel at Aust Passage, and have occupied the range of high ground immediately adjoining it; hence, Cadbury Camp would belong to them, and be one of their works primarily, yet it seems from its name to have served in after ages as the *beorg*, or *bury*, the home of some Saxon thane, from whence he may in precarious security have looked down upon his fair possession of Nailsea Level, and the pretty valleys mapped out at his feet.

One illustration¹ shows a curious system of combined wood and stone construction. The loose dry stones are built up in a wall, and at intervals in the height there are what I may call bonding courses, or layers of timbers, passing through the wall, and apparently wattled together by means of withs or faggots; two such courses of timber-work appear, and must have given great stability to the rampart. On the top of the wall, at one part, there appears to be a covered way, regularly roofed in, similar to what we see in the mediæval walls of Nuremberg, now, technically called, I believe, an “*alur*.” The illustration seems to give a very good idea of a hill fort, such as Cadbury Camp, in its complete state, as originally constructed; although it is probable that in its case there was no stone wall, but only a palisade and towers.

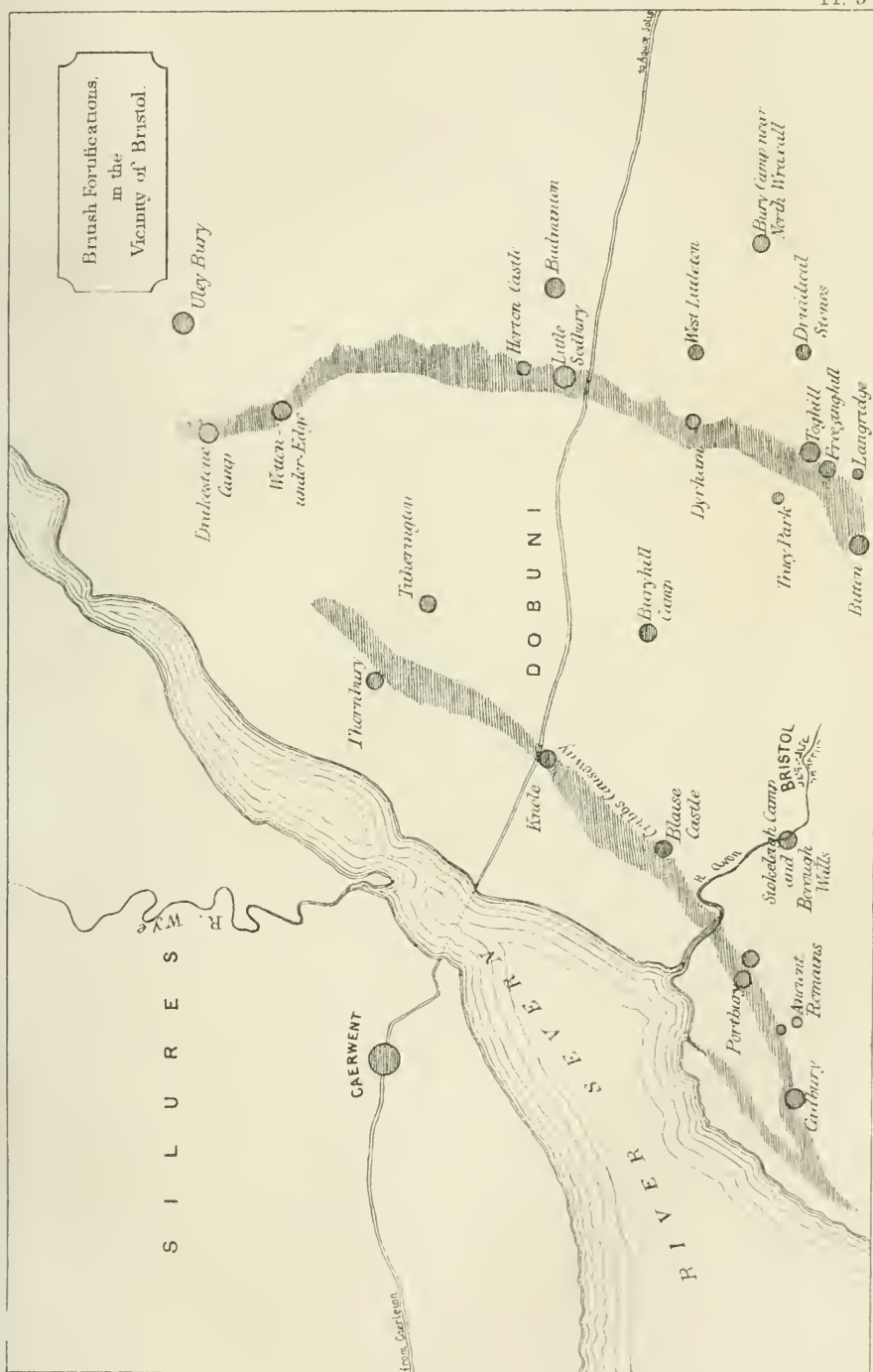
The Romans appear to have protected their ships, in one instance, with a regular timber rampart, the trunks of trees being laid alternately as leaders and stretchers, to a considerable height, which will best be understood by the diagram.

Cæsar tells us that the Gauls learnt the art of defensive fortification from their Roman prisoners (bk. v., chap. 42); and he tells us that they used their swords for cutting the turf, having no proper tools, and removed the earth

¹ On Trajan's column.

with their hands and their cloaks ; notwithstanding which imperfect arrangements, so vast was the number of men engaged in one case, that in three hours they completed a fortification, ten miles long, and afterwards prepared towers of the height of the ramparts, with grappling irons, and mantlets, which they had learnt to do from the prisoners. He describes one camp, where the Romans erected in one night, with incredible dispatch, no less than 120 towers, out of the timber which they had collected for the purposes of fortification ; and he describes battlements and parapets made of interwoven hurdles. The same author describes in one place a work, surrounded with turrets, 80ft. apart, which shows how important these constructions were in ancient fortifications. He also describes a work, as defended by trees, or thick branches, having their points sharpened, and then placed in a row along the bottom of a ditch, 5ft. deep, so that the enemy in advancing might impale themselves on the points. The soldiers called these " cippi." Before these, in oblique rows, he caused holes to be dug, 3ft. deep, and in them were placed stakes of the thickness of a man's thigh, sharpened at the point, and hardened in the fire ; so arranged that they only projected 4in. above the ground. These stakes were secured in position by means of clay trampled into the bottom of the hole, about 1ft. high, and the pits were covered over with osier twigs to conceal them. Eight rows of this kind were dug, and they were 3ft. distant from each other. Stakes, 1ft. long, with iron hooks attached to them, called spurs, were sunk into the ground before these, and were planted at small intervals (bk. vii, chap. 73).

I would, on this subject of camps, draw your attention to a very interesting article, *Taunton Castle, and Ancient Military Earthworks*, by George T. Clark, Esq., of Dowlais Ironworks, in which he particularly refers to the connection of these British, or early camps, by lines of trackway ; and occasionally with boundary dykes. As we shall probably have an opportunity of visiting the Wansdyke, it will be idle for me, as I have not seen it, to enter into any speculations on the subject. I would, however, remind the Congress of the very curious sunkway, called Beech Bottom, visited by us at the St. Alban's Congress, and then the subject of much speculation. That work pointed





direct to the ancient British city of Verulam, and was evidently one of those sunken ways of which Mr. Parker found such curious examples in the neighbourhood of Rome.

Mr. Clarke divides his military earthworks into three classes : first, those of irregular plan, which are usually upon a hill-top, or crest of an encampment, and evidently the work of early savage tribes, having few or no wheel-carriages or baggage, and no discipline; and trusting mainly to the strength of their works to guard against a sudden surprise rather than a regular size—such works being usually ascribed to the ancient Britons; in them, as at Worle Hill, the pits are to be seen over which the wigwams of the inhabitants were built. They also contained shallow pools, lined with clay, in which water was stored. In such camps, no wall of original date, in which mortar has been employed, has been discovered; but, in some instances, dry stone walling has been carried out carefully, as at Stoney Littleton, and in Gower. He then describes the rectangular outlined works of the disciplined Roman soldier, many of which have become permanent castles, as Silchester and Porchester; and some cities, as Chester and Winchester. The author, finally, describes works of a different description, some few of which are on lofty positions, but of moderate area, with defences, more or less inclined to circular forms, evidently intended for the strong and permanent abode of some patriarchal chieftain who dwelt there, surrounded by his dependents and vassals. These works, he seems to think, were executed after the rights of property in land had been established; and he draws attention to the curious, conical mound, which is often found in these works, and which, as it is found frequently in Normandy, is there called a “Mote.” It is artificial, and he supposes it to have formed the pedestal on which the chieftain’s timber house or castle stood. Many of these have been afterwards taken possession of by the Norman lords, and castles are built upon them; Windsor round tower occupying such a site. At Devizes, there is an enormous mound of the kind; at Marlborough, in the College grounds, there is one; also at Guildford, Tunbridge, Berkhamstead, etc. He proceeds to ascribe these works to Saxon or Scandinavian hands during the 7th to the 10th centuries.

TRACES OF LONDON WALL AT NEWGATE.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ.

THE work of the Corporation of London, of widening Newgate Street, so much needed to relieve the traffic along this thoroughfare, which was only about 27ft. wide, has brought to light some remains of considerable interest in relation to the ancient topography of the City of London.

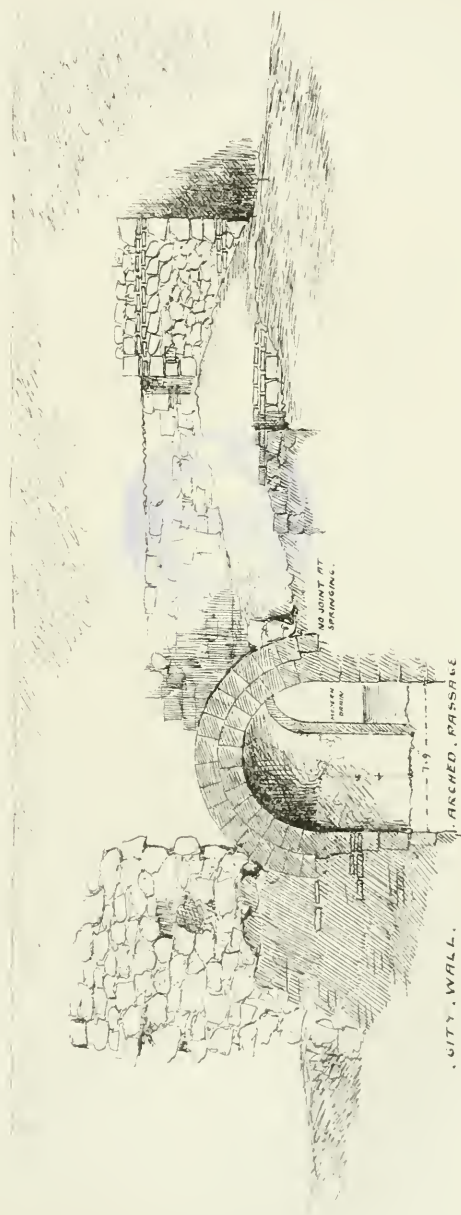
The most western of the houses abutting upon Giltspur Street, on the northern side, and at the extreme western end of Newgate Street, having been recently demolished for the widening, the work of rebuilding on the lessened side has been commenced. In clearing the ground for this, the progress of the workmen was much impeded by the existence of a massive wall, which was met with a few feet below the present level of Newgate Street, and so solid in its construction that it could only be removed by wedges and crowbars. This was formed of Kentish rag, solidly bedded in rock-like mortar. There were no Roman tiles in the upper part; but at the base of the portion demolished, a double course of the well-known Roman tiles was visible.

This wall was exactly on the line of the old City wall, and I believe it to be its foundation. Its outer and inner facings had been removed long before my first inspection, and I am unable, therefore, to give its exact thickness, but from the appearance of the rock-like mass during demolition, this must have been about 9ft. or 10ft. The course of this wall was very nearly, but not quite, at right angles with Newgate Street; and it reached quite across the area excavated.

Parallel, and partly beneath it, was a work of still greater interest. This was an arched passage, 7ft. 9 ins. wide, covered with a massive barrel semi-circular vault, formed of two rings of solid stonework, and this unusual mode of construction demanded very careful inspection. The stones were neatly cut, and breaking joint with the course adjacent, each course being about 1 ft. 2 in. thick, and thus forming an

ROMAN · REMAINS · ON THE · SITE OF · NEWGATE ·

MODERN LEVEL OF GILTFUR STREET PRISON YARD.



: GENERAL SECTION OF THE REMAINS :

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK - DEL.



arch of very massive character, and capable of resisting a great superincumbent weight.

The passage ran parallel to the City wall, and for its entire length, and it runs most probably under Newgate Street. I traced it quite to the north extremity of the land, where lately the enclosing wall of the modern Compter Prison, recently removed, formed the boundary. Here it ceased in what proved to be an ancient external wall, now, of course, quite buried beneath the accumulated earth of centuries. The boundary wall of the Compter had been built upon it.

This wall, which was on the City side of the first wall, was 5 ft. 3 in. thick, and faced with square stones. It continued at right angles with the passage and the City wall for 18 ft. 3 in. from the centre of the passage, when it ended in a return wall, no less than 8 ft. thick. Here, Roman work was most distinctly visible. It had two bonding courses, each of double Roman bricks, entirely through the thickness, and 3 ft. 3 in. from each other. This wall also was faced with squared Kentish ragstone, filled in with rubble, solidly bedded in hard mortar. Only a section of this wall remained. It had been cut away many years ago, but sufficient remained of the facing on each side to show its thickness exactly. Its course would have been parallel to the City wall.

Sixteen feet from this wall just enough was left of the face of another wall, parallel to the second, to give its position; and thus we have four walls enclosing a parallelogram, one side being the City wall, and traversed by the arched passage. Traces of another wall, 5 ft. thick, parallel to the City wall and the passage, were also very visible, with a through course of double Roman tiles at the point where indicated.

By the courtesy of M. W. Haynes, Esq., of Thavies Inn, the builder, I was enabled to have a portion of the passage cleared out; for except where it was utilised by a modern brick drain, built against one of its walls, through which water still ran, it was almost entirely filled up with rubbish. I am able to produce a section (Plate 6) showing the result. It will be noticed that it is of solid masonry, and that the arched stones are of great length, one of them being as much as 2 ft. 10 in. wide, while the lower course is 2 ft. 11 in.

wide, and 1ft. 7in. high. I had the earth dug out, up to the end, where it joined the external wall before referred to. Here I found a semicircular arch, formed of massive stones, 1ft. 6in. thick; and one of the western arch-stones, measuring no less than 3ft. along the line of the arch. There is a broad chamfer along the outer edge, and no impost. Unusual as a chamfer is on Roman work, there are examples of it, and the eastern gate of the Roman Station, at Bridoswald, on the line of the Picts' Wall, may be cited as an example. It is worked much more neatly than the other dressing of the stones, which have been squared by an axe, and apparently roughly smoothed by rubbing with a piece of stone. (Plate 7.)

The passage was opened for a depth of 4ft. 6in. from the springing, and a sort of pavement was reached, of hard material, part of which had to be cut through. This was of later date, and it prevented further progress. The original depth, therefore, has not been determined.

The nature of the material of the passage demands especial attention. It is a brilliant yellow, crystalised, and veined sandstone (of which I exhibit a specimen). It is a most unusual stone to find, and resembles Tisbury stone more than any other description known to me. It has evidently been brought from a great distance.

Other portions of the passage, those first met with, were arched with greenstone, and with a double ring along its whole extent. In one place the arch sprang from a double course of tiles, and in several others Roman tiles were used in backing up the arch stones, and in making up the joints. These were portions of the original construction, and seem, with the construction of the masonry, to be evidence of the Roman date also of the passage. There were no lewis-holes for setting the stones visible. The brickwork of the walling is clearly Roman. I exhibit a specimen, and it will be seen that the material where broken has all the hardness and the "creamy" character of Roman bricks. They were thoroughly baked, and of a brilliant red, and about 1ft. square by 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick. They broke before they would separate from the mortar, and I noticed during the demolition not a single whole one. That exhibited is a "closer," or small brick, used to make perfect the bond with the larger ones. I exhibit also a great number of fragments of Roman pottery,

INDEX

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S. ON THE SITE OF
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Whitman & Bass, *Photolitho to the Queen*, 236, Lith. Holburn.



and which were found in vast numbers as soon as the old Roman level was reached. There are many pieces of Samian ware, black Upchurch ware, and rough fragments, most probably of local make. There are also pieces of the rim of a Roman *mortaria*, of the usual hard whitey-grey material. A portion of a carved stone and of a solid blocking-course with a cyma moulding were also met with, and I exhibit sketches, but the latter reversed may have been a later Gothic base moulding. This discovery, therefore, shows us the Roman City wall in front, and a series of buildings having the arched passage parallel to the wall. The buildings are, doubtless, part of the gate, and the passage commenced from it. What was its use? The old maps of London may give us an explanation, or at least one which may serve until more light be thrown upon this singular work. The course of the City wall is shown upon several, and it may be followed in the map called "Agas," which shows London as it was in the latter years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It will be noticed that the wall proceeds northward, very slightly inclined from a right angle from Newgate Street, and after a short length it turns suddenly to the east. Other maps show several bastions in this short length, and facing, as these must have done, the open ground approaching to Smithfield, it would have been an important matter for these, so exposed to attack, to be in direct communication with the more important work at Newgate, and possibly even with the stronghold on the opposite side of Newgate, the supposed "Old Bailey", between Ludgate and Newgate. A direct communication is by no means rare to find existing in military works of a similar nature; and it is probable that the passage now under consideration was a work of this description. The covered way of the North Tyne Bridge is one similar, perhaps, in purpose, though of very different construction. I ought to add that the Compter Prison, to the site of which this passage directly leads, was a modern building, planned in 1785, to supersede the two horrible dens, the Wood Street and Poultry Compters.

Newgate has excited much attention from London antiquaries. Stowe gives in full the reasons current in his day for supposing that this was not one of the four original gates of the City, but erected at a comparatively late period

to meet the requirements of the traffic from Aldgate to the west of London, consequent upon stopping up the ancient and direct roadway, when St. Paul's was rebuilt, in Norman times, and called "New" gate, from its recent erection. Howell rejects this theory, and asserts that here was anciently the "chamberlains' gate."

Arnold's Chronicle shows that it was a gaol for the City of London and for Middlesex, so early as 1218. It is not mentioned, however, at the time of the Conquest; and the current of evidence has been in favour of a later date than Roman times for the extension westward of the City wall, of which this gate must always have formed a part. None of the fragments of this portion of the wall, discovered from time to time, or still in existence, show Roman work. Smith gives illustrations of a bastion, on this part of the wall, and Archer, another. Nevertheless, the gate has been thought to be on the line of the old Roman Watling Street, since this is not likely to have kept a straight course for so many miles, only to bend itself to come up to the City gate, if we suppose Ludgate to have been its entrance. It is recorded, too, that after the fire of 1666, some traces of Watling Street were met with in digging the foundations of Holborn Bridge, which is in a straight line westward from Newgate Street. This discovery of Roman remains on the site of Newgate, seems to be proof conclusive that Newgate is of Roman date likewise; that the western extension of the wall is of Roman date; and that Watling Street entered the City through it. I may add, to complete the data, that Newgate was rebuilt by Sir Richard Whittington in 1423; almost destroyed, except its walls, in the great fire; repaired in 1672; and after becoming most wretchedly contracted, for the numbers of its wretched occupants, and one of the most terrible of prisons, it was finally demolished in 1777, being superseded by the present building, the foundation stone of which was laid by Alderman Beckford, in 1770.

The plans shew the position of the buildings attached to or forming part of the Roman Newgate, and of the arched passage; also that of an ancient well, and a flight of steps leading down to it, embedded in a mass of Roman walling, but probably of later date. These were discovered since the reading of the paper.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 13TH JANUARY, 1875.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THOMAS WASBOROUGH, ESQ., Clifton, was elected an Associate.

Sholto Vere Hare, Esq., F.S.A., and T. F. Dillon Croker, Esq., F.S.A., were elected members of the Council.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents :

To the Editors, for Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. iii. Dublin, 1873.

To the Society, for The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, vol. iii, 4th Series, July, 1874.

„ „ for Communications to the Monthly Meetings of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1873.

„ „ for the Archæological Journal, vol. xxxi, No. 123, 1874.

Mrs. Baily contributed two rare varieties of fictile money-boxes of the sixteenth century, both being of the same general type with those exhibited by Messrs. Roberts and Cuming on December 9th, 1874, but differing from them in detail. These, like the majority of thrift-boxes of this era, are of buff coloured paste, with their superior portions covered with a mottled green glaze. The earliest of the two was exhumed at the corner of Gracechurch and Lombard Streets, November, 1865. It is 3 inches in height, the upper part gradually rising from the shoulder to a point; the whole vessel looking like the crown of an eastern minaret. The narrow slit for the admission of coin is placed vertically. The second specimen, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, was found on the site of the Spread Eagle, Gracechurch Street, October, 1867. The globose body is surmounted by a flat knob or button; and the slit for the money is in a diagonal direction, marking an advance towards the horizontal aperture which seems characteristic of the later thrift-boxes.

Mr. Cuming made some remarks upon the iron arming or edging of the cutting part of a broad wooden spade, exhibited by Mr. Roberts.

Mr. Roberts exhibited and described a variety of iron implements lately exhumed from the extensive field of excavations at Billingsgate. The objects consisted, among others, of a variety of trappings of horse-

furniture, hooks, boat hooks, and weapons, and were assigned to the late mediæval period of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Cuming read the following paper "On an Ancient Drinking Bowl of Horn," in the possession of E. Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., by H. Syer Cuming, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., V.P.

"During that far-passed and mysterious age when the whale and the walrus sported in what is now the valley of the Thames, the reindeer roamed over our snow clad hills, the lemming burrowed in the frozen earth, and the bear and the musk ox, the woolly-haired rhinoceros and hirsute mammoth, found shelter in our forests, there dwelt upon this land a race of men whose massive and robust bones resemble in a high degree the osseous framework of the present Esquimaux. They lived and moved in a subglacial era, when all nature wore an arctic character which moulded the habits, influenced the wants, and directed the handicraft of the primæval savage.

"Already has it been shown in our pages (xxiv, 125) that in 1867, the depths of Smithfield disgorged an oaken implement so like in size and contour to the snow knives employed in the ice-bound regions of America, that none can doubt for what purpose it was designed, and we have now to chronicle the exhumation, in a different district of London, of a domestic relic identical in form and substance with the horn drinking cups or bowls which have from indefinite antiquity been used by tribes located on the shores of the Polar Sea. This discovery, second only in importance to that of the snow knife, was made in 1873, in Finsbury, at the north of Liverpool Street and west of Bishopsgate Street, and at a depth of between fourteen and fifteen feet from the present surface. The vessel is of a most primitive design, needing but little skill for its manufacture, the horn being merely divided laterally, and with the aid of heat bent up at the end, and stretched out in the middle, so as to produce a boat-



shaped bowl, and the pointed extremity pared down to fashion it into a short flat handle. The body of this festive goblet was originally somewhat rounder than it now appears, it having suffered slight compression during its many ages of inhumation; and time has rather told upon its edges; but, considering all attending circumstances, it is in a wonderful state of preservation. Its bowl at present measures eight and a quarter inches in length, and three and three quarter inches at its greatest swell; and it is two inches and a half in depth outside, the flat handle being two inches long, one inch wide next the bowl, and nearly one inch and five-eighths towards the upper end.

"I have said that this choice relic of the Britannic *Symposium* resembles in shape and substance the cups or drinking bowls of the Esquimaux, and I produce an example which will go far in support of

this assertion, which was brought many years since from the Arctic regions, and which may be compared with one engraved in Parry's *Second Voyage*, London, 1824, p. 503, where the word *Immoochiuk* is given as the native name of the vessel, and which title is also bestowed on the drinking horn in its natural shape, the musk ox furnishing the material for the utensil in both its forms.

The bowl of the *Immoochiuk* now before you is about seven inches and a quarter in length and six inches in width, the flat handle being near three inches long, with an average breadth of one inch and one-eighth, and is perforated with a round hole, so that it might be hung up in the hut or carried at the waist-belt.



"For the sake of comparison I further exhibit a horn scoop or cup, from the north-west coast of North America, which was formerly in the Leverian Museum, and which displays far more art and refinement in its design and execution than is manifested in either the London or Arctic examples. Its extreme length is eight inches and a half, and width five inches, and it is cymbiformed, one end being pointed, the other cut off square, and drilled to admit a cord for suspension. The inner edges of the vessel are beveled, and engraved with straight lines, dots, and chevrons, remindful of the decorations on the edges of some of the urns of the neolithic age of Britain.



"But we have not quite done with the Britannic drinking cup, for it is important to note that in close proximity to it was discovered the epiphysial plate of a huge Cetacean vertebra, measuring eleven inches in diameter, and bearing on its rubbed surface sundry cuts and notches. Such a plate, exhumed in Coleman Street, was exhibited to us by Mr. Wimble in 1867, when I suggested the possibility that it had served the purpose of a charger or dish in prehistoric times, and I strongly suspect that the last found specimen may have been so employed. But whether it ever held food or not, its occurrence with the horn cup is of marked significance, pointing, as it does, to the high antiquity of the deposit, and the boreal condition of climate once prevailing in our island.

"Had attention been paid at an earlier period to the polar character of the archaic remains exhumed in London, we should long ere this have been in possession of a fund of facts which would have thrown important light upon the physical and social aspect and habits of the races who dwelt in and around the area now covered by our wide extended metropolis. The few relics of the 'Reindeer era,' as it has been termed, which have passed under observation, clearly show that the old savages employed darts and spears with osseous blades and ferrules,

wooden clubs, stone axes, daggers wrought of bone and antlers; that they scraped the snow from their fur garments with wooden knives, utilised the bones of the whale and walrus for different purposes, and converted the horns of the musk ox into drinking vessels. All this, be it remembered, is in perfect keeping with the habits and practices of the Esquimaux; and if we could lift the veil which separates the present from the past, and scan a reflex of the life of the aborigines of Britain, we must direct our gaze across the vast Atlantic, and study carefully and critically the industrial arts, the implements, the modes of thought and action, of the tribes of the Arctic circle, and the more familiar we become with these, the more distinctly will be revealed to us the long buried secrets of the primæval races of our fatherland, races who flourished, passed away, and were forgotten, ages before Romulus had raised a single *casa* on Mons Palatinus, or Menes founded the first dynasty of Egypt's Pharaohs."

Mr. Morgan, *Hon. Treasurer*, announced that up to the present date he had received ninety-four names of subscribers to the General Index, and it was hoped that the names would soon reach such a number that the council would be in a position to authorise its being sent to press.

WEDNESDAY, 27TH JANUARY, 1875.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following gentlemen were elected Associates:

J. H. James, Esq., 3, Grenville Street, Brunswick Square
Edw. Griffiths, Esq., Bury St. Edmunds.

The death of J. Gray, Esq., Q.C., was announced, and the meeting expressed great regret at the loss of an old and much valued member of the Association.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., made some remarks upon the proposed amalgamation with the Royal Archæological Institute.

Mr. Cuming said the idea appeared to him to be fraught with so many practical difficulties that it could not be realised.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited the iron edge or shoe of an ancient wooden shovel discovered in Lothbury, with Roman remains, in excavating for the foundations of the London and Westminster Bank, June, 1865. It consists of a broad fold of metal, into which the edge of the wooden blade was tightly driven, and at each end of which rises a flat narrow bar with a small fold at top which clipped the side of the blade, and was secured to it with an iron pin or rivet. One of these bars is now lost, but its fellow exists in a fair state of preservation. This

specimen is of smaller size than the one produced by Mr. Roberts at the last meeting. Mr. Cuming accompanied his exhibition with the following Notes on the Spade or Shovel.

“The spade or shovel is so needful in husbandry and gardening operations, that we may well believe that its antiquity is coeval with that of our first parents; and this pardonable idea prompted the rebels of the fourteenth century to exclaim,

‘When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?’

“The most ancient spades were undoubtedly wrought of wood; and several early examples of this material have been recovered from the bogs of Ireland, some few of which have found their way into the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. One discovered near Roserea, engraved in the catalogue of this collection, p. 206, is four feet in length, with a pointed shaft or handle rising from one corner of the *fac* or blade, the latter being one foot two inches long by five inches broad. This *loy* is made of sallow. On the same page of the Catalogue is also figured a spade of black oak, four feet in length, the pointed shaft springing from the centre of the top of the semi-ovate blade, which is ten inches long by six inches and a quarter at its greatest breadth.

“In the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a wooden *ceaba* or spade from Islay; and one of oak found in an old coal mine near Glasgow.

“The Britons seem to have possessed several kinds of spades or shovels, or at any rate had a variety of names for such articles, as for instance, Camraw, Llwyar, Pal, and Rhaw.

“Two examples of Romano-British spades, discovered in the ancient lead mines at Shelve in Shropshire, are engraved in our *Journal* (xiii, 175), where they are described as of oak, about half an inch thick, cloven roughly with some wedge-shaped tool, and not smoothed. The contour of the blades may be compared with the oaken *loy* in the Dublin collection, but they have each a square aperture near the middle, which is conjectured to be for the reception of a staff to act as a lever where force might be required. The somewhat broad handles (which seem to be broken off short) rise from the centre of the upper edge of the blade.

“The Romans had their *pala* and their *rutrum*. The first was a spade greatly employed in gardening and husbandry, as we gather from Columella (*De Re Rustica*, v, 9, 8), Varro (*Com. de Ling. Lat.*, v, 131), and Livy (iii, 26). It had a long handle, and heater-shaped blade, which was certainly at times formed of or shod with iron, as indicated by Columella (x, 45). D’Agincoart in his *History of Art by its Monu-*

ments, iii, pl. 12, fig. 3, copies a painting in the catacombs in the *Via Lutina*, representing a *Fossor* digging with a *pala*. The modern Italians still employ an implement of this ancient type, and for which they retain the old name of *pala*, a word which seems cognate to the Keltic *pal*.

"Fabretti (*Inscript. Ant.*, p. 574), has engraved a funeral monument at Rome, on which is exhibited a *pala* with a *mora* or cross bar at the lower part of the shaft, on which the labourer pressed his foot, and thus drove the blade nearly twice as deep into the ground as he could have done without this contrivance. The implement with the *mora* received the title of *Bipalium*, and is mentioned by this name by Cato, *de Re Rust.*, 45, 2, Varro, *R. R.*, i, 37, 5, and Columella, xi, 3, 11, and is still used in Italy, where it retains one of its ancient names, *la Vanga*. The *rutrum* appears to have been broader and heavier than the *pala*, and used for a greater variety of purposes, this ancient implement being well represented by the modern shovel. What has been considered as the iron blade of a *rutrum* was discovered at Pompeii with a number of building implements, its presence in such company being justified by the fact of its employment for kneading and chopping up mortar. See Vitruvius, vii, 3; Palladius, i, 15.

"The iron shovels which have been exhumed with Roman remains in London appertain chiefly to the *rutrum* type of shovel, though some few seem from their narrower and pointed form to have belonged to the *pala lignea*.

"The Anglo-Saxon *scofl* or *sceofl* bore a strong resemblance to the Roman *pala* in outline, and like it was shod with iron. Indeed, the use of wooden shovels with iron edges has continued to a comparatively late period, and in the west of Ireland they are scarcely quite obsolete. A spade so accoutred was called *rhawbâl* by the Welsh.

"We obtain a good notion of the mediæval shovel from early illuminations. In our *Journal*, xiv, 331, is a copy of a miniature in the History of Florence of Worcester, written *circa* 1150, and preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which represents the first vision of Henry I, in which he beheld a band of husbandmen, one of whom has across his shoulder a spade, with the shaft set at the corner of the blade, and with a triangular aperture at top to admit the hand.

"Among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum is a thirteenth century one, *Nero*, c. iv, containing a calendar, psalter, and canticles, from the Old and New Testaments, and in which is shown Adam and Eve receiving a spade and distaff from an angel, and afterwards at work with them. The spade has a semi-ovate blade, and triangular head to the shaft.

"In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1837, p. 518, is a vignette from another thirteenth century MS. in the British Museum, which exhibits

Adam delving with a spade with a crutch-handle, and Eve seated on a bank busy with her distaff.

"Two varieties of spades are introduced on the Ludlow Church stall engraved in this *Journal*, iv, p. 211. One has a crutch-handle set at the corner of the heater-shaped blade; the other has a bow-handle placed directly in the centre of the top of the blade, which is straight across its cutting edge. This carving is of the close of the fourteenth century.

"The *Noli Me Tangere* scene, wherein our blessed Lord appears as a gardener, furnishes us with delineations of the spade during several successive ages. D'Agincourt, *Hist. of Art*, iii, 92, has engraved this scene from a fifteenth century picture in distemper on wood, in which the Saviour holds the long pointed handle of a spade, the blade of which is almost of the modern form.

"The gravediggers' spade of the sixteenth century is well displayed in the portrait of old Robert Scarlett, the sexton, at Peterborough Cathedral; and this ensign of his trade may be found with the pickaxe on monuments and other mortuary matters.

"It may be added that the spade is the emblem of the saints Fiacre and Phocas; that it constitutes a charge in the shield of the families of Swettenham and Gardner; and a man delves with it in the arms of the Society of Gardeners; and that two centuries and more ago James Shirley made it symbolic of 'low estate' in his beautiful song of 'Death's Final Conquest.'

'Sceptre and crown
Must tumble down,
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and spade.'

"The implement upon which we have thus long dwelt is certainly a very common and homely one, but its importance in human affairs is undeniable, and its history is therefore worthy of consideration."

Mr. Patrick exhibited an early Christian key, lately found at Birchington in the Isle of Thanet, on the coast between Margate and the ruins of the monastery of Reculver; and a chased steel instrument, supposed to be used for slicing the areca nut previous to chewing it, in India, found in the Thames at Battersea.

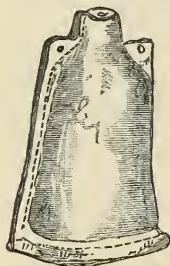
Mr. Cuming made some observations on these objects, and exhibited, for comparison with the nut-slicer, an implement of almost identical shape, but somewhat larger, from his own collections. Mr. Cuming referred to *Journal*, viii, p. 156, for a notice of Indian pan cases, and *Journal* xvii, p. 74, for an account of a copper vessel inlaid with brass, found in the same locality in 1860 or 1861. He considered it a remarkable coincidence



that at least three objects of Oriental origin should have been found on the same spot.

Mrs. Baily added another to several examples of costrels already submitted, the present being a leather bottle of the commencement of the sixteenth century, found in 1868 in Windmill Street, Finsbury, together with the caps and shoes noticed in this *Journal*, xxiv, 289; xxv, 71.

Our *Journal*, xvii, 274; xviii, 380, has preserved the form, and furnished description of a few leathern costrels, all of which differ more or less in contour from the one under consideration. It measures seven inches and three quarters in height, with an average diameter of four inches. The cylindric drum is sewed up on one side; the short, round neck being flanked by two little buttresses, perforated for the admission of the cord employed in hanging the vessel about the person. This is an early and interesting example of the object so celebrated in the convivial song of "The Leather Bottél".



Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a wooden figure of a female, in a state of nudity, hollowed, carved, polished, and perforated at the back with round and square holes. The relic at one time formed a part of the museum at Devonport, and was believed to have been brought from the western coast of Africa.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, again exhibited the fictile collecting box, figured in *Journal*, vol. xxx, p. 444, for the purpose of showing that he had found a further portion of the upper part, near the slit, forming an ornamental thumbed pattern, laid on the body of the vessel with slip. Mr. Roberts also exhibited an interesting and varied collection of ceramic antiquities from recent excavations in various parts of London. These included specimens of Anglo-Roman ware, Caistor ware, a sprinkled vase, a spotted Upchurch vase, a crucible, and an up-right jug or pot of the Norman type, all fragmentary.

Mr. Cuming read a paper on "Funeral Garlands", which will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*. Mr. Morgan read a paper entitled "Notes on Estrigheol, Chepstow, and Tintern, in the thirteenth century". This paper will also be found in a future place.

WEDNESDAY, 10TH FEBRUARY, 1875.

R. N. PHILIPPS, ESQ., D.C.L., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents :

To the Society, for Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. iii, part 1.

" " Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vols. xi, xii :
Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol. xix.

Mrs. Baily transmitted for exhibition a pistol of the close of the seventeenth century, made entirely of polished steel, enriched with bold and tastefully engraved scrolls, bands, etc., partly inlaid with brass so as to produce a most pleasing effect. It is $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, with globose butt, hook or catch at the side of the stock to hang the piece to the girdle, flint lock signed with the maker's name, "Jo. Christie," and steel ramrod sliding into a tube.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that the pistol submitted by Mrs. Baily was not merely interesting on account of its elaborate decoration and high finish, but its details presented several points which were worthy of consideration and suggestive of inquiry. It was rather unusual to meet with a pistol wrought throughout of metal, though instances of the fact occur as early as the sixteenth century. Demmin, in his *Weapons of War*, ed. 1870, p. 529, states he is possessed of a small wheel lock pistol, made entirely of iron, and he figures a wheel lock and mortar pistol of the seventeenth century of the same material. In the Meyrick collection is a brace of Highland Tacks, dated 1626, the barrels and stocks of which are of brass. The catch or hook at the side of the stock, though no novelty, deserves a passing observation, for it is seldom that we find it so elegantly fashioned, or attached to so small a piece as the one before us, although it occurs on the great wheel lock pistols of the sixteenth century, and most of the Highland tacks are provided with this convenient means of carriage at the girdle. Passing from the stock to the barrel we should not fail to notice the octangular rim of the muzzle, and the band of flutings around the opposite end. The slender steel ramrod, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, also calls for remark. It has a flat button at one end, beneath which the shaft is somewhat baluster shaped, and then again cylindric and terminating in a point to be employed as a picker. This is a rare type and early example of the metal ramrod. Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau introduced the iron ramrod into his own regiment in 1698; and about the year 1730 its use extended in the Prussian service, but it was far on in the last century ere it became common throughout Europe. Not the least interesting feature in this beautiful pistol is the signature on the lock plate, "Jo. Christie", adding as it does a fresh name to our meagre list of British makers of fire-arms. Demmin, p. 574, under the head of "Monograms, Initials, and Names of English Armourers", refers to eight makers of guns and pistols, viz., Radoe, who at the end of the sixteenth century changed a wheel lock on a pistol for a snaphaunce at Norwich. H. Martin Muler, whose name appears on a musket of late seventeenth century date in the Museum of Artillery, Paris. The initials A. R. on two rampart guns, dated 1739 and 1740, in the Tower of London. Stephen of London, an armourer of the end of the eighteenth century. N. Thomson, born in England and established at

Rotterdam about the end of the eighteenth century. Bate, whose name is engraved on the supposed lock of an air gun in the Museum of Artillery, Paris. Forsyth, who, in 1807, invented the percussion or piston gun, and Joseph Egg, inventor of percussion caps. This brief list seems to contain two names which scarcely ought to have been admitted into it, for Muler must surely have been a German, and Thomson, though an Englishman, lived and worked abroad; so that we have in fact but five names which have any pretence for a place in the table. But short and unsatisfactory as Demmin's list undeniably is, it is, as far as I can learn, the only one yet published, and with the view of adding somewhat to it I subjoin a few names gathered from catalogues of collections of arms, and from actual specimens which have come under my observation.

Adams	-	Flint-lock of a musket, 18th cen-	Cuming collection
Barber	-	Pistols - - - [tury	Chambers collection, sold 1807 [xv, 272
Blight or Bright (?), London	-	-	See <i>Journal</i> B. A. A.,
Brazier, London	-	Flint-lock pistol, <i>temp.</i> William III	Cuming collection
Jo. Christie	-	Flint-lock pistol, late 17th cen-	Baily collection [1855
David Dunbar	-	Highland pistols - [tury	Bernal collection, sold
Gills, London	-	Flint-lock gun - - -	Windsor Castle
Hall, 1650	-	Wheel-lock rifle - - -	Bernal collection
Knubley, London	-	Flint-lock pistols - - -	Windsor Castle
Kolbe	-	Air-gun - - -	Bullock's Museum, 1810
C. Malbon, Chester	-	Fowling-piece - - -	Bullock's Museum, 1810
Valentin Marr	-	Fowling-piece - - -	Exhibition, Lower Gros- venor Street, 1838
Thos. Mead, London	-	-	Advertisement, 1777
(Mitchell) Memory, 1798, Walworth	-	Cavalry pistol, East India Com- pany - - -	Cuming collection [1834
Nicholson	-	Blunderbuss - [17th century	Brocas collection, sold
E. Press	-	Pocket-pistol barrel, flint lock,	Cuming collection
W. R., 1640	-	Matchlock-musket - - -	Meyrick collection
Martin Raynald, Pontifract	-	Magazine-gun - - -	Bullock's Museum, 1810
Thos. Scuddell, 1678	-	Snaphaunce-lock pistol with steel stock - - -	Holt collection. See <i>Journal</i> , xxvi, 165
Wilson, London	-	Blunderbuss - - -	Bernal collection.

Mr. Hillary Davies exhibited a very beautiful oval mosaic of opaque glass, in relief, set as a brooch. It represents four flowers, viz., a many-petaled white bloom, and three red roses; among which are interspersed a profusion of green leaves and red buds; the whole displayed on a convex white tessellated field. This rare variety of mosaic may be compared in style of structure to the flowers, etc., of shell-work, differing essentially from the ordinary Florentine productions, and is probably of Venetian fabric of the seventeenth or eighteenth century.¹

¹ This has passed into the Cuming collection.

Mr. Davies also submitted a snuff-box of gilt metal, $2\frac{3}{8}$ diameter by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in height. On the lid, in relief, is a seated figure of Diana, holding up in her right hand a bird, at which a dog seems to be leaping. On the top of a wall, against which the goddess rests, is laid her quiver of arrows. This subject is surrounded by an undulating border. The drum and bottom of the box are entirely covered with rich cable and engine-turned patterns. This snuff-box is a good example of stamped work of the time of Louis XIV.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a carved wooden figure of a female, believed to be a representation of the "Great Mother," from Angola, in Western Africa, and formerly in the Devonport Museum. Mr. Brent's exhibition was supplemented by him with a group of two male figures from the same locality, and a third figure wearing a hooked or pointed cap, hanging down behind his neck. This one appeared to resemble in some respects the Mexican style of carving.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a female deity from Angola, evidently belonging to the same pantheon as the first one produced by Mr. C. Brent. This idol is about $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, carved out of wood of a light-brown hue, and stands erect on a square base, each of her hands supporting a prominent pointed breast, much in the manner of the Hindu goddess, Ada Maya, the "Mother of the World," engraved in this *Journal*, x, 341. Each wrist seems to be adorned with a narrow bracelet, and the head covered by a close-fitting cap, apparently composed of triangular and diamond-shaped pieces of cloth sewed together, and with a plain conic crown; in other respects the figure is nude. The features of this effigy are of a somewhat Ethiopian type, the nose flat and spreading, with the lips thick and broad. Idols of similar character may be seen among the West African objects in the Christy Museum.

Mr. Birch drew the attention of the meeting to the rich collection of similar representations of ethnic figures in the British Museum, and in the Christy collection, at present located in Victoria Street.

Mr. Roberts pointed out the remarkable identity of conventional reproductions of figures, which prevailed throughout the so-called pre-historic period.

Mr. Cuming then read the following paper,

ON THE SHIELD OF THE PASSION.

"Heraldry, like other sciences, hath played sad pranks in its time, and exhibited its aberrations and fantastic freaks of humour in divers strange devices. Its grave old masters, not content with inventing arms for the mighty heroes of Hellenic and Roman mythology, classic history, and wild romance, were kind enough to assign armorial bearings to the chief personages of holy writ, beginning with Adam, descending to Noah, and so downward to the princes and potentates

of more recent, yet still far remote ages.¹ But whilst the antediluvian and postdiluvian celebrities of the older Scriptures received special attention, the *personæ* of the New Testament were not wholly neglected, the arms of our blessed Lord being a favourite subject on which the emblazoners exerted their taste and talents. This shield of the Passion, as it is often called, seems to have been one of the earliest efforts of the designers of sacred heraldry, and its eager and wide extended adoption as an adornment of churches, church furniture, etc., manifests the high favour with which it was received during the decline of the middle ages.²

"The shield of the Passion can certainly be traced back to the commencement of the 15th century, as a mention of it occurs in the inventory of the effects of King Henry V, taken in 1423.³ And we gather from Dugdale (*Bar.*, ii, 203), that in the reign of Edward IV, the Countess of Hungerford bequeathed a pair of silver candlesticks, "pounced with the arms that longeth to the Passion."

"These sacred arms, with slight variations, are seen on several of the encaustic tiles in the church of Great Malvern, Worcestershire, fabricated in the 15th century. A description of one out of the number will give a general idea of the whole. In the centre of the shield is placed the cross with the following objects arranged between the limbs—the nails, crown of thorns, flagellum, reed with sponge, and a glaive or bill. On the dexter side of this group is the lance of St. Longinus, hammer, and three dice; on the sinister side, a ladder, and a purse or money-bag, for the thirty pieces of silver. (Pl. 8, fig. 1.)

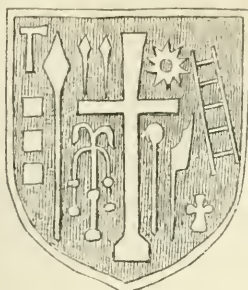
"Several of the East Anglian churches furnish good examples of the arms of the Redeemer; and I am indebted to Mr. Watling for the means of laying before you copies of a few of these sacred escutcheons. One, perhaps, of the most interesting specimens is to be seen in the painted glass in the east window of Herringfleet Church, Suffolk. (Pl. 8, fig. 3.) The shield is of the usual simple form which prevailed in the heraldry of the 15th and early part of the 16th century. The field is sable, and the charges are as follows: Standing in the centre is a cross-tau, raised on two steps, and having a nail projecting from towards either end of the traverse, in front of which, and in part behind the upright, is the crown of thorns, surmounted by a white scroll or label inscribed INRI. In front of the rood, in saltier, is a lance,

¹ In *The British Compendium, or Rudiments of Honour*, 1721, we are told that "Abel, the second son of Adam, bore his father's coat quartered with that of his mother Eve, she being an heiress, viz., *gules* and *argent*; and Joseph's coat was party per pale, *argent* and *gules*."

² Imagination has discovered several of the emblems of the crucifixion in the passion-flower, as the crown of thorns, the three nails, and five wounds, not forgetting the pillar of scourging. A copy of an old print, in which these forms are distinctly marked, may be found in Hone's *Every Day Book*, i, 770.

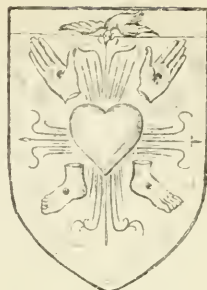
³ Printed in the Rolls of Parliament.

1



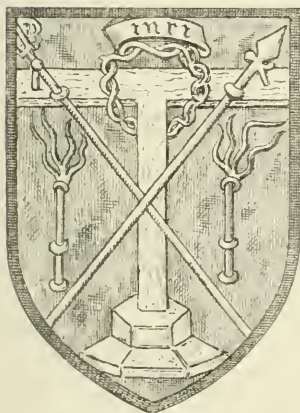
*Encaustic Tile
Great Malvern Worcestershire
XVth Century*

2



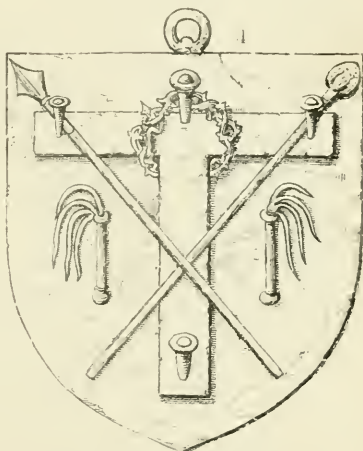
*East Window Clipping Chapel
Suffolk*

3



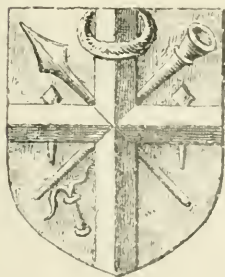
*East Window Herringfleet Church,
Suffolk*

4



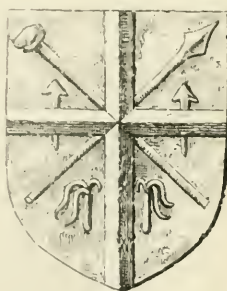
*Carved Stone, All Saints, Dunwich
Suffolk*

5



*Carved Stone Framlingham Church
Suffolk*

6



*Carved Spandrel, South Perch
Kelsale Church, Suffolk*



and two-pronged fork with the sponge, the head of each implement resting against the nails already spoken of; and on either side this group is a four-lashed scourge, this latter feature reminding us of some of the encaustic tiles at Great Malvern; and it will be found as we proceed in our survey, that pairs of flagella occur in other examples of the sacred arms. There is a calmness and dignity, so to speak, in this Herringfleet shield, which contrasts favourably with the crowded escutcheons at Great Malvern; and other of the Suffolk churches display the insignia of the Saviour in the same simple style. Take, for instance, a carving on the stone-work of All Saints', Dunwich. (Pl. 8, fig. 4.) Here, we have a tau with the lance and reed, with sponge, in saltier, resting against the great-headed nails, which jut out from the upper member of the rood, in the centre of which is a third nail, on which hangs the crown of thorns, a fourth spike being towards the base of the upright. Then follow the two flagella, each having four thongs, disposed as in the arms at Herringfleet and Great Malvern. At the top of the escutcheon is carved a large ring, which gives the appearance of the object being suspended on the surface, out of which it is chiselled.

"On one of the spandrels of the south porch of Kelsale Church, Suffolk, are sculptured the arms of the Passion, which differ in more than one respect from the examples just referred to. The extremities of the four-limbed cross touch the edges of the shield, and the spear and reed, with sponge, are placed in saltier behind the rood, and two triangular-headed nails look as if they were driven perpendicularly through its traverse. And, further, the flagella on either side the shaft have each but three lashes. (Pl. 8, fig. 6.)

"The Kelsale shield may, for general aspect, be compared with one sculptured on the front of Framlingham Church, in the same county. So far as the crosses are concerned the two agree, and each has great nails in like position; but in the present example they have quadrangular heads. A stout ring, no doubt intended for the crown of thorns, hangs on the shaft of the rood; the saltier behind which, is composed of a lance, and a long straight trumpet, resembling the classic "Tuba". There is but one scourge, which has but two thongs, and is placed in the sinister base of the escutcheon. (Pl. 8, fig. 5.)

"The absurd fashion of extending the limbs of the *crux* to the edge of the shield, and thus obliterating all idea of Calvary, was adopted by Willement, in 1832, for the arms of the Passion in the altar window of St. Dunstan, Fleet Street; and which arms may be described as *gules*, a cross *argent*, with spear and sponge-topped reed, in saltier proper, and having a scroll on the fesse point, inscribed with the letters INRI. A coloured print of this window is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1835, p. 36.

"A few ecclesiastic seals display the sacred arms on their fields. We

may select for description that of the Guild of Corpus Christi at Orford, Suffolk, discovered some years since at Southwold, and of which I produce an impression. This seal is $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, and bears beneath a trefoil arch, a shield charged with a cross, the crown of thorns being placed in front of the upper part of the perpendicular beam, and just above the traverse. Three nails project from the rood. The lance and reed, with sponge, form a saltier, and below these objects are two triple-thonged flagella. On either side of the arch is a kneeling figure. Above the shield is the word ORFORD; and on the verge of the seal is this legend +s' cōe FRAT'NITATIS [YLD ?] CORP'IS XR'I. The *tout ensemble* of this curious signet indicates its date to be *circa* 1500.

"The shield of the Passion figures as an embellishment both on the outside and inside of old books, as the following instances testify.

"Luckombe in his *History of Printing* (London, 1771, p. 58), when speaking of John Reynes, a bookseller and bookbinder, who in 1527 lived at the sign of St. George in St. Paul's Churchyard, says, "that many works have his marks and pretty devices on their covers, as the arms and supporters of Jesus Christ, with these words, *Redemptoris Mundi Arma*."

"One of the most elaborate examples of the shield of the Passion with which I am acquainted, is given in a 12mo. work, published by the widow of Thielman Kerver, at the sign of the Unicorn, Rue St. Jacques, Paris, about the beginning of the 16th century. At the base of the escutcheon is a rectangular tomb, in which is planted a tau cross, surmounted by a label, inscribed INRI. In the centre of the traverse hangs the crown of thorns, and towards either end projects a nail, the dexter supporting the reed with sponge; the sinister, the lance of Longinus; the shafts of the two objects meeting in the base. On the dexter side of the rood are a hammer, scourge, and hand; and over the end of the tomb is displayed the linen cloth, on which are three dice. On the sinister side of the rood are the pincers, a full-faced bust of Judas Iscariot, with the bag or purse of money hanging round his neck, and beneath it the thirty pieces of silver. Standing on the edge of the tomb is a cylindrical lantern, sometimes ascribed to Judas, at others to Malchus. This shield has two unicorns for supporters; and resting on the royal helmet is the crest, composed of the pillar of flagellation, with St. Peter's cock on its capital, and flanked by rods and three-lashed scourges. Beneath, in a ribbon, is the same legend as that employed by Reynes, viz., *Redemptoris Mundi Arma*.

"All the arms of the Redeemer of the world hitherto described consist of shields, more or less crowded with the emblems of the Passion; but it was also the fashion, towards the close of the 15th and early in the 16th century, to display these emblems in separate escutcheons, and the manner in which this was done may be judged of by referring to the subjoined examples.

“The east window of Gipping Chapel exhibits six shields, with white fields thus charged. 1. Cross tau, of a yellow tint. 2. Three yellow lozenge headed nails, their points meeting in base. 3. The crown of thorns, in yellow. 4. Two flagella, saltier, each having three echinated thongs, and the pink hafts terminating in trefoils. 5. A fork, with sponge on its prongs; and a club or rod (?) in saltier. 6. The five wounds in our Saviour’s person typified by the heart, from which emanate a yellow cross formed of four clusters of rays, between the limbs of which are arranged the hands and feet, with the stigmata; and in chief is the Holy Spirit, as a golden dove. (Pl. 8, fig. 2.) The most notable feature in these shields is the substitution of a fork for the reed, as a support for the sponge of vinegar, of which we find other instances in the windows of Herringfleet and East Harling churches.

“The Gipping shields remind us of the painted window in St. Asaph’s Church, Llanassa, Flintshire, which was removed hither from the neighbouring Abbey of Basingwerk, in the year 1540. In three of the lights remain rondeaux or bucklers, charged as follows: 1. Three immense nails, their points meeting in base, and flanked by diminutive pincers and hammer. 2. The five wounds, typified by the hands, heart, and feet. And, 3. The hand of Judas holding a purse, and the cock on the top of a fluted column. This window seems to be late 15th century work; and is engraved in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, Nov. 1825, p. 401.

“In our *Journal*, xvi, 48, is an engraving of a poppy-head in the chancel of Cumnor Church, Berkshire, carved apparently about the end of the 15th century, and displaying the emblems of the Passion, in several shields. There are six escutcheons on this boldly executed piece of sculpture. On one side of the head, the various devices are thus grouped: 1. The sacred monogram IHC in ribbon-letters. 2. The five wounds represented in the usual way, by hands and feet, with a heart, in fesse; and above these companion shields is a third, charged with a cross. The escutcheons on the dos of the one last-named contains the purse or bag, cock, and holy coat, of nearly similar contour to the one shown at Treves, and represented on some of the Romish medalets of the 17th century. The two shields beneath this surmounting one are charged as follows: 1. A ladder in fesse, with the sponge-reed, and lance, in saltier. 2. Pincers and hammer, with three dice, in chief. This poppy-head is of a very graceful character.

“At Braunton Church, Devonshire, the emblems of the Passion are carved in separate shields on the outer panels of the pew ends, wrought *circa* 1500. And, at Collmpton, in the same county, the pendants are chiselled with shields, each charged with a few of the emblems, as, for example, there is one with the pillar of flagellation in fesse,

with the reed and spear behind it, in saltier. These pendants date A.D. 1526.

"A font, of the commencement of the 16th century, in St. Clement's Church, Hastings, Sussex, has each face of its octagonal bowl carved with a shield, seven of them being charged with emblems of the Passion: 1. A ladder, between a torch and a club. (?) 2. Void. 3. The pillar of flagellation flanked by scourges. 4. The cock of St. Peter. 5. A cross Calvary, with the junction of its members surrounded with a crown of thorns. 6. The pincers. 7. The reed and spear, in saltier. 8. A clawed hammer. Beyond these sacred bearings, there is nothing about the font meriting attention. It is of the plainest character, as may be seen by reference to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Aug., 1786, p. 650, where a print of it is given.

"There is in the church at Felix Stowe, Suffolk, a curious font, fully as old as the foregoing, which has the emblems of the Passion displayed in shields, carved on the panels of its octagonal bowl. Seven of the eight shields are thus occupied: 1. Angel holding a shield before its breast with both hands. 2. Ladder, hammer, and pincers. 3. Void. 4. Holy coat, with the arms hanging down, and, therefore, differing in this respect from the one represented at Cumnor Church, where they are extended. 5. Three dice, etc. 6. Reed, with sponge, three nails, and money bag. 7. Ship. 8. Pillar of flagellation and scourge, with knots or balls at the ends of the thongs.

"In our *Journal*, x, 263, is an engraving of a portion of a carved oak cornice, formerly in the Priory, at Usk, Monmouthshire, and now preserved in Troy House, and which presents some singular illustration of the subject in hand. In one shield, we see the oft-recurring IHS; in another, a ladder, of nine rungs, with three nails on its dexter, and rod on its sinister side. In a third escutcheon is a profile bust, to the left of Judas Iscariot, wearing a Jesuit's cap, and having a purse hanging round his neck, a single die being in front of the face. A fourth shield is charged with three interlinked fish, typical of the blessed Trinity. The presence of a pomegranate in one of the shields on this highly enriched cornice would indicate that it was wrought in or a little after the year 1509, *i.e.*, subsequent to the marriage of Henry VIII with Katherine of Arragon.

"As the Reformation advanced in England, so faded and abated the superstitious admiration of the arms of the Passion. With a purification of religion came an elevation of thought and feeling, and the human mind awoke to the sense of the profound folly (to use no harsher term) of attributing heraldic bearings to the Redeemer of the world. The examples adduced show clearly that this quaint conceit was once in high favour, spreading broadly over the land, and appearing in all sorts of ways and places within God's Holy Temple, and on divers

sorts of things. The arms of the Passion peer forth in painting and carving, from floor to roof, in rich profusion; tile and pendant, window and cornice, panel and poppy-head, font, candlestick, and signet, book-page and book-cover, bear witness how fondly did the mediæval eye delight to gaze on one of the oddist bits of pseudo-heraldry that fancy could well evoke and pencil formulate."

Mr. Birch made some remarks upon the age of the heraldry displayed in the various shields of which Mr. Cuming exhibited drawings, and upon the probable reasons of the invention and ascription of heraldic bearings to Biblical, historical, and fictitious personages.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock read an interesting monograph upon the history of and recent excavations at Keynsham Abbey, which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*. Mr. Brock's paper was illustrated by a series of plans and drawings, and a collection of very fine specimens of encaustic tiles.

In illustration of the tiles exhibited by Mr. Brock, Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited drawings by Mr. Watling of two encaustic tiles found in the wall of Mendlesham Church, Suffolk, during its late restoration. One tile is from a set of four decorated with the marygold or katherine wheel pattern of tasteful character, and of early fourteenth century date. The other tile is also from a set of four, its device being two birds back to back with their heads turned towards each other, and divided by the stem of a tree or a staff surmounted by a *fleur-de-lys*. This subject seems to have been a favourite one for tile decoration at the end of the thirteenth and commencement of the fourteenth century, as we find it, with slight variations in detail, in Worcester Cathedral,¹ Bakewell Church, Derbyshire,² Harcombe Church, Devonshire,³ in the Exchequer Chamber in Exeter Cathedral,⁴ and at Netley Abbey, Hants.⁵ Mr. Cuming also produced a drawing of a tile from Lewes Priory, Sussex, displaying a similar motive to the one last described, but on which the centre staff has a trefoil at either end and lateral branches, and which may be compared with some of the quarries in the Chapter House, Salisbury.

Mr. George R. Wright, F.S.A., said: "In connection with the interesting though hurried visit which we made to the ruins of the monastery, or rather of the abbey, of the Blessed Mary of Keynsham, and with the curious discovery of the remains made some eight or ten years ago whilst the foundations were being dug for the villas which now exist, on this once greatly celebrated spot, I had intended to have written a paper embodying the history of the abbey, but after what has fallen from the pen of our associate, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, who is so

¹ See *Journal*, iv, p. 216.

⁴ *Ib.*

² *Ib.*, vii, p. 387.

³ *Ib.*, xviii, p. 178.

⁵ *Collectanea Archæologica*, ii, p. 72.

much more qualified for the task of describing the architectural features, as well as the peculiar characteristics of what remains of the columns, pinnacles, figures, tiles, and other "vestigia" of the ruined church, than I am or can possibly be, I feel more than ever satisfied that I did nothing of the kind, and shall therefore only trouble you at this moment with a few facts of which Mr. Brock has not spoken, and upon which I think there is sufficient interest to occupy your attention for a short time. The abbey was founded, as we have already heard, by William of Gloucester, in 1170, *temp.* Henry II, and he was buried within its walls. Our associate, Mr. C. E. Davis, of Bath, told me that during some excavations he was making last year or the year before within the ruins, he came upon a stone coffin, the lid of which he opened, and saw the remains of an abbot or some high dignitary of the monastery within, with what appeared to him to be a coil of gold tissue about the neck,—but which he in no way molested and closed again as speedily as could be, not feeling he had any right or authority at the time to disturb the remains of the occupant of the cist or coffin, which might have been those of William of Gloucester himself. Mr. Davis contented himself with marking the spot, so that he might be able at some future time to make a farther investigation of so interesting a find. My kind friend, Prebendary H. M. Scarth, whose services rendered to us at Bristol we can never forget, knowing I was engaged on the examination of, and making some inquiries about, the remains of the old abbey, with great good nature sent me some notes of his on the subject, and as they are not referred to by Mr. Brock in his paper, I will make a few extracts of them for reading to you now. He says, amongst other things, 'A floor of a side chapel, or part of an aisle of the church, was brought to light by digging a few years back, and is that part existing now, in the vegetable garden of Mr. Cox, the very intelligent builder of the villas near, and in whose own garden at the back of his residence, are collected in as careful a manner as could well be managed, a large number of incised slabs, stone carvings and crosses, bosses, etc.,' and all of which the party I had the honour to conduct to the ruins during the Congress week at Bristol very attentively examined, and sketches were made of some of the remains.

"This floor was and is covered, Mr. Scarth proceeds to say, with encaustic tiles, etc., and there were several stone slabs with carvings and inscriptions on them, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Two of these are now in the vestibule of the Literary and Scientific Institution of Bath, and also a portion of a capital of an Early English column, the foliage of which is beautifully executed. Portions of tabernacle work of the fifteenth century, which had composed the canopy of some shrine, very beautifully carved, were taken charge of by Mr. Cox, and some of this work we had the pleasure to see in that

gentleman's garden. Our friend and associate Mr. J. T. Irvine also made drawings and took copies of the tiles, and the Bath Field Club, as Mr. Searth further informed me, had the inscriptions copied and an account printed of them in vol. ii of their proceedings. Mr. Searth also sent an account of the remains of Keynsham Abbey to the Society of Antiquaries, and they, he tells me, are published in their proceedings. (See Series, vol. v, No. 11, 1871.) Within a year of our visit in August last, a portion of Saxon work was found in the ruins, and of this Mr. Irvine, as well as Mr. Searth, has a drawing; indeed, I heard from Mr. Gordon Hills at the Congress, that Mr. Irvine had made a full plan of the church, but unfortunately, because the former gentleman was unable to visit the Abbey of Keynsham on the occasion of our Congress, he did not provide me with the plan which Mr. Irvine had entrusted to his care, and so I and those who so kindly accompanied me to these most interesting and remarkable ruins were unable to inspect it. Collinson gives an account of Keynsham and the various grants made to it; the property, as we have heard, passed into the Chandos family, and Chandos House was built on the site of the abbey, and no doubt out of the ruins of the once grand old edifice. There are some remains of the stables of Chandos House still standing, all that now exists to remind the visitor of that celebrated building in which the Dukes of Chandos lived; and we had pointed out to us on the occasion of our visit to Keynsham, below the site upon which the abbey and subsequent mansion stood, a spring head, from which the religious inhabitants of the monastery without doubt supplied their kitchen and other wants, whilst the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Keynsham was in its prime and then most honoured existence. In the principal street of Keynsham we saw the remains of a hostelry for pilgrims, once one of the dependencies of the monastery, and I can only hope that Mr. Brock may be able to give us a drawing of that ancient building, as well as copies of the inscriptions and Saxon work found in the abbey, for publication, hereafter, with the paper he has so kindly communicated to us this evening, in our *Journal*. I may as well mention here that the word "Keyn" is said to be derived from the name of a British virgin, daughter of Bragannus of Brecknockshire, who lived in great seclusion and sanctity in a wood close by to the place on which the abbey was years afterwards built; she was called Keyna, and by her constant prayers and devotions was said to be the means of turning into stone many serpents by which the neighbourhood was infested, and the belief remains at Keynsham amongst the villagers, as indeed it does in other places where Ammonites are found, that they represent the reptiles that the good and pious Lady Keyna petrified by prayer! It is also said that it was in the very marsh land beneath the spring head already referred to, and where indications of the monks'

stew ponds may be traced, that King Bladud's pigs cleansed themselves, and subsequently made his name and the city of Bath so celebrated.

In a MS. copy of Ralph Higden's well known "Polychronicon", belonging to our associate Mr. Kershaw of Bristol, ending with the year of grace 1377, the following sentence, "*Monasterii beatæ Mariæ de Keynesam*", indicates that the volume at one time formed part of the library of the monastery.

WEDNESDAY, 24 FEBRUARY, 1875.

H. S. CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associate was elected: A. W. Franks, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., *Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Keeper of the Mediæval Antiquities, British Museum, etc., etc.*

The following were elected Honorary Correspondents :

Samuel Birch, Esq., K.R., LL.D., F.S.A., *President of the Society of Biblical Archæology.*

E. A. Bond, Esq., *President of the Palæographical Society, Keeper of the MSS. at the British Museum.*

H. Bradshaw, Esq., M.A., *Librarian to the University of Cambridge.*

Rev. O. Coxe, M.A., *Librarian of the Bodleian Library.*

J. Winter Jones, Esq., V.P.S.A., *Principal Librarian, British Museum.*

Sir John Lubbock, F.R.S., F.S.A.

Aldis Wright, Esq., M.A., Cambridge University.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Society, for *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Jan. 1875.

To the Author, for the *Early Annals of the Episcopate in Wilts and Dorset*, 8vo, London, 1871 ; and *An Account of the Saxon Church of St. Lawrence, Bradford-on-Avon*, 8vo, by the Rev. W. H. Jones, M.A., Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

„ „ for the *Life and Writings of William of Malmesbury* ; and the *Great Seals of King Stephen*. By W. de G. Birch, Esq., F.R.S.L.

„ „ for *Wayside Crosses in the District bordering the East of Dartmoor*. 8vo. By G. W. Ormerod, Esq.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that the Royal Archæological Institute had definitely abandoned the proposal of amalgamation with the Association, initiated a short time back by Mr. Tucker, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, a member of the Councils of either Society ; and that of the General Index, completed by Mr. Birch, a limited number of copies had been ordered to be printed.

Mr. G. R. Wright announced his preliminary negotiations with respect

to a Congress to be held this summer in the midland counties, probably in the neighbourhood of Evesham.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a curious female figure, carved from a single piece of porous wood, with eyes of silvered glass, and a kettledrum on her head, believed, by him, to have been brought from Burmah; round the neck and head of the figure, and round the barrel of the drum, is a snake; another snake, under her feet, is held up by the head and tail in the woman's hands.

Mr. Cuming made some remarks upon this object, which he affirmed to be African; and it was understood that Mr. Phené should be asked to give some account of its history to the Association.

Mr. Brent also exhibited a collection of small stone implements, found in Devonshire and Cornwall, belonging to Francis Brent, Plymouth.

The following is a list of them, as arranged on numbered cards: 1, a beautiful arrowhead of unusual form; 2, an arrowhead of ordinary form; 3, a thick scraper having much of original crust left, the object appearing to be to produce a strong scraping edge; 4, a small scraper, apparently perfect; 5, a small implement, or borer; 6, three small borers; 7, two small scrapers, one of peculiar form; 8, a small rude thick scraper, with fine edge; 9, four pieces, one of quadrangular form, very thin, with fine cutting edges; 10, three thick round scrapers, with much of original crust remaining; 11, portions of three round scrapers; 12, one ear-shaped, and two rude scrapers; 13, two long fabricators; 14, one long fabricator, much of original crust; 15, one beautiful long fabricator; 16, one ditto, nearly all the crust removed; 17, knife, all crust removed; 18, knife, nearly all crust removed; 19 and 20, scrapers, probably intended for hafting, like those from Swiss lakes; 21, one ear-shaped, and one oyster-shaped scraper; 22, large scraper, made from flake; 23, scimitar-shaped scraper; 24, two portions of knife, doubtful if belonging to same implements; 25, small thick scraper; small knife; rude hammer-head; the orifice is evidently natural, dendritic impressions to be seen inside; but the bruised ends and the cut sides would lead one to suppose that it had been utilised for beating metal, traces of which may still be seen. A wooden handle was probably inserted, and tied to the hammer by strings or thongs. Information is requested in respect of this stone; also in respect of the long fabricators (?) on cards 13 and 16; the borers (?) on cards 5 and 6, and the scrapers, if intended for hafting, on cards 19 and 20, and the scimitar-shaped implement on card 23.

Mr. Birch exhibited an elaborately carved paddle from the Pearl Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean, late in the possession of G. R. Gray, Esq., F.R.S.

Mr. Hillary Davies exhibited two choice examples of German

trinketry of the 18th century. The first was a fine cross pattée, or Knights' Templars cross, as it is sometimes called, measuring $1\frac{3}{10}$ ins. each way, and composed of base silver, set with four slabs of marcasite, of highly brilliant character. This variety of iron pyrites was held in much esteem during the first half of the 18th century, being chiefly employed in slabs, but occasionally in distinct crystals. In the Cuming collection are two delicate leaf-shaped *aigrettes*, set with marcasite crystals.

Mr. Davies' other contribution was a necklace of pale amber, consisting of four lines of globose beads, strung between three tablets, the centre one having a concave middle, covered with glass, and in which is a minute ship, of delicately carved ivory, on a crimson foil. The construction of this reminds us of the examples of shale, found in the British barrows, for which, see our *Journal*, ii, 234, and Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, pp. 25, 47.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition a pint wine measure, of pewter, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in height, with a lid $3\frac{3}{8}$ ins. diameter. On the lid are six round stamps, one being in the centre, the others encircling it, and each having for device a full-blown rose, accompanied by the letters T. E. G., which initials are also impressed on the handle, near the hinge of the lid. On the lip of the vessel is another stamp, with an elegant crown ensigning what appears to be a shield. On the side of the body are rudely engraved the letters I. PL, or DL, the two latter being in combination. The base is ornamented with concentric circles. This fine specimen is of the time of Charles I, and was recovered from the Thames.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a half-pint wine measure, of pewter, lately exhumed in Liverpool Street. It is about $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in height. The lid, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter, is stamped with three little shields, each charged with one of the following letters: E. E. F. The tau-formed thumb-piece is very note-worthy. On one side of the lip of the vessel is stamped a crown, surmounting a shield, and on the opposite side is an oval stamp, with letters and numerals arranged thus $\frac{WF}{68}$, divided perpendicularly by what looks somewhat like a sceptre *fleurdelisé*. On the body of the vessel are scored the words: "Jane Fisher, living in ould Bedlam, next dore to the 5 Bels & Morter."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following remarks on the foregoing and other measures:

"Although it is doubtful when the tankard-shaped wine measure of pewter came into vogue, it can with certainty be traced back, with slight variations in contour, to the reign of Henry VII, and has continued in use down to recent times. So little change in form does it display, that it is principally by the stamps, and other additions which fancy may have suggested, that the exact date of such vessels can be determined. But valuable as these stamps are as aids to chronological

arrangement, scarcely any attention has hitherto been bestowed on them, and it is frequently difficult to decide whether they are the record of the makers or owners of the vessels.¹

“We often see the rose as a stamp on pewter spoons of the 16th and 17th centuries; and we also know that it was the sign of a tavern in the Poultry, as early as the reign of Elizabeth. The rose was likewise the sign of George Walker, who, in 1667, dwelt on London Bridge, as we learn from his halfpenny tokens. Was this Rose ever a tavern, and did the measure, produced by Mrs. Bailly, belong to some predecessor of George Walker?”

“The half-pint measure exhibited by the Rev. Mr. Mayhew is of peculiar interest, for we gather from the several stamps and legend on it a little respecting its former owners, the Fishers; the earliest of whom must have flourished in the reign of Charles II, and whose oval cartouche is on the lip of the vessel. This stamp gives us the initials W. F., and the two last numerals of the date 1668. From the style in which the legend is cut, we may fairly infer that the next possessor of the measure was Jane Fisher; and the stamps on the lid indicate that it descended to an R. Fisher, whose wife’s christian name began with an E. It is by no means clear what was the sign of Fisher’s house; but it is possible that the sceptre-like object in W. F.’s cartouche may be a sable clove taken from the grocers’ arms; and if so, the Fishers may have been grocers, or adopted the armorial bearings of the company, as the ensign of their establishment. Whatever their sign may have been, it was of less renown than that of their neighbour, hence the announcement that Jane Fisher lived next door to the Five Bells and Mortar, of which combination I can find no other instance. There was a Five Bells Tavern near the Maypole, in the Strand; and a like sign still exists in Little Moorfields, and four other places in London. There is nothing on the measure to show whether the Mortar was a pounding machine or a gun; both objects have served as signs in town and country. One curious circumstance in connection with this half-pint measure must not be passed over in silence, namely, that it was exhumed close to the spot where it was long in use, for Liverpool Street borders on the very site of ‘ould Bedlam.’

“Mr. Mayhew also favours us with the sight of the pewter lid of a half-pint measure, found in Bishopsgate Street, and which, doubtlessly, belonged to some tavern rejoicing in the sign of the Angel, for a stamp with this celestial creature, in decent attire, is repeated three times on the upper surface of the cover, and with the initials I. T. R., punched in the centre. In the 17th century, tokens were issued from the Angel Tavern, in the Strand, in Fenchurch Street, and on Tower

¹ See a paper by the late Mr. T. Brewer on the antiquity of marking and stamping weights and measures, *Journal*, viii, p. 309.

Hill. And the sign of the Angel was likewise adopted by traders in Leadenhall Market, in Moorfields, near Bedlam Gate, and in Trinity Lane, Bread Street, but there is nothing on their money to imply that they sold 'strong waters.'

"When I read my paper on the gill (of which a portion is printed in our *Journal*, xv, 345), I produced a half-gill measure, or quaffing pot of pewter, of the close of the 17th century; the front and back of the upright portion of the thumb-picce of which is decorated like the capital of a column, and the horizontal bit attached to the lid is in the form of a *fleur-de-lys*. There is no stamp on the vessel, but on its front is engraved the name *Fleming*. This pretty little measure is $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in height; and was fished out of the Thames, near the site of old London Bridge, in August, 1850, having probably dropped from one of the houses which once stood above the river.

"A friend has placed in my hands, for exhibition, a pint measure, exactly similar in form and decoration to my half gill, but, with the addition of a couple of stamps on its lip, one containing the letters R. M., the other a Portcullis, the well-known badge of Westminster, where this vessel was examined and approved.

"Mention is made in our *Journal* (ix, 92) of a pewter pint measure, inscribed *Richard Smith att y^e 3 Neats Tonges, on London Bridg*, and on which is stamped a crown and the letters A. R., which have been read as the initials of Anna Regina.

"I now exhibit the lid of a pewter measure, $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in diameter, recovered from the Thames in 1854, which is stamped five times with the royal arms of the era of George I, accompanied by the initials I. A. W. J. W., and his wife A., were probably the host and hostess of the King's Arms, a sign common enough in olden times, as it still is in our own day. In 1664, Roger Ware, and after him J. W., issued tokens from the King's Arms Tavern, Cateaton Street (now called Gresham Street), and why may not the J. W. of the wine measure be the grandson or great-grandson of Boniface of the tokens?

"The most conspicuous stamps on the old pewter measures appear to indicate the house to which they belonged; but in addition to the stamps, we find that the taverners and others did at times cause their initials or names to be graven on their property, together with the title of their establishment; and as further instances of such practice, we may cite two examples, formerly in the collection of our late associate, Mr. J. B. Price, the one measure being inscribed *Thomas Hollinwood at y^e Foxe and Tup, in Chick Lane*; the other, *John Wickings, at y^e Cock and Crown, in Montagu Close, Southwark*. Both these specimens were recovered from the Thames in 1845."

Mr. Blashill read a paper by Mr. J. T. Irvine, of Rochester, "On the remains of the Saxon or Early Norman work in the Church of

Stone-Juxta-Faversham," which will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

In the discussion which took place after the reading of this paper, and examination of a number of carefully prepared plans and drawings which were exhibited in illustration of it, Mr. Brock said that he had no doubt but that the building must be referred to the Saxon period, and might be advantageously contrasted with the plan of the Saxon chapel at Bradford in the history of that church by the Rev. W. H. Jones, then upon the table. This presented the same plan of small chancel arch, and the same pilaster buttress. The Roman tiles found in the fabric, and which had led some persons who had examined the remains to form the erroneous conclusion that the building was of Roman date, were probably to be referred to the destruction of an old Roman villa near the spot.

Mr. Blashill was of a similar opinion, and considered the church to be of late Saxon style.

Mr. Henfrey read a paper on "Oliver Cromwell's Sceptre", and exhibited a variety of drawings and prints in support of his views. The paper will be printed in a future place among the records of the Association.

In illustration of the subject awakened by the Rev. Dr. Simpson's paper on "The Five Wounds of Our Saviour" in the *Journal* of last year, Mr. Birch exhibited a drawing of a double cross from a small roll of the fifteenth century in the British Museum. (Harley Charters, 43, A. 14). The text of the roll is as follows :

"This cros xv tymys metyn ys ye lenght of oure lord Jhū criste. And y^t day y^t yⁿ beryst it vpon y^e or lokest y^e vpon yⁿ shalt haue yese gret giftis y^t folowyth. The furst is yⁿ schalt die no soden deth. The seconde is yⁿ schalt not be hurte nor slayne w^t no maner of Wepyn. The iiij^d is yⁿ shalt haue reasonabull' godis & helth vnto y^r lyuys ende. The iiijth is yyne enmys shall' neuer ouyr com y^e. The vth is no maner of preson nor fals wytnes shall' neuyr greue y^e. The vjth is yⁿ shalt not dio w^t oute the sacramentes of the chirche. The vijth is yⁿ schalt be defendid from all' maner of wykkid spryttes tribulacōns & dissesis & from all' Infirmitees and sekenis of y^e pestilence. The viijth is yf a woman be in trauell' of childe lay yis vpon her wombe and y^e childe schall haue Cristindom & y^e moder schall' hane purificacōn flor Seynt Cerice and Seynt Julitt his moder desirid yise graciose gyftis of god which he grauntid vn to yem and yis is regestird on Rome.

"Salve decus p^raulorum miles Regis Anglorum O Cerice cum beata Julitta xpc' + & maria + nos saluet in hora mortis n're Amen Preciosa est in conspectu Dei + mors sanctorum eius. Deus qui gloriosis martiribus tuis Cerico & Julitte tribuisti dira nephandi iudicis tormenta sup'are tribue michi Will'mo famulo tuo humilitatē in virtute gloriose longitudinis tue et venerabilis crucis tue p'ciosiq' corporis & sanguinis tui & omipotentiar' & virtutū p' intercessionem s'e'or' tuor' concede michi triūphū omī inimicor' meor' vt possū semp' retinere constanciam p' xpm' Dñm nr'm Amen Amen."

The exact length of the cross appears to be 5 inches; this would give the height, attributed in the charm to our Lord, as 6 feet 3 ins. The lines,

“Salve Decus Parvulorum
Miles Regis Angelorum”,

are manifestly a fragment of an old hymn now lost, at least I am informed by Dr. Simpson that the indices of the works of Moné, Kehrein, and Daniel do not contain any such lines. Dr. Simpson also fails to find any hymn with these words in the sequences in the York and Hereford missals. St. Julitta, to whom allusion is made in the poem and in the Latin prayer, was remembered in the church on the 30th of July, and St. Siritius, or Sirice [Pope, A.D. 384-398], on the 25th of November. From the concluding prayer it is evident that at one time the charm belonged to a person named *William*.

WEDNESDAY, 10TH MARCH, 1875.

R. N. PHILIPPS, ESQ., D.C.L., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

Major Emmet, 51, Finchley Road, N.W.

E. M. Thompson, Esq., *Assistant Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts*, British Museum.

And the following honorary correspondents :

M. Rénier Chalon, *President of the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium*, Brussels.

Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., *Deputy Keeper of Public Records*.

M. Lenormant, Professor of Archæology at Paris.

The death of Professor Willis was announced to the members present, by whom it was received with unanimous sentiments of regret.

Mr. Phené, who had promised to attend at an early meeting to read some notes illustrative of the ethnographic antiquities exhibited on previous occasions by Messrs. Brent and Cuming, was unfortunately prevented from being present this evening, in consequence of a severe accident which he had sustained while prosecuting his researches among tumuli in the neighbourhood of Salisbury.

Mr. Hillary Davies exhibited a cast of the head of the beadle's staff of the Plasterers' Company, a fine example of reponssé work of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. This head is nearly $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and close on $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches at its greatest width, and for contour may be compared to the blades of some of the old partizans. Both sides are alike, the lower portion being of oval form, displaying the arms of the company, viz., on a chevron engrailed between two plasterers' hammers and a trowel in chief, and a treble flat brush in base, a rose between two fleurs-de-lys. The shield is surmounted by the crest,

a dexter arm draped and embowed with hammer in hand, and supported by Opimaci. Beneath is a ribbon with the English motto LET BROTHERLY LOVE CONTINUE. (The Latin motto of the company is *Factum est.*) Above the oval is a pointed panel, bearing a demi-figure of the Virgin holding the child Jesus; and on the sinister side of the group is a circular stamp with the letters G. A. ensigned by a coronet.

The Company of Plasterers was incorporated by letters patent in the year 1501, which were confirmed by charter in 1667, by the title of "the Guild or Fraternity of the blessed Mary of Plaisterers". They possess two pieces of plate of some interest, the oldest being a bell with a handle in the shape of a wolf, the gift of Captain Abraham Slauyan, who was master in 1647-48. The other item referred to is a two-handled vase with the arms of the company in relief, and dated 1706.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited—1, a silvered collar and padlock, found on the mummy of a cat in digging out the foundations of the church of St. Martin Outwich. The relic is interesting as bearing the name of the some time owner, BARRY, 122 BISHOPGATE ST., engraved in characters of about A.D. 1706.

2. An earthenware vessel of the seventeenth century, in four semi-circular compartments, with hollow handle, covered with yellow glaze, ornamented with green, brown, and orange designs, in the style of pottery made by R. Tofts. Its use was probably for cooking or poaching eggs. The vessel bears a striking resemblance to vessels found in Pompeii, and used for a like purpose. Size, 7 inches by 7.

3. Further specimens of glass of a beautiful character, excavated from the *débris* of the ancient "Venice glass houses" established in Broad Street by Sir W. Howels; a flower-vase on a serpent stem; emerald glass for beads; an engraved specimen of *vitro d'oro*, etc.; with eleven enamelled beads of various shapes and colours. Also,

4. A large calendering rubber of blue glass, from the same place.

5. A very fine and perfect "apostle" spoon in bronze, bearing the effigy of St. Bartholomew. Total length, 7 inches.

6. Mr. Mayhew also exhibited two objects of great rarity and interest, on both of which papers are promised, viz., *a*, a Roman *pugio* with handle of carved ivory and iron blade; *b*, a helmeted bust of Scipio Africanus, in Italian alabaster, of high art, and ascribed to the Renaissance period. Both objects were found in London.

Mr. Cuming gave an interesting series of descriptions of the exhibition afforded to the Association by the Rev. Mr. Mayhew. With regard to the bust, he was of opinion that it must be referred to the period of the Renaissance, and he looked upon it as a fine copy, probably by an Italian artist, of an ancient bust engraved in Beger's account of the Brandenburg collection (tom. iii, p. 331), and which may also be seen

in profile on one of Brown's gems, of which Mr. Cuming has a plaster-cast. The dagger was one of the finest he had ever seen in connection with London finds, and he would at some future time ask Mr. Mayhew to exhibit it again, when he would read a paper upon Roman daggers. Mr. Cuming exhibited, in illustration of this relic, a drawing of the bone hilt of a dagger found on the site of the new Post Office in 1824, and a drawing of an ancient iron dagger from Dorsetshire.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited a red tile, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 3 inches, carved with a rude figure of Our Saviour on the cross. This was reputed to have been lately exhumed at Billingsgate, but really was a forgery emanating from the hands of Charles Eaton, a well known manufacturer of false antiquities.

Mr. Cuming exhibited an anelace from the Baily collection, kindly furnished by Mrs. Baily, and read a paper upon it, which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock read a paper upon recent excavations in Newgate Street, which is printed at pp. 76-80 *ante*, and exhibited a various collection of fragments of black, red, and Samian ware, found in the excavations now in progress with a view to widening that thoroughfare. Mr. Brock's paper was also illustrated by some very interesting plans and elevations of the Roman walls uncovered during the works upon the site.

In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper, Mr. Roberts made some remarks upon the practical utility of reporting to archæological societies the result of most recent discoveries.

24TH MARCH, 1875.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

W. Thomas Raymond, Esq., 2, Shaftesbury Villas, Kensington, was elected an Associate.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited some fine specimens of iridescent glass, chiefly of ancient Venetian manufacture, excavated in London; also a wineglass with curved lip and air-bubble, found uninjured on the site of the old Venetian glass-house, Broad Street; also a very singular oval vessel, about 3 inches in length, of transparent glass, adorned with annulets, of high and incurved edges, found in London, and used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the administration of medicines to women in childbed; in Mr. Mayhew's collection are two others of opalised glass. Also a contemporary portrait, on glass, of the celebrated "Dirty Dick" of Leadenhall Street notoriety. Mr. Cuming believed it to be the very effigy of the unfortunate man once

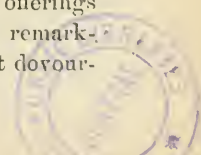
exhibited in the shop window of his habitation. Mr. Mayhew could guarantee no more than that it was a true portrait, and long in possession of his family.

Attention was then called to a collection of seven engraved glasses, each of great historic interest as connected with the Stuarts and Jacobites, demonstrating clearly the feeling entertained for Charles II when in exile, and afterwards for Prince Charles Edward. As it is hoped a paper may at a subsequent period appear in the *Journal*, we confine our remarks at present to a simple notice of the interesting exhibition. Two tall filigree glasses engraved with the royal rose displayed, the garter, star, an oak-leaf, and watchword *FIAT*, plainly telling of the exile after the battle of Worcester. Two other filigree glasses with the royal rose displayed, and a butterfly ascending. A magnificently engraved filigree glass bearing the shield of England without that of Hanover, the Prince of Wales' plume, and motto, *RADIAT*. These probably commemorate the birth of Charles Edward. A large and flower-shaped filigree glass with garter, star, and royal rose. And lastly, a large filigree rummer bearing the portrait of Charles Edward in tartan dress, wearing the ribbon and star of the garter enclosed in a laurel-wreath, with the rose and thistle displayed, the garter, star, and the watchword and hope-word, *FIAT*. Engraved probably on the occasion of his first success. In addition to these Mr. Mayhew exhibited two fine and extraordinary specimens of ancient Spanish glass for holy water, obtained in London.

Mr. Cuming remarked upon the rarity and especial beauty of the various objects in the exhibition, and illustrated his observations by references to several similar specimens contained among his own collection.

Mr. C. Brent exhibited a wooden implement with a carved handle in imitation of a dog's head and wrinkled neck, probably a mock knife used in ceremonials among the natives of Western Africa. Mr. Brent also brought before the notice of the meeting the wooden figure of a female with tomtom-drum and two snakes, exhibited by him at meetings in the month of February last.

Mr. Phené, who was congratulated on his fortunate recovery from an alarming accident he had lately sustained while conducting some explorations among ancient remains, addressed the meeting at some length with regard to the ethnic nature of the effigy exhibited by Mr. Brent, and drew attention to the Chinese features of the figure and the universality of the myth connecting the snake or serpent with the deity and with man. The existence of a Bombay tribe, alleged to be the descendants of Reuben, and worshipping the serpent with offerings of flour made to the beating of the tomtom-drum, was very remarkable, as well as many examples of carvings showing a serpent devour-



ing a child, or a frog, as in the case of this figure. After exhibiting a moulded Egyptian figure of Horus holding emblems in his hands, Mr. Phené proceeded to review traces of serpent-myths in Italy, Scotland, Egypt, and Asia Minor, the legendary histories of St. Michael and the Old Serpent, and of St. George and the Dragon, and to show that from the Gnostic ages until mediæval times there are unbroken links in the history of Draconic symbolism.

A very general discussion ensued, in which Mr. Cuming, Mr. R. N. Philipps, Mr. Adams, and the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, took part; and the meeting expressed its thanks to Mr. Phené for the instructive discourse he had delivered upon a subject so replete with archæological interest.

Mrs. Baily contributed two curious platters of fine pewter, and Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following paper

“ON A GARNISH OF PEWTER.

“Whitaker, in his *History of Manchester*, ii, 42, affirms that ‘the Romans taught us to combine two or three of our metals together and form another, which should be more beautiful in its appearance and more convenient in its use than any of them singly. This is that agreeable appendage of our table which the Romans called *argentarium* or the silvery metal, and we denominate pewter’. The *argentarium*, as described by Pliny, xxxiv, 17, can hardly be regarded as identical with the alloy known as pewter, the antiquity of which is as yet undefined. The so-called leaden brooches of the Teutonic era seem to be composed of a metal cognate to, if not identical with, pewter; which is also the case with the patens and chalices occasionally discovered in the coffins of early ecclesiastics; and ere the close of the fourteenth century, this alloy was extensively employed for pilgrims’ signs, trinkets, and the ornamental portions of knife-sheaths, belts, horse furniture, etc., and for vessels for sacred and domestic purposes. And the estimation in which it was formerly held may be inferred from the fact, that as early as the year 1474 the fraternity of pewterers were incorporated by letters patent by the title of ‘The Master, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Art or Mystery of Pewterers of the City of London’. And in 1534 the wardens of this company, or their deputies, were by act of Parliament empowered to have the inspection or search of pewter in all parts of the kingdom. And the brotherhood received for a crest two arms embowed, holding in both hands erect a round dish or platter.

“Gremio, in the *Taming of the Shrew*, ii, 1, speaks of having stowed ‘in Cypress chests’ ‘pewter and brass, and all things that belong to house and housekeeping’. And as wealth and luxury increased, so spread the use of pewter, gradually driving from the table the horn spoons, and bowls, cups, dishes, and platters of treen, and displaying

its brilliant face on the stately *dressoir* or buffet. But as pewter drove out horn and wood, so silver has well nigh expelled the once highly prized alloy from the mansions of the great, though it still holds its place in certain quarters in the form of measures and beer pots; and another of its old uses will long live in memory by the sign of the 'Pewter Platter' in Cock Hill, Ratcliff, in Gracechurch Street, in White Lion Street, Norton Folgate, and in John Street, Clerkenwell; the latter inn was in a flourishing condition as far back as the reign of Charles II. *Le Plat d'étain* was a common sign in mediæval Paris, and one which is not quite forgotten there in our days.

"Fosbroke (*Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, s. v. pewter) says that 'a garnish of pewter consisted of three dozen of plates and dishes, and one dozen of saucers, every six dishes and platters varying in size'.

"In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1788, p. 583, is a curious inventory of the effects of George Hitchcocke of 'The Mouthe Taverne, without Bishopsgate', 1612; and under the head of 'Pewter and Brasse in the kitchen of the same howse', we read the subjoined items: Fourteen greate pewter dishes, xxvijs.; four lesser dishes, vjs.; seven lesser than those, iijs. viij*d.*; nyne plate trenchers, ijs. iiij*d.*

"The majority of the fine old pewter dishes, which from their weight were the most costly portions of the garnish, have dissolved in the melting pot; but a few have escaped destruction, and one, with its cover, of historic interest, was long exhibited at the 'King's Head Tavern', Fenchurch Street, having been used on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth dining there off pork and pease when she was released from the Tower in 1554. I have seen some half dozen noble chargers of the seventeenth century, graven with the royal arms, which are believed to have done duty in the royal palace. But such chargers must not be confounded with the pewter offertory dishes with the arms of Charles I enamelled on a raised medallion in the centre, of which a fine example was in the Bernal collection.

"It may just be mentioned that one of the great feats performed by Thomas Topham, the famous strong man, who committed suicide in 1749, was the rolling up with his fingers a stout and ponderous pewter dish, and one so rolled formed part of lot 6250 at the sale of the Leveian Museum in 1806, and is now in our national collection.

"Old pewter platters are more abundant than pewter dishes, but are becoming rarer and rarer every day, a fact which enhances the importance of the two examples kindly submitted by Mrs. Bailly, both of which were exhumed in the construction of the river wall of Kenard's Wharf, near Queen Hithe, August 1870. The earliest is certainly not later than the sixteenth century. It measures 7 inches in diameter, and has a round-edged rim seven-eighths wide, on the under side of which are stamped two Gothic letters, the first seemingly *h* reversed,

the second, M. Mrs. Baily's other platter is of the commencement of the seventeenth century. It is $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, with a flat rim 2 inches wide. On the upper surface of this rim are four small lozenge-shaped stamps, evidently placed there in imitation of those on silver ware. The first lozenge contains the letters AL; the second a leopard's head, the third a lion passant guardant, the fourth a buckle (?). On the under side of the rim is a circular stamp, with the device of a hand grasping a great hammer, something like the goldbeater's sign, and reminds us of the 'Pewterer's hammer', spoken of by Falstaff in the second part of the play of *Henry IV* (iii, 2). Immediately beneath the head of the tool, and on the sinister side of the haft, are the letters AL; and above the motto GRADATIM (by degrees). The AL on this platter is no doubt a portion of the name of the maker. So few names of the older pewterers have reached us, that it may be well to here note that at the sale of the collection of James Mills on June 14th, 1865, lot 50 was 'a pewter plate made by Melchior, a pewterer in Norwich about 1680'.

"Hitherto I have failed in finding any mention of hot water plates in the early lists of pewter ware, but I have seen an example stamped with the royal arms without the Hanoverian horse, which attests that such things were in vogue previous to the year 1714.

"The saucers which constituted the third element in the garnish of pewter, are far too often sold and exhibited as ancient patens. I produce a seventeenth century specimen which was exhumed in Bucklersbury, May 1869. It is full $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, the shelving rim being three quarters wide, with a sunk double line or ring near the edge, and stamped with the initials of its former owner, R. I. P. In the middle of the under side of the saucer is the round stamp of the maker, with the letters S. H. This little piece of table furniture is in very perfect condition, and the metal is of superior quality.

"In our day, pewter has fallen so low in general esteem that some may learn with surprise that such artists as Benvenuto Cellini, and his gifted pupil, François Briot, ever exercised their talents on it. And yet among Briot's most famous pieces are his pewter Temperantia plateau and its accompanying ewer, both of which were successfully copied by Caspar Enderlein, who had the impudence to sign his ectype with his name, as may be seen in the beautiful example in the British Museum.

"During the last half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, the German craftsmen produced various plateaus and platters of embossed pewter, rich in busts, figures, heraldic bearings, and tasteful devices of various descriptions. In the South Kensington Museum are several examples of the kind here spoken of; one of the plates having on it the effigy of Ferdinand II, and eleven other illus-

trious personages. Another has on it the arms of the thirteen cantons of Switzerland. In the Holt collection were pewter plates with busts in their centres of the Sultan of Turkey, of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, and Ferdinand III; and a fourth specimen in which the bust of the German emperor is surrounded by equestrian figures of the electors.

"The Bernal collection contained several fine chargers of pewter. One $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, dated 1567, has round the rim and in the centre figures playing musical instruments. Another, $13\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, bears in its centre a representation of the Resurrection, with the twelve Apostles on the rim. And a third, $19\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, displays in the centre a stag, and on the rim six medallions with the expulsion of Adam and Eve, and the date 1640.

"I exhibit a fine and curious example of an embossed platter, but which has unfortunately had a portion of its rim broken away. It is 7 in. in diameter, and embellished in its centre with a medallion of Noah with his wife and son kneeling beside a smoking altar, on the dexter of which stand a stag, unicorn, and peacock. In the distance is the ark resting on the top of Mount Ararat, and spanned by the rainbow; and in the clouds above is the Almighty decked in an eastern crown. In the exergue is the legend NOE.GIENG.AVS.DER.ARCH.GETR. OST.OPFERDT.GOTT.1619. The rim, which is about $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. wide, is decorated with four cartouches containing scenes in the history of our first parents, viz., the Almighty arrayed like a terrestrial sovereign raising Eve from the side of the sleeping Adam; the Almighty warning the innocent couple not to taste of the forbidden fruit; the serpent be-guiling Eve, with Adam standing nigh, ready to fall into the snare; and lastly, the expulsion of the disobedient pair from Paradise, and it is this portion of the rim which has suffered damage. Between each cartouche is a two-handled vase of flowers on a dotted field. And beside the subject described in the first panel is an ovate shield charged per pale, dexter, a demi-eagle, sinister, on a bend an annulet, in chief the letter B. The devices on this elaborately decorated platter are well conceived and executed, and the metal has a very silvery aspect.

"The Germans have ever been famed for the high quality of their pewter wares. Keysler, writing in 1729, and whose *Travels* were translated into English in 1756, says, when speaking of the ingenious artists of Augsburg, that 'The pewterer Obrecht imitates the finest silver; his metal has a clear sound, but fails if in a hundredweight there is so much as half an ounce of lead. This incomparable pewter is withal so solid and hard that the common pewter may be melted in it over the fire; and yet a pound of it does not cost quite half a dollar.' I am not aware if the component parts of Obrecht's alloy have ever been published, but the best English pewter, or that known in the trade as

plate, from platters and dishes having been made of it, is composed of 100 parts of tin to 8 parts of antimony, 2 of bismuth, and the same quantity of copper. *Trifle*, or common pewter, used for beer pots, consists of 80 parts of tin and 20 of lead. And there is a third variety employed for the larger wine measures, and called *ley pewter*, in which there are but four parts of tin to one of lead, and of course the more lead and the less tin are mingled together the worse will be the alloy.

“King, in one of his poems, says,

‘At your dessert bright pewter comes too late,
When your first course was all serv’d up in plate.’

“We have been served with plate and plated goods, but it is still humbly hoped that the pewter which now follows the precious metal may not be regarded as coming too late, and altogether out of place, and void of interest and importance.”

Mr. Blashill was requested by the Chairman to read the Rev. W. H. Jones’ paper on “The finding of the Saxon Church at Bradford-on-Avon”. This paper, which described the circumstances which led Mr. Jones to recover the remains of the church, was amply illustrated by a collection of plans, drawings, and photographic plates, which the author had kindly forwarded for that object. The text of the paper will be found in a future place.

The discussion which ensued, and in which Mr. Blashill, Mr. Brock, Mr. Roberts, and Mr. Birch, took part, evinced a very lively interest in the history of so remarkable a building; and the meeting expressed a hope that Mr. Jones’ historical account would be supplemented by a careful survey and architectural description of the church, which, it was considered, was the gem of the Bristol Congress, and which really demanded from the hands of the Association as exhaustive an examination as could possibly be acquired, with a view to publishing in this, the Bristol volume of the *Journal*, a thoroughly valuable paper on the subject. At the desire of the meeting, Mr. Blashill and Mr. Brock expressed their willingness to meet the views of the Association in this respect.

British Archaeological Association.

THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING, BRISTOL, 1874.

AUGUST 4TH TO 10TH INCLUSIVE.

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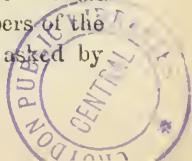
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Proceedings of the Congress.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1874.

THE thirty-first Annual Meeting of the British Archæological Association commenced this day in Bristol, under the presidency of Kirkman D. Hodgson, Esq., M.P. It had been originally intended that the President and members of the Association should have been officially received by the Mayor (Mr. Alderman Barnes) in the Council Chamber; but it was subsequently discovered that yesterday was one of the days fixed by Act of Parliament for the holding of a quarterly meeting of the Council, and as the deliberations would in all probability extend over the hour named for the reception of the archæologists, a change became imperative, an amended programme was issued, and the members of the Association were invited to attend in the grand jury room of the Guildhall at one o'clock. At that hour the President and a considerable number of members, ladies as well as gentlemen, were present. Amongst them were observed Mr. Gordon M. Hills, *Hon. Treasurer*, Brompton; Mr. E. Levien, M.A., F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, British Museum; Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Palæographer*, British Museum; Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, London; Mr. R. Merriman, Marlborough; Mr. H. W. Henfrey, London; Sir P. Stafford Carey, Guernsey; Mr. W. Adlam, F.S.A., Chew Magna; Mr. R. N. Philipps, LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Temple, London; Mr. W. Bragge, F.S.A., Sheffield; Mr. T. Morgan, London; Mr. W. K. Wait, M.P.; Mr. Alderman Edwards; Mr. Alderman Lucas; Mr. C. J. Thomas; Mr. Herbert Thomas; Alderman Jones; Mr. J. Reynolds, *Local Secretary*; Mr. R. Lang; Mr. S. Derham; Mr. R. H. Warren; Mr. H. Derham; Mr. John D. Weston; Mr. H. Naish; Mr. W. Derham; Mr. J. Derham; Rev. Dr. Caldicott; Rev. R. A. Taylor; Capt. Nash; Mr. W. Smith; Mr. C. S. Clarke; and a large proportion of the Vice-Presidents and the General and Local Committees.

Shortly after the time fixed for the reception, it having become known that the meeting of the Council had not concluded, and that the Mayor was therefore detained by civic business, Mr. Herbert Thomas of the Common Council, addressing the President and members of the Archæological Association, said he had that moment been asked by



one of the members of the Local Committee to take the duty of welcoming them to the city of Bristol. He had been asked to do so because it so happened that the Mayor and members of the Town Council were holding a meeting at that moment; and therefore, unhappily, at the very hour appointed for them to meet there, the Mayor was unable to fulfil that duty which otherwise, for the credit and honour of their old city, he would have taken great pleasure in doing; but on Thursday next he believed their Society was to inspect the various antiquities and objects of interest which the Corporation possessed in the Council House, and he had no doubt that at that time fitting honour would be done to the Society. In addition to that, he trusted they would find that every facility would be shown, during the stay they made in Bristol, for seeing all objects of interest in it. He regretted that the skies were not more propitious for their visit; but clouds passed away, and he trusted that the cloud then passing by would be the only cloud the Society would meet with during their visit. Under the presidency of Mr. Hodgson he was sure the Society was likely to have a very pleasant and successful meeting.

Mr. K. D. Hodgson, M.P., in responding, said that as President of the British Archæological Association, he hoped Mr. Thomas would convey to the Mayor and the other members of the Corporation the thanks of the Association for the kindness they had already shown in putting everything they had to be seen at the disposal of the Association. He was quite sure they would have a very pleasant meeting, as there was very much to be seen in Bristol that was worth seeing, and the Mayor and Corporation, the Society of Merchant Venturers, and other public bodies, as well as private individuals, seemed to vie with each other in putting everything before the meetings. He again wished Mr. Thomas to convey to the Mayor their deep sense of his kindness.

The party were on the point of leaving the Guildhall for the purpose of inspecting some of the city churches, when the Mayor and several members of the Corporation arrived, and in one of the judges' private rooms his Worship addressed a few words of welcome to the President and members of the Association. He said he regretted exceedingly that the exigencies of his office compelled him to be at the Council Chamber at the time of their assembling there; and for that reason he could not receive them at the proper hour, nor could he receive them at the Council House. He hoped they would enjoy their visit to Bristol, and that they would inspect all the curiosities of the place. The Town Clerk would have great pleasure in showing them the regalia, charters, etc., belonging to the Corporation. He trusted that at the end of the meeting they would go away with pleasurable remembrances of the city and of the wonders they had explored.

The President thanked the Mayor for his kind welcome, and said

he felt that the visit to Bristol would be marked in the annals of the Association by a very white stone.

A violent storm of rain was descending when the members of the Association left the Guildhall and commenced their round of visits to the city churches. It was not a very favourable start for the day's proceedings, but enveloped in cloaks and wrappers the party, including many ladies, hurried through the streets in carriages or on foot to the first place selected, St. Mary Redcliff, the "queenly pile" so closely associated with the tragic muse of the boy-bard Chatterton.

A very large party, under the able guidance of Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A., inspected the lofty aisles and rich architecture of the interior of this beautiful edifice. The greater part of the assembly occupied the pews, as Mr. Godwin took his place at the reading-desk to read his interesting paper, printed *supra* at pp. 19-23.

J. R. Planché, Esq., V.P., *Somerset Herald*, offered a few remarks, in the main agreeing with those of Mr. Godwin as to the date of the effigy in mail armour; he thought, however, that the effigy ascribed to Berkeley might be more correctly referred to Simon de Burton.

On leaving Redcliff Church, the members and friends proceeded to the infant school-room, in Ship Lane, where they were entertained by the Redcliff vestry (through the churchwardens, Messrs. Mervyn King and Alderman Edwards) at a rich and well served luncheon. About two hundred sat down, under the presidency of Mr. Mervyn King, Alderman Edwards occupying the vice-chair. The chairman was supported by Mr. K. D. Hodgson, M.P., the Mayor and Mayoress, Mr. Sholto Vere Hare, and most of those whom we have already named, several, however, being added to the list, amongst them being Miss Mary Carpenter and two Hindoo gentlemen, Mr. and Mrs. Wansey, Mr. T. T. Taylor, and others. The schoolroom was very tastefully decorated, the plants being contributed by Mr. Francis Baskerville.

After the repast the chairman, as a churchwarden of St. Mary Redcliff, said he could not allow the British Archæological Association to leave that parish without stating how pleased they were to receive them. They knew that in coming to see them they were coming to see their church, of which not only every Redcliff man, but every Bristolian was proud. They looked upon it as one of their greatest monuments—a finer than which as a parish church could not be shown in England. He was sorry that they could not have a fair sight of a portion of its interior, but this was only owing to the scaffolding which they were using to still further complete its restoration. Thanking their President personally for the assistance he had given them in restoring their church and spire, he observed that he met an American the other day who said that he did not envy them much, but there was one thing that he did envy them—for the Americans could beat them

in most things; but there was one thing they could not have—they could not get their churches and their history. In the name of the churchwardens he again thanked them for their visit to St. Mary Redcliff. Mr. K. D. Hodgson, M.P., in a brief speech expressed the deep thanks of the Society to the vestry for the extremely kind and hospitable manner in which they had been received. Congratulating them on the restoration of their church, and especially upon the fact that most of the work had been done, with few exceptions, by the inhabitants of St. Mary Redcliff, he observed that their church had been always to them such a centre in their parish that they were sometimes almost induced to say that they were “men of Redcliff” instead of “men of Bristol”; but he did not think that they carried that to any extreme point, and although they were men of Redcliff, he knew that they had also shown they were men of Bristol, and very good men of Bristol too. He thanked the chairman very sincerely for the welcome they had given them, and he hoped they would have an opportunity before leaving of showing that they were not ungrateful or unmindful of the very kind reception and hospitable manner in which they had been welcomed to the parish of St. Mary Redcliff.

A portion of the party then proceeded to Canynge's room, at Messrs. Jefferies' establishment, in Redcliff Street, where Mr. J. F. Nicholls explained the points of interest; the principal being a remarkable tiled floor containing shields of arms encircled with inscribed garters; the inscriptions and heraldry were unfortunately too indistinct to be correctly deciphered. The majority of the visitors, however, went to Temple Church, to hear Mr. J. Taylor's paper on the Knights Templars, and their association with Temple parish; in which he dwelt upon matters in connection with the history of Temple Church and its endowments, and succeeded in interesting his audience in the ancient structure, whose leaning tower especially attracted the attention of strangers. The text of the paper will be found in a future part of the *Journal*.

Mr. J. F. Nicholls, Sir Stafford Carey, Mr. Hills, Mr. Davis, Mr. Brock, and Mr. Carr, took part in some interesting discussions on the varied points of interest; Mr. Davis drawing special attention to the exceedingly beautiful work, both as to design and finish, of the floriated ironwork in the chancel, detailed as it was with the hammer in a way that very few workmen of the present age could equal. Mr. Nicholls observed that pieces of ancient glass alluded to by Mr. Taylor were in the church before the restoration, and he trusted the visit of the Society might result in having them replaced in the church.

While several of the members went under the guidance of Mr. Nicholls to the fine old Tudor room at Messrs. Franklyn, Davey, and Morgan's, on the Welsh-back, where some fine sixteenth century panel

work and ceilings are carefully preserved, the rest repaired to the Crypt of St. Nicholas Church to hear a second paper from Mr. J. Taylor. Mr. Taylor, in reference to the crypts, both of St. Nicholas and St. John's Churches, demonstrated that they well illustrated the religious uses for which they were intended. Both were remarkably complete examples of their kind—in the Perpendicular style of the fifteenth century—and both were used as places of meeting for religious guilds, and for holding regular commemorations, with dirge and mass, of the benefactors of the church, whose bodies here rested in the altar tombs.

After the reading of the paper, which will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*, further interesting allusions were made to the church records, and the visitors proceeded to St. John's Church, Broad Street. Here Mr. Taylor read at considerable length the details of the history of the fabric erected by Walter de Frampton, mayor of Bristol in 1357, and so intimately associated with the history of Bristol, its fine old archway beneath the tower being the gateway that formed part of the ancient city's fortifications. Two fine Tudor doors in the chancel were pointed out, and Mr. Charles Edward Davis, observing that sometimes the greatest pleasures were to be found in small matters, drew attention to the interesting interior of the vestry room behind the altar, and the exquisite little bits of Tudor and Elizabethan work in the reading desk and poor box. The furniture in the vestry was exactly the same as it was in the time of the Commonwealth, even to the hair seating, etc. There was also to be found there the hour glass used for the duration of the sermon at the time of the Commonwealth. As to the altar table, it was a made-up affair, and savoured more of the "domestic" than the ecclesiastical—a point which some of those present seemed inclined to dispute, but Mr. Davis adhered to this assertion. The hour glass in the vestry received particular attention, some of the visitors turning it up on its pivot and finding that the "sands of time" were still running. One visitor took occasion to remind his colleagues of the story of the parson who, after giving his congregation a lengthy sermon, turned the glass, and sarcastically observed, "I know you are all good fellows; let us have another glass".

A churchwarden's account book of the fifteenth century was shown, but our Hon. Palæographer was unable to get even a momentary look at it, so great was the interest taken in it by several of the visitors who endeavoured to read the old writing.

The banquet took place in the evening at the Royal Hotel, College Green. There were fully two hundred ladies and gentlemen present, and when the guests were seated the room presented a very brilliant appearance. The chair was occupied by Mr. K. D. Hodgson, M.P., the

President of the Association for the year. The President was supported by the Mayor and Mayoress (Mr. and Mrs. Barnes), Sir Stafford Carey and Miss Carey, Mr. W. K. Wait, M.P., and Mrs. Wait, Mr. and Mrs. S. V. Hare, Mr. C. J. Thomas, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, Mr. Planché, Mr. R. N. Philipps, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Caldicott, Mr. M. King, Captain and Mrs. Davis, Mr. A. Baker, Mr. Edw. Levien, Mr. W. de G. Birch, Mr. Gordon Hills, and Mrs. Reynolds. The general company comprised most of the leading citizens and gentlemen of known archæological tastes resident in the neighbourhood of Bristol. Three Indian gentlemen were among the guests, and their picturesque and handsome costumes attracted a good deal of attention. The names of two of these interesting visitors were Mr. P. Venkatakrishnama Maidu and Mr. P. Rantavelu Chetti. The banquet was on a very superb scale, and was served in a style worthy of the reputation of the Royal Hotel. Upon the removal of the cloth,

The President gave "The Queen", and in doing so remarked that it was a toast which was always proposed in any English society when they had arrived at about the middle of the festivities, and was always received with enthusiasm. He was sure he was echoing the wish of every one present when he said he hoped the toast would long continue. He gave "The health of her Majesty the Queen". The toast was drunk with enthusiasm.

The President then proposed, in a few pertinent remarks, "The health of the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, and the rest of the Royal Family". The toast was very enthusiastically received.

Mr. Edward Roberts, F.S.A., proposed "The Bishop of the Diocese and Clergy and Ministers of all Denominations". For many years it had been his good fortune to be brought into contact with every branch, he might say, which represented religion in this country, and in every instance he had found that those ministers of religion were amongst the most intelligent and most conservative of the residents of this country. There was no one who belonged to the Archæological Association who could look around him upon these peripatetic occasions without seeing that those gentlemen who were included in the toast possessed a vast influence. They were, in the truest sense of the word, conservators, and he was afraid that many architects were not conservators in the sense in which the clergy wished them to be. He was very happy to find that there were numbers of members of various churches present, who felt that there was nothing in the studies which they pursued that prevented them from meeting together upon such occasions as that. He wished he could say the same, to the fullest extent, on politics. Although he congratulated them and their President on having a generous antagonist, he was sorry to see that any considera-

tion of political feeling should have kept some of their best friends away that night. He, however, congratulated the meeting that it was able to demonstrate his mistake in this respect. He was glad to say that archæological studies were become more popular than they were at one time. Then they were looked upon as dry and uninteresting. Now young and old flocked to meetings which were held under the auspices of the Association. With regard to the toast, he acknowledged the aid which the Association received from the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol when it visited Exeter; and said that the persons who had charge of their magnificent edifices throughout the country were those to whom they looked for assistance.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth, M.A., responded, and in doing so referred to the deep interest which was taken in all archæological pursuits in Bristol, if he might judge from what was being done at the Cathedral. It was not only at the Cathedral that the work of restoration and rebuilding in this city was going on, and he referred especially to the great work being carried out at St. Mary Redcliff. He knew what had been done for the last thirty years, the money which had been expended, and the good taste with which the restoration had been carried out. The Archæological Association was valuable to them, in that it made suggestions, and inspired them to attempt that which would be for the good, not only of the Church, but of society in general. That society inspired them to search into old records, and also into earthworks, and all that was connected with their parishes. He happened to be in a parish which had much to interest the archæologist. The parish documents had been untouched from the very earliest times; and the local history records were worthy of research, the names of John Locke, Haunah More, and others, occurring in them. The reverend gentleman said he had been a member of the Association from very early times, and he had seen much good come out of it. An interest had been created in its work, good taste had been diffused, and many things had been preserved; and he hoped that the spirit which it had stirred in this country would increase. That would bring its own reward, and soothe many a trial which they must go through. He used to say, if anything troubled him, "Bring me the *Journal* of the Association"; in the same way that an old school-master whom he had heard of, when vexed, used to call for *Euclid*, and then, when he had worked out a few propositions, he could punish in a good temper.

His Worship the Mayor said it was now his privilege to propose the toast of the evening, and that was "The health of the President." He felt perfectly satisfied that it would not require many words from him in order to make the company appreciate that toast; but at the same time he wished that the toast had been placed in the hands of some

gentleman who could speak better and more feelingly than he possibly could. He felt very gratified indeed that their President this year should have been a gentleman who was so very intimately connected with the city of Bristol; and he was sure he should be backed up by all his fellow citizens, whatever their political or any other feelings might be, when he welcomed Mr. Hodgson most warmly. He would not for a moment trench upon politics in a meeting of that kind; but he did think that those present, of every section of politics, appreciated the worth of the gentleman they had in the chair. Having spoken upon that subject, he would now say something of the Association, which was the oldest archæological body in the kingdom, and it had shown the way to other societies in the very agreeable and pleasant steps it had taken. He thought that in coming to Bristol they had made a wise selection; and he did not think there was any man in the city of Bristol, or connected with the city, who was better acquainted with the holes and corners of the old city, than their President. He believed that gentleman would on Thursday take the members of the Association into haunts in the city that they had never explored, and during their sojourn in Bristol he would make them acquainted with architectural discoveries not very often made. His Worship being here interrupted by the barking of a dog outside the building, he happily remarked that he was very glad to find the name of the President was as well received outside the room as inside. He hoped that when the programme laid down had been fulfilled, their President would be able to induce the members of the Congress to stay another day, in order that he might introduce them to some further curiosities in Bristol. He could only say that whenever Mr. Hodgson might come to Bristol, he should be delighted to see him, and always be ready to offer him a hearty welcome. He now gave the President's health. The toast was drunk amid loud cheers.

The President, on rising to respond, was received with loud and prolonged cheering; and the dog in the street resuming his barking, he, amidst great laughter, said it was remarkable how great events were felt in the brute creation. They would remember how the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Bill was interrupted by the presence of a cat, and now the arrival of the British Archæological Association at Bristol was preluded by the barking of a dog. He did not think that the barking of that dog was an expression of bad feeling on his part; but he thought, on the contrary, it was rather a feeling that they were enjoying themselves, and he would like to be amongst them. They would, perhaps, be rather surprised to hear how he became President of the British Archæological Association. They all knew the phrase of old, which said "*optat ephippia bos*", and they saw that in him when a banker turned archæologist. But the way in which that

union of himself and the British Archæological Association took place was that some time ago he was favoured with a visit from Mr. Hills and Mr. Wright, two enthusiastic officers of the Association, who asked him whether he would become the President of the Association for this year, and he replied that he hardly knew anything that would take him to Bristol which would not give him much pleasure. As regarded archæology, his love for it surpassed his knowledge, and he felt that he was out of place as President of that Association; but the gentlemen he had named spoke to him with such gentle words that they encouraged his modesty, and he said he would take the chair, and that upon that occasion he would become the President, and he knew what a kind reception he should receive when he came down amongst them; and that belief had not been disappointed. But considering how lately the union to which he had referred had taken place, they would not be astonished to hear that there was about him at present a good deal of the blushing diffidence of the bride; and he should be much obliged if they would allow him, in speaking to them, to speak only of himself, and to allow the other part of the subject, which he might call the bridegroom part, to his friend Mr. Hills, who was much more capable of dealing with the work which the Association had done, was doing, and which it hoped to accomplish. He was greatly pleased to be there that night, because he had in some measure served as a medium to bring the British Archæological Association in communication with the citizens of Bristol. He ventured to say, upon their part (because again he spoke as a bride), that he never expected, knowing, as he did, the kindness and hospitality of the great bodies of this city, but that they would receive them so kindly and hospitably as they had. They had that day shown the Archæological Association one or two great works. They had shown them the finest parish church in England. He knew that it had many and worthy rivals, such as Boston, Beverley, and other great churches, but to his mind St. Mary Redcliff was the queen of parish churches. And there was one thing they ought not to lose sight of—it was being restored by what he might call a hierarchy—an hereditary hierarchy, who had worked on it from father to son, and now saw the end of all their labours approaching. He was glad to think that he had amongst his guests those who had worked amongst the hardest in the work of restoration. He need only mention the family of the Hares and the family of the Kings. He did not see Mr. Baker (a voice—"He is here"). That, said the President, was another subject to congratulate himself upon. The president went on to remark that they afterwards went to another remarkable church—that of Temple, the restoration of which he was greatly pleased to see because they had not to the same extent that hierarchy of workers, but a committee who had done most excellent work. He remarked that

he should leave to Mr. Hills the duty of speaking to them upon the British Archæological Association. It would be folly in him to attempt to give them an address upon their work when he saw so many around him who knew so much more than he did. He came there and accepted the office of President out of love for the work they were doing, and still more, if he might say so, love for them and the pleasure of meeting them upon that occasion. He had only one thing to regret, and that was that amongst all the inventions yet discovered they had not yet discovered one for making the walls of a room elastic. In conclusion, he trusted that the effect of that meeting would be one of great pleasure to the Association, and he trusted that the city of Bristol would find that in the Archæological Association they had received guests thoroughly aware of the kindness with which they had been received, and some day or other he had little doubt that some good would grow up out of those great works which the Association had seen in progress, and which would be carried to their fulfilment in this great and noble old city.

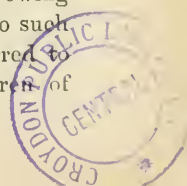
Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Hon. Treasurer of the Association, said he could not bring it upon himself to inflict upon them a speech upon archæological subjects at that time of the evening, for to tell them what the Archæological Society had done and hoped to do would indeed be a very large subject. He was himself, he might almost say, an archæological baby, for he had not belonged to the Association more than fifteen years, though for many years more than that he had delighted in its objects. Fifteen years before his time, the Association included in its ranks such worthy members as the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, whom they had heard with so much pleasure, and in the room were some two or three who were reckoned amongst its first members—such veterans as Mr. Planché and Mr. Scarth. It had been asked what particular application had archæology to their own times and their own circumstances. From this point of view archæology was indeed a practical science, especially when it brought before them so handsome an entertainment as they had enjoyed that day. If he was to attempt to enter into a practical application of the science he should very soon weary them. They must recollect that the Association came to the city in search of information—they came to instruct themselves; and from what they had seen that day he felt that they would carry away with them a rich cargo of instruction to apply in other districts to their own interest, and, as they flattered themselves, with some advantage to the other districts. After referring to the interest which Mr. Reynolds, the local secretary, had taken in the success of that meeting, the speaker concluded by expressing the obligation they were under to the mayor and corporation, and proposed their healths, and the toast was enthusiastically received.

The Mayor, in responding, said he rose to return his sincere thanks for the kind manner in which they had received the toast of his health, proposed by Mr. Hills. He could only say that whatever he had done to advance the object of their visit to Bristol was done with a pure and good spirit, and he would do everything to advance the wishes of his fellow citizens. His Worship remarked that during his year of office it had been his privilege to receive not only this but other large and influential associations; and concluded by thanking the company for the honour they had done him.

Mr. C. J. Thomas was loudly called for, and in response to the invitation, he expressed his gratitude to the company for the honour they had done the mayor and corporation in drinking their healths.

Mr. R. N. Philipps, LL.D., proposed "The Merchant Venturers" in an interesting speech, and gave a short sketch of the rise and progress of the society. He begged to lay an especial stress upon the diversity and antiquity of merchant guilds, of the so-called "mysteries" of the useful arts, and of enterprising commercial combinations, out of which, in all probability, had arisen the enormous power and endurance of our national wealth and credit. And also upon the civic as well as the charitable duties which at the present day had fitly fallen upon companies and societies originally brought into being with the sole object of protecting and extending the private speculations of individual members. The Merchant Venturers of Bristol had indeed, he was happy to say, a time-honoured reputation among the roll of the companies of Great Britain; and the hour was far distant, he was certain, when such a society would cease to carry out with success the numerous duties which it had conscientiously undertaken to perform.

Mr. Mervyn King, as one of the wardens of the society, responded, and said he regretted very much that they had not the presence of their master there that evening to respond to the toast which had been proposed by Mr. Philipps. He remarked that their society was a very old one, and they were glad to welcome the British Archaeological to the city, to show them their old deeds and charters, which were not only the pride of the Merchant Venturers, but, he thought, of the whole city of Bristol. Their society was started originally for trade, and he thought that generally speaking they fostered trade to a great extent at the present time. The trade of the country had, however, become much larger than it was in the days when their society was founded, and it was not confined to companies, but became more general throughout the land, and did not require such societies as theirs to foster it. England was, in fact, a company of traders, but it was owing to the old society of merchants which originally fostered trade to such an extent that had brought England to what it was. He referred to the interest which the society took in the education of the children of



the city, and alluded especially to the speech of Mr. Roberts, remarking that when elections were on, he had been one of the strongest opponents of Mr. Hodgson, but when they were over he was ready to shake him by the hand; and he was sure Mr. Hare and all interested in the party of which that gentleman had been the representative, were always ready to do the same.

Mr. H. W. Henfrey then gave the toast of "The Ladies", to which Mr. C. J. Thomas and Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., responded.

During the evening a glee party, comprising Messrs. Baldwin, Cambridge, Morgan, Lukin, and Eades, under the direction of Mr. Lawson, of the Redcliff Church choir, sang a selection of appropriate music.

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British Archaeological Association.

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NOTES ON THE ROADS, CAMPS, AND MINING OPERATIONS, OF THE ROMANS IN THE MENDIP HILLS.

BY THE REV. H. M. SCARTH, M.A., PREB. OF WELLS.

THE elevated district of the Mendip Hills, extending from the Bristol Channel at Brean Down and the *embouchure* of the Axe, to the confines of Wilts at Maiden Bradley, a distance of about thirty-three miles, with a width varying from five to six miles, presents not only a variety of most beautiful scenery and interesting geological features, but also many remains of historical interest. No district in England manifests more clearly the connexion between the physical features of a country and its antiquarian interest, and that ancient roads, camps, and earthworks, have a close connexion with geological formations. As the natural products depend much upon the character of the formation upon which they grow, so we find the works of man, in ancient times, most plentiful where the soil was richest or the mineral produce largest. In the portion of country now under consideration, the mineral produce of ancient times has been the chief wealth and the great inducement to human effort, but the lateral valleys are extremely fertile.

We find the Mendip Hills very early occupied by a primitive population, as indicated by the many barrows, circles, and remains of ancient villages. We find indications of

very early mining operations, and we have a Roman road and strong earthworks along the entire length of it. We have this road cut obliquely by another Roman road which traversed the island from the Devonshire coast at Seaton to the Lincolnshire coast at the *embouchure* of the Humber. These two main roads have been accurately traced, and along their course are not only to be found the remains of towns now extinct, but the remains of villas and indications of ancient settlements. But the road with which we have now to do is that traversing the Mendip Hills from the promontory called Brean Down, at the mouth of the river Axe, to Old Sarum, the ancient Sorbiodunum, and passing from thence to Winchester (Venta Belgarum), to Clausentum, Bittern (near Southampton), and so on to the Isle of Wight, where was an emporium for lead, much of which must have been the produce of the Mendip mines. From the number of barrows along the line of this road, and the remains of ancient settlements, and the early date of the pigs of lead which have been found along the line of it, it is not improbable that a previous road existed in British times. It will appear hereafter how very early the Mendip mines were placed under tribute, as early as the Emperor Claudius, and this could hardly have been done if the mines had not been in work at the date of his invasion.

For an account of the barrows on Mendip opened by the Rev. J. Skinner, vicar of Camerton, and the results of these openings, I must refer to vol. xvi of the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute, p. 146. Mr. Skinner communicated the result of his investigation in a series of letters to Sir R. C. Hoare. Copies of them are preserved in a volume of MSS. bequeathed by him to the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution, and the contents of these letters are given in the *Archæological Journal*. Cremation appears to have been general among the population of the Mendip. The investigation of these barrows does not present a single instance to the contrary. The barrows are either pre-Roman or were the burial-places of the Britons in Roman times; but instances of Roman *burials* occur; one lately found at Charterhouse-in-Mendip, A.D. 1873, being that of a female, interred in a rude cist formed of rough stones, about 2 feet under the surface. The skeleton was entire, and the bronze bracelets remained on the wrists.

The most remarkable and conspicuous barrows on Mendip are what are called the *Priddy Nine Barrows*, a group commonly called *Ashen Lane Barrows*. eight barrows about half a mile from Priddy Church, and other groups are laid down in the Ordnance Survey.

In addition to these barrows are *circles* at a spot near Priddy, called *The Castles*. These consist of a circular enclosure with an external ditch, the diameter of each being 500 feet. They are four in number; and a similar circle occurs on Walton Down, between Clevedon and Portishead. It is not improbable that these circles may have served for local assemblies or for religious rites.

The earthworks throughout this district are very numerous, and also the traces of early settlements: thus, towards the mouth of the river Axe, near the village of Bleadon, are the vestiges of an extensive British settlement as well as a Roman station. These settlements are traceable in the vicinity of large camps, chiefly on the southern slope of the Hills.

The camps begin with the fortification which can be distinctly traced on Brean Down, known as the Roman port, Ad Axium,¹—a Roman station near Uphill, on the high ground above the river Axe. There is here also a barrow; and the intervening space between this and the station (about a quarter of a mile) is called *Borough Walls*, while on the other side of the river we find the name of *Cold Harbour*. In driving from Uphill to Bleadon the road passes through the ancient British settlement above mentioned. From the Roman station at Uphill may be traced the Roman road on the high ground between Uphill and Old Mixon, and above Hutton, till you come to the *second* earthwork of importance, which is the *large camp* over *Banwell*.²

¹ This is not named in Ptolemy. The name was given in recent times because it is situated at the mouth of the Axe.

² For a plan of the earthworks on Banwell Hill, see Sir R. C. Hoare's *Ancient Wills*, vol. ii, p. 43; also Seyer's *Bristol*, vol. i, p. 85; and the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute, vol. xxiii, p. 269. One of these has been called a barrow, but it is enclosed by a rampart and ditch; and the barrow itself is cruciform, and measures 35 yards from east to west, and 45 from north to south. The cross-ridge is 2 feet high, and 4 or 5 feet wide. In the middle of the cross is an excavation, probably an old well. There is one example of such a structure on the top of a mountain at Margam, Port Talbot, South Wales (see *Arch. Camb.*, vol. iii, p. 229), each arm of which is 70 feet long and 18 feet wide. A second example is at St. Margaret's Park, eleven miles west-south-west of Hereford, and half a mile east of St. Margaret's Church (see *Arch. Inst. Journ.*,

Between this camp and the village is a very curious earthwork, with a cruciform construction in the centre and occupying a great portion of the entire area. It is formed of small stones.

Following the line of the Roman road, which passes a little to the south of these earthworks at Banwell, we come to the fortification called Dolebury, which is the third earthwork of importance in the line of Roman road. This is a noble fortification, and the position very strong; but the appreciation of its real strength is much diminished by the turnpike road from Bristol to Bridgewater passing along the side of the hill to the west of this camp, on the opposite side of the ravine. This road has been skilfully engineered, so as to avoid the deep below, and is carried along the face of the ascent opposite, the road being cut through the rock. The ancient road which traversed this pass must have run very far below the present, and been completely commanded by the camp. The depression appears to have been one of the great passes through the Mendip Hills, and an ancient road coming from Axbridge seems to have passed through this gorge and crossed the Vale of Wrington, pointing direct to Cadbury, near Yatton, where are traces of ancient fortification, and Roman remains (interments) have been found, and not far from thence the remains of a Roman villa.¹ Indeed, the turnpike road has partly destroyed an ancient earthwork called *Dinhurst* Camp, just over Churchill, and opposite to Dolebury. This has far more the characteristics of a Roman camp than Dolebury, which must have been a work of great time and labour, and is in its construction more like Worlebury over Weston, and intended for permanent occupation.

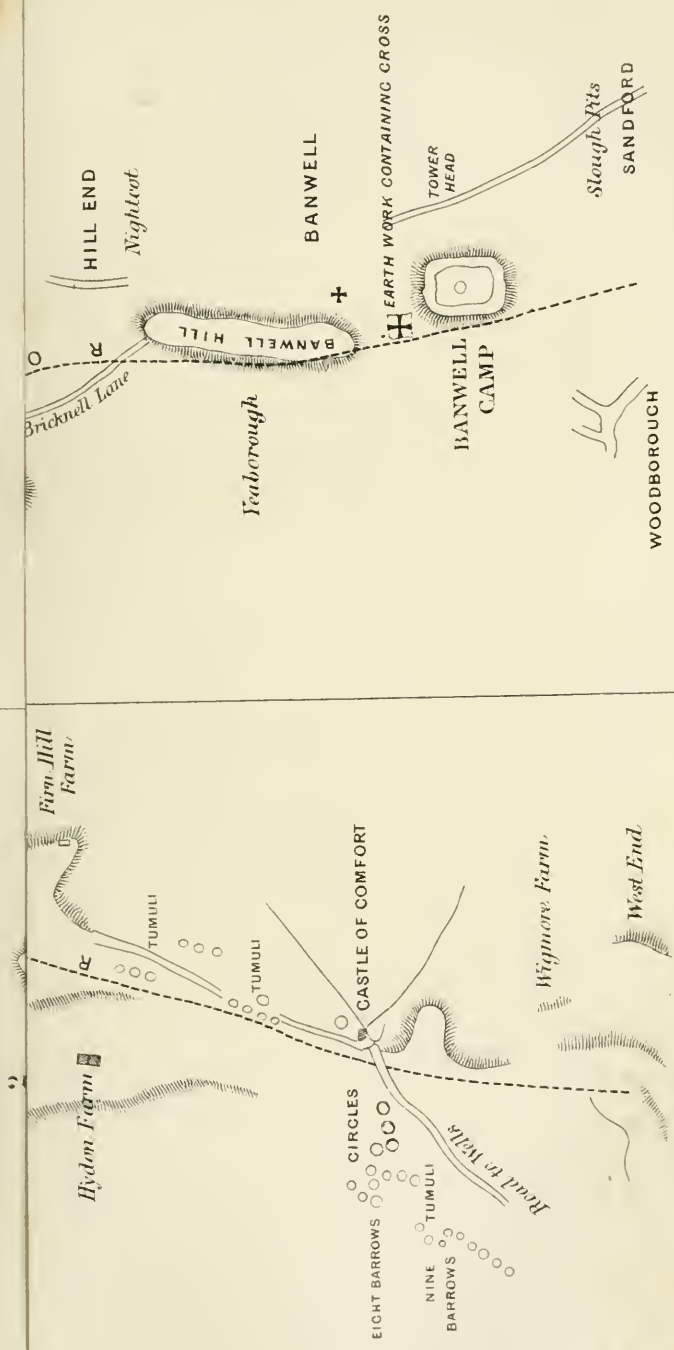
The Roman road runs between Rowberrow and Shipham,

vol. x, p. 358, and vol. xi, p. 35). This was excavated without any result. Remains of ancient habitations are found near it, and pottery, and some bronze instruments. Another example is said to have existed near Wimbleton Camp, Middlesex (see *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxiii, p. 269). Mr. Roach Smith, in his account of Richborough (see *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, p. 48), mentions a cruciform structure of solid masonry, upon a platform of the same construction, 144 feet long by 104 feet wide and 5 feet thick; in the midst of which is the base of a superstructure *in the shape of a cross*, rising somewhat above the ground, and from 4 to 5 feet above the platform. It has been faced with squared stones, some of which remain. The shaft, running north and south, is 89 feet long, and 75 broad; the transverse is 22 feet wide, and 46 long.

¹ At Captain Long's, Woodlands.

PLAN OF ROMAN ROAD ALONG THE MENDIP HILLS.

Pl. 9.



Roman Road marked thus -----

J. Jobbins



Roman Road marked thus -----

but nearer to Shipham, and then passes over Black Down, right through the centre of a small quadrilateral earthwork, and then makes direct to Charterhouse, which is proved to be a Roman mining station of great importance by past and present discoveries.

Here we have not only a station, but an amphitheatre on the south slope of the hill above the station, and a field, called the "Town Field", is full of remains. Foundations of buildings, pottery of every kind, from the Samian to the coarsest black, leaden pigs of various weight and thickness, and leaden implements, as lamps, weights, toys, signets and gems, and coins from an early to a late date. Here is such abundance of Roman scoria, that it is now under the process of being resmelted. From hence the Roman road is distinctly marked over Ubley Warren, past the Castle of Comfort on the south side, and its course is here marked by tumuli, and the circles I have mentioned, till we come to the next great earthwork called Maesbury Castle. The Roman road passes to the north of this, and soon cuts the Foss Road from Bath to Ilchester, as it crosses over Beacon Hill.

There is another earthwork on its course at Norwood, not far from Leighton, on the road to Frome, and this is the last earthwork of importance in Somerset, but the road continues on past Maiden Bradley, till it reaches the great fortress of Old Sarum. How much do antiquaries owe to Sir R. C. Hoare for having so carefully traced this road and planned it, unknown as it was before his day, and how completely have his anticipations respecting the discoveries at Charterhouse been fulfilled.

Having spoken so far of camps, roads, and other earthworks on Mendip, I would now go on to say something of the

Ancient Mining in the Mendip.—The subject of ancient metallurgy in Great Britain has been very ably handled by Professor Phillips in a memoir printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 7, and originally read to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, in the proceedings of which Society it first appeared. There is added in the *Archæological Journal* an "Enumeration of Blocks of Lead and Tin, relics of Roman Metallurgy, discovered in Britain", by Mr. Albert Way, F.S.A., where a short description and a drawing of most of these pigs or masses of lead is given. This

is a very great addition, and most useful to the student of ancient metallurgy.

The Rev. Dr. McCaul, president of University College, Toronto, has classified and arranged the inscriptions found on these masses of lead, and given very clear and learned explanations of the meaning in his work on *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, p. 31 *et seq.*

The late Mr. James Yates, in an article in the *Somersetshire Archæological Journal* (5th Session, 1857-58), p. 15, "On the mining operations of the Romans in Britain", has treated of some of the masses of lead found in this county, and given drawings of the instruments found in the mining districts. His notice, though very able, is but scanty, and much has been discovered since it was written. Professor Phillips observes, that the districts in Britain where lead veins coming to the surface in abundance might justify the praises of Pliny, are in the south, Mendip; in the west, Flintshire; in the north, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and Cumberland. Lead cast in Roman moulds has been found in Somersetshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, Hampshire, Sussex. But few mining instruments have been found in the lead bearing districts of Britain, and, says he, "I am strongly of opinion that much of the lead ore was collected from the surface by aid of water artificially directed. The process described by Pliny is in terms so exactly applicable to the modern 'hushes' of Swaledale (Yorks.), that no doubt can remain of this custom, which is now esteemed rude and semi-barbarous, being of Roman or earlier date. As from Roman times, or even earlier, our lead mining derives its 'hush', its levels, and shafts, implements for washing, and the forms, heights, and marks of its melted metal, we may admit a similar origin for the melting processes. Lead mostly occurs in the sulphuret, which offers no particular difficulty in the fire. By cautious roasting, its excess of sulphur may be removed, and the subsequent melting with charcoal as a flux may be facilitated. Indeed, without roasting and without flux, in many cases the lead will flow out of the ore, if placed among flaming peat or wood, and subjected to a sufficient stream of air."

On Matlock Moor, Derbyshire, in 1783, in clearing a piece of land in the course of enclosing a common, a pig of

lead was found ; close to the spot was a "bole" or place marked by heaps of rubbish, and a hearth of flat stones, where in ancient times, before smelting mills were constructed, lead ores were smelted. Pennant notices such ancient flag hearths in Flintshire, and I have seen them in Shropshire, near Minsterley. Pigs of lead are found not only near these smelting places, but on the lines of Roman roads and on the banks of rivers, where they were probably about to be shipped. Thus two pigs were found on the ancient bank of the river Frome, at Bristol, where it joins the Avon, and one on the north bank of the river Almond, Perthshire, near its confluence with the Tay.

The discovery of Roman lead, not at the mines, but at a distance of some miles, on a track leading towards a Roman or pre-Roman station, is of much importance in archæology, for thus we arrive at the conviction of the existence of very ancient mining roads not of Roman work, but it may be earlier. Some of these exist in Yorkshire, but in Somerset we have a road protected by strong camps guarding the passes through the Mendip hills, passing through the whole length of the Mendip, and terminating at a port on the Bristol Channel. Professor Phillips observes that "the same system adopted by the Romans in Africa, Spain, and Gaul, seems to have been pursued in Britain. They broke up no national industry, set no legionaries to supplant native miners, but stationing a few cohorts on the ancient roads, in close proximity to the mining district, to control a rude population, received regularly the fruits of the industry which they might direct, but did not personally share." This is very evident in the district of Mendip. The camps are in close proximity to the workings ; thus, at Dolebury, there are ancient workings in every direction around ; and again at Burrington, where another camp commands a pass through the hills, there are also remains of ancient workings ; but at Charterhouse, where the chief remains have been discovered of ancient pottery, and recently of lead, there is not only a camp but an amphitheatre, on the southern slope of the hill, and the hill side is covered with ancient slag, the refuse of former furnaces.

The Foss way from the Ocerinian (Lizard) promontory crosses the Mendip hills, and other great Roman roads take in the chief mineral districts of England, and even the great

northern barrier, the Roman wall, is so planned as to include the mines of Northumberland and Durham. This policy of that most politic people is much more clearly marked in the great road and stations between Old Sarum and the Severn at Uphill. And that the mines of Somerset must have been of a very early date is made certain by the date of the lead which has been found on the line of the road that traverses the district of Mendip.

Near Blagdon, which is a mining village on the north flank of the Mendip, and in the line of the road just mentioned, was found the earliest pig of lead yet discovered with the Roman stamp upon it. It is the only inscription which records Britannicus, son of Claudius, associated with that emperor in the government, and regarded as the heir to the throne, but afterwards set aside for Nero, and eventually poisoned by him, A.D. 55. The date of this pig is A.D. 49, and a drawing of it will be found in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xi, p. 278, where it is also carefully described. Some letters of the inscription are obliterated, but the correct reading appears to be BRITANNIC. AVG. FIL. It was presented to the British Museum by Mr. Williams of Bristol, into whose possession it had come. This was found on the northern slope of the Mendip, but another mass, of equal interest, was found on the southern slope, at Wookey near to Wells.

Leland, in mentioning the rich lead mines of the Mendip, mentions the discovery of this inscribed mass, and calls it "Trophæum ex oblonga plumbi tabula", and then gives the inscription, TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. P.M. TR. P. VIII. IMP. XVI. DE BRITAN. It was discovered in ploughing, like that last mentioned, and near Wookey hole, in the reign of Henry VIII, and has hitherto been considered as a trophy erected to commemorate a victory ; but the recent discovery of thin pieces of lead at Charterhouse, stamped with the imperial mark, only of later date, shows that it was the custom to impress the imperial stamp upon masses of various thickness, and of very different weights. I am strongly of opinion that the lead was obtained from Wookey, and that the cavern there, which lately attracted so much notice on account of the animal remains found in it, is an ancient Roman mine. This does not, however, preclude the idea of a portion being a natural cavern. It needs no proof to show

that the Romans did form vast caverns and penetrate into the heart of the hills in pursuit of mineral. The hills called the Dowards, little and great, between Goodrich Castle and Monmouth, have been largely mined by the Romans; one entrance remains to a mine in the Great Doward, where they have excavated a large cavern into the side of the hill, and wherein they came upon the vein of iron ore, which they followed into the heart of the mountain. From this cavern rude galleries run in more than one direction, leading to a succession of chambers made by the extraction of the iron ore.¹

Large caverns hollowed out of the mountain by Roman miners are found in Shropshire, at Shelve, and at Snailbeach, where masses of lead have been found bearing the Roman stamp. A modern company, formed for the purpose of working this district, have met with numerous shafts and galleries. The antiquity of these mines has been proved, not only by the Roman pigs of lead, but by Roman coins and pottery found from time to time among the rubbish. Early mining implements have also been found, also candles used by the Roman miners. These may be seen at Linley Hall, the seat of Jaspar More, Esq.

In the quarterly *Journal* of the Geological Society of London, vol. xxiii, p. 491, 1867, in a paper by Mr. Charles Moore, will be found some account of the ancient workings in Mendip. He says: "The mineral districts of the Mendips and Priddy were extensively worked during the Roman occupation, and the great industry they manifested is shown by the enormous quantity of refuse *slags* and *slimes* left by them in some of the valleys. Owing to the imperfect mode of working, about $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of lead remains, which is now being extracted by several companies. In general, the lead ores of the district 'prove' near the surface, and so well and completely did the Romans appear to have exhausted the veins, that little has subsequently been worked profitably."

A shaft had been sunk as an experiment at Charterhouse Warren, north-west of the highest carboniferous limestone platform of the Mendips, but afterwards abandoned. Implements of ancient mining were found in this district, in one of the workings, consisting of a wooden shovel, bound with iron,

¹ See "Mining Operations on the Borders of Wales", by Thos. Wright, F.S.A., *Intellectual Observer*, May 1862.

having a square hole in the centre of the flat blade for a handle, and of the same form as those found at Shelve in Shropshire, and preserved at Linley Hall; drawings of which are given in Mr. Wright's paper on "Roman mining operations on the borders of Wales", in the *Intellectual Observer*, May, 1862, pp. 300-301. Also an iron head of a hammer and a pick. These are preserved in the Museum of the Literary and Scientific Institution at Bath.

At Charterhouse on Mendip, in a field called the *Hundred Acres*, and on the southern slope, may be seen a very perfect amphitheatre. The field is in tillage, and therefore the form of the amphitheatre has been somewhat injured by the plough; but the area is very distinct, and the raised portions or mounds outside the area. The entrances also are quite plain. The field below this, descending into the valley, is called the *Town Field*; and here, in searching for slag to resmelt, quantities of pottery of every description have been found, from the finest Samian to the rudest black pottery; also portions of lead bearing the Roman stamp, of different height and thickness; and other implements made of lead, as well as pieces of inscribed stone. Here also was found a pig of lead of the date of the Emperor Antoninus, the heaviest yet discovered in this island. The reading is IMP. CAES. ANTONINI. AVG. PII. PP. The two letters run together are II and P. These may be restored from a similar inscription found on two pigs of lead found in Wade Street, Bristol, the ancient bank of the river Frome, which flows into the Avon. An account of these and their discovery is given in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxiii, p. 277. These pigs were probably also taken from the mine at Charterhouse, and were brought to be shipped from Bristol; and on the bank of the river Frome may have been the old Roman wharf for exporting lead. It is not at all improbable that in the Roman period there was a lead *depôt* there, as Roman coins have been found in and around Bristol, and there are traces of a Roman camp at Clifton, on the Down, within the enclosure of a still more ancient entrenchment. A Roman road passes over the Down. The probable date of these pigs of lead is A.D. 138 or 139. The weight of the pig lately found at Charterhouse is 223 pounds, and it is supposed to have lost a pound by erosion. This is heavier than any pig of Roman lead yet found in this country. The

length is 1 foot 6 inches ; at the upper surface the width is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and at the bottom, 8 inches. It is in very perfect preservation. Portions of two more, much thinner, have also been found, more like sheets or bands of lead. The first has the imperial stamp, IMP. VESPASIA..., and is there torn in half. The length of the portion remaining is 1 foot 3 inches, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and 2 inches thick. The entire reading could probably be supplied by referring to the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 28, where readings of other pigs of the Emperor Vespasian are given. The interest of this fragment is in the beautiful form of the lettering, which is much superior to that of the Antonine pig.

The opposite end of another pig with the latter part of the name [A]NTONINI, and the letters CORVM under it, has also been found. This fragment is only 8 inches long, $3\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and about three quarters of an inch thick. The emperors under whom it was smelted were Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus ; and the entire reading may be supplied from other inscribed pieces of lead, thus :

[IMP. DVOR. AVG. A]NTONINI
[ET VERI ARMENIA]CORVM.

A pig with this inscription was found at Bruton in Somersetshire, and was probably got from the same mine. The title *Armeniaci* was taken A.D. 164 (see *Brit. Roman Inscrip.*, pp. 35, 37). Another fragment with the latter letters of this title, and therefore of this same date, but still thinner in substance, and having a crease in it, has also been discovered, but the lead is much corroded. These remains lie about 2 feet under the surface, and in places are not even so deep.

These inscribed portions of lead of different thickness, from the pig weighing two hundredweight to the band of lead weighing a tenth or twentieth of that weight, show how much the weight and thickness varied ; but the imperial stamp is found upon each. From these late discoveries we are enabled to clear up the mystery which has hung about a similar *lamina*, or plate of lead, found at Wookey, near Wells, recorded by Leland in his *Collectanea*, and described by him as “*Trophæum ex oblonga plumbi tabula*”; also by Dr. Musgrave in his *Belgium Britannicum*, and supposed to have been a trophy of a victory obtained (see *Brit. Rom.*

Inscrip., by the Rev. Dr. M'Caul, LL.D., p. 35). The *tabula* found at Wookey bears the stamp of the Emperor Claudius, A.D. 49, and has the letters DE BRITAN, marking it as the produce of a British mine. It seems, however, to have been no trophy at all, but simply a plate (*lamina*) or *tabula* of lead bearing the imperial stamp, like those found at Charterhouse, only of an earlier date. The lead of which this *tabula* was made may have been obtained from Wookey Hole, which has many characteristics of an ancient Roman lead-working.¹

The inferences which I think we may gather from these discoveries is :—1. That the Romans had very early possession of the mines, even as early as the days of the Emperor Claudius. This is shown by the pig of lead found at Blagdon,

¹ Relative weight of pigs of Roman lead found in Britain :

Britannicus, A.D. 44-48 ; weight, 163 lbs.

Claudius, A.D. 49 ; no weight given.

„ A.D. 41-54 ; length, $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches on inscribed side, 20 inches on the other ; no weight given.

„ ——— ; no weight given.

Nero, A.D. 60-68 ; 156 lbs. nearly.

Vespasian, III Consul., A.D. 74 ; 179 lbs.

„ V „ A.D. 76 ; 150 lbs.

„ Twenty pigs found, “massas plumbeas forma oblongiore sed quadrata” (Camden, *Brit. Edit.*, 1607, p. 463). These seem to have been rather leaden bands or thin pigs. No weight given.

Domitian, VII Consulate, A.D. 81 ; 156 lbs.

„ found at Chester ; 168 lbs.

„ found near Matlock ; 127 lbs.

Hadrian, A.D. 117-138 ; 193 lbs.

„ Snailbeach, Minsterley, parish of Westbury ; 190 lbs. 6 oz.

„ Shelve Hill ; weight not given.

„ A.D. 117-138 ; Snead, Shropshire ; 190 lbs.

„ „ Bath ; 195 lbs.

„ „ Snailbeach, Minsterley, parish of Westbury ; 193 lbs.

Antoninus and Verus, A.D. 163-169 ; Bruton, Somerset ; 50 lbs. 1 ft. 9 ins. long, 2 ins. thick, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. broad. Stukeley, *Itin. Curiosum*, p. 151, *iter vi*.

IMP. DVOR. AVG. ANTONINI

ET VERI ARMENIACORVM.

„ found on Matlock Moor, 1783 ; 83 lbs. Length, $20\frac{1}{2}$ ins. ; width, $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

„ Hexgrove parish, Mansfield, Notts. ; 184 lbs.

On the north bank of the river Almond, at its junction with the Tay, was found “an oblong bar of lead”, 73 lbs. weight. $\propto J_{\text{XXXX}}^{\text{II}}$. (Wilson's *Prehist. Annals*, p. 392.)

Antoninus Pius, A.D. 166 ; 76 lbs.

„ 89 lbs. ; found in Wade Street, Bristol.

„ found at Charterhouse-on-Mendip, 1873 ; 223 lbs.

The modern pig of lead is one-sixteenth of a fodder, or $176\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. *Fodder*, *fudur*, in Saxon and German, signifies a cartload, about eight pigs of lead, or 1,600 lbs. ; but the fodder varies in different countries from $19\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. to 24 cwt. (see *Arch. Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 19, note).

bearing the name of BRITANNICVS (A.D. 44-48), and that found at Wookey having the stamp of the emperor, CLAUDIVS. The Romans must have found these mines at work, when this part of the island was subdued by Vespasian, the general of Claudius. If not already worked by the Britons, the Romans must have been very speedy in developing the mineral resources of the country which they had so recently conquered. It seems more probable that they found the mines already in operation, and encouraged and protected the work, while they drew a steady tribute from the labour of the natives.

2. The military occupation of the district and the resources of the mines seem to have lasted throughout the whole of the Roman period, and the remains give proof of the luxury and refinement of the people, even in this wild country; oyster shells, Samian ware, gems, silver coins, amphora, and every kind of pottery, betoken ease and comfort, and an amphitheatre the cultivation of warlike habits in times of quiet and repose.

3. This district, after the departure of the Romans, seems to have been quite neglected and forgotten till mediæval times, as we find no traces as yet of Saxon rule.

The following is a list of the *instrumenta* of various kinds, and other remains, found at Charterhouse in Mendip: 1. A leaden lamp, of which the top is wanting, 4 inches long, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and half an inch deep. 2. A leaden instrument, purpose unknown, made of beaten lead, and resembling a small saucepan, but squared, with a short thick handle. Length 6 inches, width 2 inches, depth 1 inch. 3. Leaden nails, with large heads, 4 inches long. 4. Four leaden weights, weighing 1, 2, 3, 4 oz. respectively. Besides these instruments of lead, others of bronze have been discovered. 5. A spoon or cocleare. 6. Bronze tweezers. 7. Four gems, well cut, with elegant figures. 8. Specimens of every kind of pottery, from the fine red Samian to the coarsest black earthenware. 9. Handles of amphora of large size. 10. Abundance of oyster shells. 11. An urn of coarse black pottery, 15 inches high, filled with burnt bones. 12. A cist made of rough stones, containing the skeleton of a female, on the wrists of which were bronze "armillæ". The cist was covered with two flat stones. 13. The top stone of a quern composed of hard conglomerate rock, and other portions of

querns. 14. A small bronze bell, 2 inches high and 2 wide at the mouth. 15. Two fragments of wrought stone with the letters well cut, reading

DOM ^I O		N ^I
SEPT ^I MI	and	RI
		FI

16. An iron chain with a long hook attached for suspending a chaldron or iron pot. The chain itself is attached to an iron beam, with projecting hooks, and at the other end is a large ring. It has evidently been used for suspending a pot over a fire.

Roman coins found at Charterhouse in Mendip :

Silver coin of Claudius found in the Amphitheatre.—*Obv.*, TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. P. M. TR. P.; laureated head. *Rev.*, PACI AVGVSTAE; Peace, with the emblems of Nemesis, and holding a *caduceus*; at her feet a serpent. (See Cohen, vol. i, p. 161.)

Copper coins washed with silver.—*Obv.*, IMP. C. M. AVR. PROBVS. AVG.; head with a spiked crown. *Rev.*, LAETITIA AVGVSTI; draped female figure, left hand resting on a wand, right holding a garland; *exergue*, XXXX.

Obv., IMP. C. M. CL. TACITVS. AVG.; head of Emperor Tacitus. *Rev.*, LAETITIA FVNDI; Lætitia resting on an anchor with left hand, and stretching forth a garland.

Obv., same Emperor. *Rev.*, SALVS AVG.; Salus, seated, feeding a serpent.

Silver. Trajan.—*Obv.*, TRAIANO. AVG. GER. DAC. PM. TRP. *Rev.*, COS. V. PP. SPQE. OPTIMO. PRINC.; figure holding a branch, bird at the foot, left arm resting on a rod.

Ditto.—With fine head, but the legend not readable.

Ditto.—*Obv.*, IMP. CAES. NERVA. TRAIAN. AVG. GER. *Rev.*, winged Victory with wreath; legend, VIC. AV. COS. II. PP.

Silver. Vitellius.—*Obv.*, CONCORDIA. RP.; a figure seated. *Rev.*, VITELLIVS. GERM. IMP. AVG. TR. P.

Silver. Mark Antony.—*Obv.*, ANT. AVG.; a galley with oars; III. VIR. RP. *Rev.*, standards; LEG. X.

Silver.—*Obv.*, legend defaced, MPX.; head with short curled hair compassed with a wreath, tied behind. *Rev.*, VIC. AVG. COS. II. P. P.; winged Victory with a wreath in the hand.

Silver. Vespasian.—*Obv.* defaced; D. AV. AN. VESP. *Rev.*, winged Victory placing a shield upon a trophy, at the bottom of which is a captive figure seated; legend, COS. VIII.

Bronze, defaced.—One of the sons of Constantine.

ON THE FINDING OF THE SAXON CHURCH OF ST. LAURENCE AT BRADFORD-ON-AVON.

BY THE REV. W. H. JONES, M.A., F.S.A., PREBENDARY OF
SARUM, AND VICAR OF BRADFORD-ON-AVON.

No little surprise has been expressed at the fact, that this unique and most interesting little church, *ecclesiola*, as William of Malmesbury calls it, should have been so utterly forgotten for centuries. Till some eighteen years ago, in fact, no suspicion existed as to there being a perfect church of its character and date in England. Long after attention was drawn to it, not a few were sceptical about it; and even those who more or less believed in its authenticity, before, that is, they were able to produce documentary evidence in favour of their views, were regarded as enthusiasts who were rather guided by their wishes or hopes than by what their calm judgment approved.

It will be interesting to our readers to learn how the discovery was made, and by what chain of reasoning a satisfactory conclusion has been arrived at. A detailed architectural account of the building itself, accompanied with illustrative drawings, will be given in a subsequent portion of our *Journal*.

This "*Ecclesiola*" is situated close by the north-east end of the present parish church of Bradford-on-Avon. Both churches no doubt originally stood in the same churchyard, the extent of which was at one time far greater than at present. There can still be pointed out the spot where stood the old wicket, or as it was called the "church-hatch", which led to the precincts of the churchyard, and which was placed a considerable distance eastward of the present entrance gates. Leland, when he paid a flying visit to Bradford-on-Avon in 1640-42, speaks of a "goodly large chirch-house, *ex lapide quadrato*, at the est end of the churchyard, without it"; this house is still standing, and has been recently purchased for the purposes of a charity school, established in 1712; but it is now some 120 yards from the churchyard gates.

Hemmed in on almost every side by buildings of one

kind or another, on the north by a large shed, employed for the purposes of the neighbouring woollen manufactory; on the south by a coach-house and stables, which obscured the south side of the chancel, and also by a modern house built against the same side of the nave; on the east by what was formerly "a very fair house of the building of one Horton, a riche clothier", the western gable of which was within a very few feet of it, and hid it completely from general view;—the design and nature of the building entirely escaped the notice of archæologists. The fact, moreover, of the west front being to a great extent modern work of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, in feeble imitation of the old Romanesque, the fragments of the original arcading now visible being then concealed by ivy which has been since removed, thoroughly deceived casual observers, and indeed rendered all at the first more or less sceptical in admitting the antiquity of the building.

Although it was known that an early church and monastery were founded in Bradford by St. Aldhelm, yet the currently received opinion, which was repeated by one topographical writer after another, that they had been utterly destroyed during the Danish wars, encouraged no hopes whatever of our finding any traces of the original structure. Nevertheless a conclusion had been arrived at, from the discovery of stone coffins and traces of interment in the ground immediately adjoining the buildings in question, that its site must have been on or about the same spot.

It was about twenty years ago, that, during the progress of some repairs, amongst which was the enlargement of a chimney flue that ran up at the east end of what was then a schoolroom and has since turned out, little as we then suspected it, to have been the east wall of the original nave of the church, two very ancient stone figures of angels were discovered. They were found imbedded in the wall, one on either side. They were removed, one of them necessarily, for the insertion of the flue, and for some time were placed over the porch leading to the modern house attached to the building on the south side. I had no opportunity of inspecting the portion of the wall from which they were taken, and the plaster ceiling of the schoolroom, which had been partially removed, was at once replaced. But the sculptured angels presented so strong a resemblance to

figures found in the Utrecht Psalter of the ninth century, and in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, a manuscript¹ of the tenth century, as to set one thinking that they must have formed part of an ancient structure, even though they were all that remained of it.

Time went on, and it was determined that the annual meeting of the Wiltshire Archæological Society should be held at Bradford-on-Avon in 1857. A request was made that I would prepare a short history of the parish. Whilst collecting materials for the paper, I visited, together with a worthy parishioner, to whose family it had once belonged, an ancient chapel then in ruins, the Chapel of St. Mary, Tovy, situated at the very highest point of the hill that closes in our town on the north side. After examining closely all the remains on the spot, we looked from the height on the town that lay beneath us. And it was then that the truth first flashed on my mind, that after all there might be some remains of our ancient church or monastery; for, looking at a block of buildings on its presumed site, my eye was attracted by three lines of roof, slightly higher than the rest, which seemed to indicate the outline of the nave, chancel, and porch, or, it might be, transept, of an ancient church. My friend was sceptical, but we came down the hill together and examined, as far as we could, the structure thus indicated. But it was so buried in the superincumbent earth, and so completely hidden by what have been not unhappily termed “parasitic buildings”, and withal so difficult of access, that our investigation was by no means a satisfactory one; still the impression never left me that here at least we should find some fragments of our ancient church, and that in the old arcading, small portions of which were visible on closer examination, we had, it might be, a part of the original structure.

In August, 1857, the Wiltshire Archæological Society held its meeting at Bradford-on-Avon. In a paper read before its members attention was called to this building, but it was hardly possible even for a practised eye to trace out its design, and few, if any, seemed willing to believe it to be a genuine relic of bygone ages. It is right, however, to add that a heavy storm of rain prevented any careful observation of it on that occasion.

¹ See *Archæologia*, xxiv, Plate VIII.

About a year afterwards, an account of the building was published in the magazine of the Wilts Archæological Society (vol. v, 247). It was illustrated by a set of drawings, showing the ground plan and elevations, made by the Rev. W. C. Lukis, then one of the secretaries of the society, who felt an especial interest in the work from having been at a previous period for some years curate of the parish.

Though not a few men of mark well able to form a judgment on the matter, amongst them Mr. E. A. Freeman, Sir Gilbert Scott, and the late Mr. Petit, pronounced for the extreme antiquity of this building, yet it must be confessed that its genuineness, as a portion at least of the foundation of St. Aldhelm, was by no means generally accepted. To find a stone building of this date and character was so opposed to the theories concerning what is commonly termed Saxon architecture that had been promulgated and received, that it is hardly to be wondered at that men generally were more or less sceptical upon the subject.

A most important link, however, in documentary evidence came unexpectedly to our help. About five years ago I was sitting in the Bodleian Library at Oxford searching for materials on other subjects, when I saw for the first time, among the volumes published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, one just issued, viz., William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*. At p. 346 of that volume I lighted on this passage, "To this day there is at that place (Bradeford) a little church (*ecclesiola*) which Aldhelm is said to have founded and dedicated to the blessed St. Laurence". William of Malmesbury wrote this probably about 1120, and here avows his distinct belief not only that our *ecclesiola* was even then an ancient building, but the work of St. Aldhelm who died A.D. 709. I felt now that I had found a key which unlocked the door of many of our difficulties, and with more boldness challenged acceptance for our views. And it was indeed a help to us when an article in the *Saturday Review* (October 19, 1872), written by one who is well able to pronounce authoritatively on such matters, thus summed up the arguments in favour of our theory, "We know that William of Malmesbury believed this church to have been built by Aldhelm, and that we have no other historical statement which either confirms or contradicts his belief. And is his belief so incredible as to be set aside

on *a priori* grounds? For our own part we see no difficulty whatever in believing as William did. We see no objection to his belief, except the vague notion that Aldhelm, at the end of the seventh century, or beginning of the eighth, could not have built anything. But this is simply the dream of people to whom all old English history is a blank, who fancy that all 'the Saxons' lived at one time, and who sometimes argue as if Beda's account of the rudeness of Scottish buildings in the seventh century proved something about English buildings three or four hundred years afterwards. The masonry is certainly smoother than most early Romanesque work, but Wilfrith had already built at Ripon *ex polito lapide*. In fact, as we see the matter, we have William of Malmesbury's statement on the one hand, we have a mere superstition on the other. We have very little doubt as to which of the two we shall choose."

From that time we may fairly say that the authenticity of our "little church" has been generally acknowledged. In the last edition of Rickman on *Architecture*, a short account, together with an illustrative drawing, is given of it. Moreover, the contributions of the Society of Antiquaries, as well as of the Wiltshire, and several of the local archæological associations, towards the fund for its purchase and conservation, are valuable testimonies to their belief of its being a genuine relic of the early days of Christianity in Wessex.

It may be stated in passing that the funds raised, which have amounted to about £700, have only sufficed for the expense of purchase, in carrying out which, on account of its complicated character (one part of the building having belonged to one owner and the rest to trustees of a school, who could only act through and with the sanction of the Charity Commissioners), no less than *five* conveyances were necessary, and for certain repairs absolutely required for the stability of the building. The trustees will only be too glad to proceed with the rest of the work, which will be carried out, in accordance with the recommendation of Sir Gilbert Scott, under the direction of Mr. J. T. Irvine, well known as an able archæologist and architect, and more than once a contributor to our *Journal*, as soon as the necessary funds shall be supplied. To complete the work will require at the least £800 more.

A few words may be added as to the history, as far as we

know it, of this *ecclesiola*. The great interest attaching to this building consists of its being connected so intimately with the history of St. Aldhelm, one of the holiest and most famous men in our early history. He was of royal lineage, being, as the chroniclers tell us, the son of Kenten, a name conjectured by Mr. E. A. Freeman to be a form of Centwin, the king who preceded Ine in the throne of Wessex. If so, and the conjecture seems probable enough, Aldhelm comes before us as one who for the sake of God renounced all claim to the crown of Wessex, his saintship hindering him from becoming king. He was educated at Malmesbury, and became ultimately head of the religious house that was established there. Very diligent was he in his efforts to promulgate the truth among the semi-Christianised, if not to a great extent heathen, West-Saxons.

To this end he seems to have been a great builder of churches. At Malmesbury he is said to have built two churches, one within the monastery for the use of its inmates, and the other without its walls for the townsfolk or villagers. Moreover, he built a church near his own private estate, "not far from Wareham in Dorset, where Corfe Castle stands out in the sea", the remains of which were still to be seen in the days of William of Malmesbury. He is said also to have founded a church at Briwetune (Bruton) in Somerset. In truth the realm of Ine was adorned with a number of churches, the work of his saintly kinsman.

In addition to these good works, Aldhelm founded two smaller monasteries and two churches also, at Frome and Bradford-on-Avon respectively. As he became Abbot of Malmesbury about the year 670, and these "monasteries" are alluded to in a deed of 705,¹ the year in which he became Bishop of Sherborne, their date would be towards the end of the seventh century. By a smaller "monastery", such as each of these was, is meant, it may be as well to explain, a missionary settlement or centre from which the blessings of Christianity were conveyed to the surrounding population. Indeed, the word "monastery", for some centuries after the time of which we are writing, frequently meant only a church and dwelling-house; with three or four priests, one might almost say missionaries, attached to it.

Such, no doubt, was the character of the "monastery"

¹ Codex Diplom., i, No. 54.





which Aldhelm established at Bradford-on-Avon. As we have seen, William of Malmesbury, writing four hundred years at least after its erection, speaks of the *ecclesiola* as still standing, though the monastery itself had perished. And now, twelve hundred years since Aldhelm lived, we still have this *ecclesiola* preserved to us, a most precious relic of bygone days, still standing as it was first raised by its founder, on the site of his uncle Cenwaleh's victory at Bradford "by the Avon", telling its tale that the English of the seventh and eighth centuries, though no doubt they usually built their simple churches of wood, were nevertheless quite able, especially when materials were close at hand, to build them also in stone. And, as far as it goes, this *ecclesiola* is perfect, consisting of a nave, a chancel, and a north porch. A minute examination of the wall on the south side shows that at one time there was a building there of much the same dimensions as the north porch, so that the "little church" was cruciform originally. It is not unlikely that the south *annexe*, or transept as we might term it, contained rooms for the priests attached to this *ecclesiola*, or for the sacristan who was entrusted with the care of the building.

The monastery at Bradford-on-Avon would seem to have been regarded as subordinate to the large religious house at Malmesbury, and its inmates always, until his death, as first Bishop of Sherborne, in 709, looked up to Aldhelm as their superior. The diocese of Sherborne, which was constituted in 705, contained all "west of Selwood"; and so included, no doubt, not only Somerset and Dorset, but much of the western portion of Wilts : hence Malmesbury and Bradford-on-Avon were comprised in it. It does not appear, however, that the smaller monastery here was supported by means derived from Malmesbury, or that the monastery at Malmesbury had estates in Bradford or its immediate vicinity. The monastery and church of St. Laurence here owed allegiance to Malmesbury and its Abbot, but otherwise seem to have been an independent foundation.

After Aldhelm's decease in 709 we do not meet with any notice whatever of our *ecclesiola*, or monastery, in connection with Malmesbury; but after a lapse of three hundred years we find them in the hands of the King of Wessex, for in the year 1001 King Æthelred bestowed the monastery (cæ-

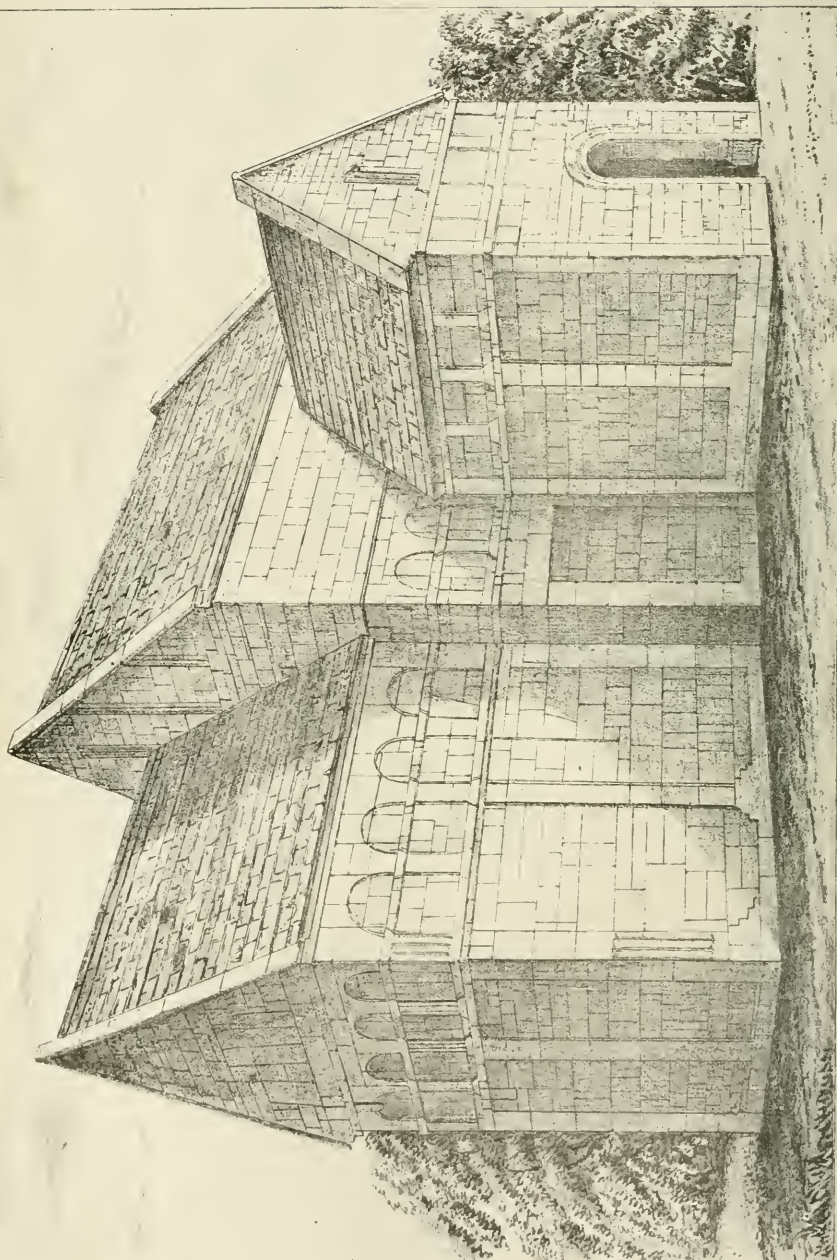
nobium), with the adjacent vill or manor (*cum undique adjacente villa*), on the abbess of Shaftesbury. The specific object of this gift is declared to be the "providing the nuns a safe refuge" (the exact words of the charter are *impenetrabile confugium*) from the attacks of the Danes, and a hiding-place for the relics of the blessed King Edward, then recently martyred, and the rest of the saints. Æthelred further directs that on the restoration of peace in his kingdom the nuns should return to their ancient place; but that some of the society, if such should be the wish of the superior for the time being, should always remain at Bradford. Without doubt, in those early days, the large forests which were on every side of Bradford rendered it a secure hiding-place (*impenetrabile confugium*), and difficult of access to any large armed force.¹

For more than five hundred years the church and manor of Bradford, included in which was our *ecclesiola*, were in the hands of the Abbess of Shaftesbury. At the time of the dissolution of monasteries all the property again became the possession of the crown. All that appertained to the church or rectory of Bradford was granted in 34 Henry VIII (1543) to the Dean and Chapter of Bristol. What may be termed the lay manor, of which our little church and its surroundings formed part, would seem to have been the subject of several terminable grants; but at last it was granted in fee to Sir Francis Walsingham, who, however, did not come into actual possession of the same till 1588. On his decease, in 1590, the manor of Bradford descended to his daughter, who had some years previously married the Earl of Clanricarde.

Various members of the Yerbury and Methuen families seem, from entries in surveys of the manor, to have held our "little chapel", and certain houses and lands annexed to it, as copyholders under the lord of the manor for the time being. In the year 1712 it was in the hands of Mr. Anthony Methuen. At that time the Rev. John Rogers, then Vicar of the parish, opened a school for his poorer parishioners; and three years afterwards Mr. Anthony Methuen, as lessee, with consent of the then lord of the manor, granted what was really the *nave* and *porch* of our *ecclesiola* as a "charity schoolhouse"; the *chancel* being still reserved, and then or

¹ Codex Diplom., iii, No. 706.





Chapel at Bradford-on-Avon. North East View

previously separated from the rest of the building by destroying the chancel-arch, and then walling up the opening and inserting large chimney-flues. The use to which it had been previously devoted is told us in the deed by which it was conveyed to certain trustees. It is there described as a "building adjoining to the churchyard in Bradford, commonly called or known by the name of the *Skull House*", from the fact, most probably, of its having been used as a charnel-house. The chancel remained as part of the copyhold described above, and was occupied as a gardener's cottage. The property was subsequently enfranchised, and became the possession in turn of members of the Methuen, Bethel, Bush, and Edmonds families. From one of the last named the chancel was purchased, early in 1872, for the purpose of securing, at all events, a portion of so unique a church from future desecration or injury.

Allusion has already been made to the intricate negotiations for the securing of the nave. Another large building, itself of some historic interest, the "Old Church House", built, as Leland tells us, in the fifteenth century by one of the Horton family, was purchased, and, with the permission of the Charity Commissioners, accepted in exchange by the Trustees of the Charity School, for the nave and porch, which they had held for some hundred and fifty years.

So bit by bit this precious relic of the past was recovered. Though funds hardly sufficed for the outlay, it was found absolutely necessary, as soon as possession was obtained, to restore the chancel-arch, the window, and arcading at the south-east corner of the nave, as well as the two arched doorways in the centre, respectively, of the north and south side of the nave. Fortunately, in removing the large chimney-stacks, and in excavating the floor, many of the original stones both of the chancel-arch and of other portions of the building, which had been mutilated, were discovered, and these have been faithfully replaced in their original position.

To an archæologist this unique building must ever be one of the deepest interest. He remembers that it is a relic of the early Christianity of our forefathers in this part of the country. It was built possibly within some sixty or seventy years of the first landing on our shores of St. Birinus, who came as the "Apostle of Wessex" to plant the knowledge of

the truth among those who were described as confirmed pagans (*paganissimos*). And it tells of the self-denying labours of the holy Aldhelm, than whom no one did more in carrying on the good work which Birinus had begun, in propagating the truth among his countrymen, and who laid not down his pastoral staff till with it he laid down his life in his Master's service.

One other remark may be made with reference to this little church. This shall be given, as far as possible, in the words of Mr. E. A. Freeman, in a paper read before the Somerset Archæological Society in 1874. "Without all question this building of Aldhelm's which remains to us is a type of those larger churches, all of which have perished, which he erected elsewhere. We must picture to ourselves the abbey church at Malmesbury and the cathedral church at Sherborne, as they came from the hands of Aldhelm, as buildings presenting what we may suppose to have been the likeness of a greater Bradford." "The time of Ine", Mr. Freeman adds, "was one of remarkable activity in the way of church building. With Aldhelm in the south, with Wilfrith and Benedict Bishop in the north, churches were rising in many places. And our West-Saxon Bradford, the work of Aldhelm, during the reign of King Ine, may fairly be set against the two famous churches of the north, the churches of Benedict at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. If we have but *one* church to set against *two*, we may say that Bradford is all but perfect, whilst Jarrow and Monkwearmouth have been largely altered in later though still ancient times. In mere workmanship Bradford altogether surpasses the contemporary parts of the Northumbrian buildings. And as for their personal memories, if we must yield the first place among the native worthies of the early English church to Northumbrian Beda, we may fairly claim a place only second to him for West-Saxon Aldhelm."

SAINT EWEN,

BRISTOL, AND THE WELSH BORDER, CIRC. A.D. 577-926.

BY THOMAS KERSLAKE.

AMONG the unwritten vouchers of the facts of long-past ages, the dedications of our churches all over the land seem not yet to have been duly regarded. Every one of them is a tradition,—and more. It is a tradition attested by a substantial monument; and the circumscribed area of the subject parish confines its testimony to an indisputable locality not so certainly determined even by written records.

Not long since our city government had resolved to demolish the central church of St. Werburgh in order to increase the accommodation at an ill chosen omnibus-station. This gave occasion to remind them¹ that this church is a standing, visible witness that Bristol was several centuries older than it had been allowed to be by an influential and much read historian.² Some authors even presume so far as to exclude the name from historical maps of earlier times. What with the detractive scepticism of historical unitists, and the destructive zeal of our conservative Corporation, ancient Bristol—both name and thing—is in imminent peril of being sponged off from the face of the earth. It is much to be regretted that among the standing committees of the town councils of ancient cities there should not be one for archæology. This dedication of St. Werburgh proved that the town in the midst of which it stood must have already existed while Mercia was an independent kingdom, bounded on the south by our river Avon, St. Werburgh having been the daughter of a king of that people. This is a like sort of evidence to that by which the date of an Alexandra Square or an Albert Street may, in time to come, be approximately known, except that the combination of a religious sentiment with that of national loyalty has secured for the name of the ancient Princess a lengthened duration which for the living one can only be desired.³

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 4th S., vol. xi, p. 480.

² E. A. Freeman, Esq., D.C.L., *passim*.

³ See postscript at the end of this paper.

But the name of another Bristol dedication is still remembered, although the church itself has undergone the fate from which it was hoped St. Werburgh had been respited. By an independent, side by side testimony, this other dedication not only endorses that of St. Werburgh throughout its whole extent, but beyond that will, it is thought, be found to carry back to a still earlier date the civilised occupation of an adjoining spot, to which its name still adheres. This was the church of St. Ewen, which also stood formerly in the very centre of the city, at one corner of the four crossways, or carfoix, but the site of which is now covered by the Council House. There was also, both at Gloucester and at Hereford, a church dedicated in the name of St. Owen. Each of these was situated outside the cities, and adjoining a city gate, which circumstance led to the destruction of both during the Grand Rebellion. All three—at Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford—have the same patron saint, St. Ewen being merely a local orthographical variation: the cartular form “Audoenus” is common to the three.

An extinct church of St. Owen or Ewen, within the town of Chepstow, is also mentioned by Archdeacon Coxe,¹ and more particularly by the late Mr. Wakeman of the Craig, Monmouthshire, who, in his observations at the Congress at Chepstow in 1854, said: “Besides the Priory church there were several chapels, of which the remains of St. Ewin’s alone exist at present; but these having been converted into two dwelling-houses, and modern windows introduced, it now offers no external appearance of a religious edifice. It was of considerable size, and within my own recollection stood alone, with the crosses on the gables and many of the windows perfect. Nothing is known of its history; but from its dimensions I conjecture that before the Reformation it may have been the parish church, and only ceased to be so after the dissolution of the monasteries, when that of the Priory was appropriated to parochial purposes, as was the case in other places.”² It is evident that the benefice of this church has been also completely extinguished, as there is no mention of it in the *Liber Regis*.

All the authors who have hitherto attempted to appropriate the name to the saint commemorated, have fixed it

¹ *Hist. Tour in Monm.*, p. 364.

² *Journal*, British Archaeological Association, vol. x, p. 256.

upon St. Ouen, Archbishop of Rouen, who died A.D. 683, and whose deposition is celebrated on the 24th of August. It is believed, however, that a closer view of the question will make it more likely to have been a saint who lived and died in Britain at an earlier date. Indeed, it deserves particular notice that, although this dedication is so uncommon in England proper that it is believed that only one example to the eastward of these is known, yet that these four should be found together, like a string of beads, one in each of the English marts and cities along the southern half of the Welsh frontier. To this remarkable chain may also be added a fifth link not so well known as the others.

Just within the mouth of the Wye, on the left or English shore, at the southern extremity of Offa's Dyke, at Beachley, is an ancient small landing-place called in the Ordnance Survey "Hewan's Rock". The late Mr. Ormerod, however, who lived on the spot, calls it "Ewen's Rock", and quotes an inquiry by a court of survey in 1651, after the course of an ancient way which led up from it.¹ It is thought that this little obsolete ferry-station on the Welsh frontier cannot, at any rate, have had a Norman name. It was probably a landing-place for Welsh pilgrims towards shrines left behind them in their lost country.

All this seems to make it likely that any search after the home of the person whose name after so many centuries thus remains with us, would have the best chance if we should turn for it towards Wales. We have, in fact, on British ground ample materials to account for the name without fetching a pretender to it out of Neustria or Normandy. In Cornwall, for instance, there are two dedications² of St. Uny or Euny, found also written "Ewinus". But among Cambrian Britons are several who might put in a claim. Among the earliest British Christians was Owain, the grandson of Caraetacus, who is recorded to have been a strenuous protector of the new faith. Then again, later, there was the famous Owain, son of Maximus. He was not only reputed a saint, but was said to have been the earliest independent sovereign of Britain at the retreat of the Romans. His claim to these memorials of his name along this particular frontier, would have derived a considerable amount of local

¹ *Archæologia* of Society of Antiquaries, vol. xxix, p. 11.

² Lalanst and Redruth.

probability from his having been the ancestor of the succeeding Princes of Gwent. But the person with whom we are here more likely to be concerned was St. Howyn or Hywyn, whose name is preserved in the dedication of the church at Aberdaron, situated at the most western point of Carnarvonshire.¹

This last mentioned personage is said to have been one of a large company of refugee saints, who returned from Armorica to insular Britain, with St. Cadvan, A.D. 516. He first joined the famous congregation at Llantwit Major, Glamorgan; and to this part of his career may be referred his influence on this south-eastern side of Cambria. He afterwards retired to Bardsey, where he is said, by some authors,² to have been a bishop. Aberdaron is the port formerly used by pilgrims for embarking from the mainland for that sacred isle, which lies about three leagues off that promontory, westward. His name is found in many and great variations of spelling. The Rev. Rob. Williams³ gives it the alphabetical place of "Hevin". But we need have no doubt of the identity of the name "Howyn" with "Owen" or "Ewen". In fact, we find the name of our pragmatical old acquaintance written "Howeyn Glendore" by his nearly contemporaries.⁴ The procreation of personal names, during the many ages while their orthography was unsettled, was excessively prolific. The late Rev. Dr. Maitland of Gloucester, in a wayside note, printed a list of, I believe, forty mediæval varieties of the name that we now know as "Robert". Subsequent Norman influence may have affected the orthography of the dedications at Hereford and Gloucester; but a vernacular form of it seems still to protest at Bristol, and at Chepstow, in "Ewen"; and a still stronger protest is found in Hewan, the name of the passage at the mouth of the Wye.⁵ To the same exotic influence may be also referred "Audoenus"; the *alias* of the lawyers. Not that this foreign livery has been always despised, even by learned Cambrians themselves. The famous Welsh Latin epigrammatist, John Owen, chose his place in European literature as "Joannes Audoenus".

¹ Bacon's *Liber Regis*, pp. 1063-4.

² Iolo Morganwg, p. 535.

³ *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*.

⁴ Capgrave, *Chronicle*. Rolls Pub., 1858, p. 277 et seq.

⁵ Leland calls that at Gloucester "Ewine's", *Itin.* 4, p. 2, 171a.

The St. Howyn, whom it has, therefore, been ventured to adopt as the parent of our dedication, is said to have died in the first half of the sixth century. So that his memory must have been still fresh, and his veneration probably at its highest point, towards the end of that century; when that English conquest of the Severn Valley, from the Britons, has been supposed to have been made, which has been so learnedly and ingeniously mapped by Dr. Guest.¹ That distinguished and lucid topographical interpreter of history limits his inquiry to the east of the Severn; but says, "If we may trust Welsh legend, they [the English] carried their inroads, even at the early period of which we are treating, as far westward as the Wye". But he postpones the discussion of that part of his subject; and, in his map, disregarding the district between the Severn and the Wye, he allows it to remain provisionally tinted as if still occupied by unconquered Britons. It is, therefore, quite open to us, if we find sufficient reason, to think that the Wye, instead of the Severn, then became the practical western boundary of the Anglo-Saxon people; and that then, or soon after, the string of Welsh dedications already mentioned, at Gloucester, Hereford, Bristol, and Chepstow, may have been instituted. At any rate their continuance, thus intimately associated, down to our own times, along the English line, may be accepted as a substantial witness of a very curious fact that had, on other grounds, already become known: that after the conquest of this district, there was what may be called a commercial colony of the Welsh nation, tolerated or established at each of the English frontier cities and marts; in a separate quarter, or perhaps parish, but in a state of peace or truce with the citizens of the intruding and ruling nation. It is easy to believe, that whatever central governing powers were established by the advancing nation, could have been but loosely articulated in its more remote members: and that the partially independent frontier cities and ports, long continued to indulge their commercial instincts, not always with consideration for the consolidated interests of their nation. A similar commercial colony of the Damnonian Britons was afterwards settled, and can still be distinctly traced,² within Exeter, after its occupation by the

¹ *Archæol. Journal* (Institute), vol. xix, pp. 193 et seq.

² This has been attempted by the present writer in the *Archæological Journal* (Institute), vol. xxx, pp. 211 et seq.



Saxons. Perhaps a modern analogy may be seen in the European factories, or trading communities, established in eastern nations. Also in the Claddagh at Galway.

But a very important interruption or discontinuance of this series of Cambrian frontier commercial colonies, as it proceeds northward, may deserve notice, and such explanation as can be offered. It might have been expected that any such monument of intercourse between the two nations would have been most conspicuous at Chester. But at Chester, this indication of it, at least, is totally absent. None of the dedications remaining at Chester can be claimed as peculiar to the Welsh or British nation. St. Bridget might have been enlisted, but she is also a Catholic favourite, and the subsequent intercourse of Chester and Ireland may also account for her. But this departure of Chester from the rule is capable of an inference entirely its own. It has been shown—and by no one more clearly and learnedly than the spirited and brilliant historian¹ who so constantly denies the early antiquity of Bristol—that, although Chester is preeminent among our cities for the substantial evidences of its Roman existence, it afterwards continued for three hundred years in a state of utter desolation—was, for that long period, in the same condition as Silchester, Wroxeter, Verulam, Richborough, and several other past great cities, are still to be seen among us. We need not wonder, therefore, that Chester, otherwise so rich in ancient remains, should now be destitute of any trace of a social state that only prevailed in other cities during those very centuries, while that city was only inhabited by wolves and owls. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under A.D. 907, is found the entry—"In this year Chester was renovated";² and the final expulsion by King Athelstan, of these British colonies, from the English cities, must have been completed in A.D. 926. It was from this part of its career that Chester obtained the name of West-Chester, *i. e.*, Waste-Chester, by which it was known down to the last century; and as it is commonly called in the novels of Defoe and the letters of Swift. Indeed, this revival of Chester was only an advanced step of a new policy of the English central governments—

¹ *Saturday Review*, Nov. 19, 1870, p. 650. See also Palgrave, *English Commonwealth*, p. 629.

² Thorpe, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, vol. ii, p. 77.

the successors and executors of the purposes of Alfred—which was shortly afterwards very rigorously carried out, and included the summary suppression of the provincial city colonies of which we are speaking. No doubt, these quasi-contraband alliances with hostile subjects, had excited the jealousy of the now powerful supreme authorities; who therefore determined upon the realization of a hard and fast frontier; and the restraint of the semi-independent municipalities which had been cultivating these dangerous intimacies. At the beginning of his reign, King Athelstan expelled the Welsh Britons from Hereford, and all other places; and appointed the Wye as their boundary. Immediately afterwards he also expelled the Western or Cornish Britons from Exeter,—where it is expressly said they had hitherto been living “under equal law with the English”,—and drove them beyond the Tamar; which he appointed as the terminus of their province, as he had already placed the Wye as a limit to the Northern or Cambrian Britons.¹ It cannot, therefore, be otherwise than a strong confirmation of this, that we still find, in Exeter, Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford, and even at Chepstow, material footsteps of the long continued social or political condition, which, we are told, was then brought to so abrupt a termination.

The claims of Liverpool as a point of active contact between the British and English peoples must be acknowledged to be now of the very highest order; but they are obviously much too recent for the range of this inquiry. But there still remains unaccounted for one more large border municipality which for many ages has held a most important standing as a mart of commerce and a centre of intercourse between the two nations. If Shrewsbury had already existed, before the new policy, above referred to, of a rigid severance of the two peoples, had begun to be enforced, we might fairly have expected to have found in that town a similar trace of the pre-existent state of *quasi* alliance which has been pointed out in all the great frontier municipalities to the south of it. At Shrewsbury, however, although national dedications are strikingly prominent among its few intramural parishes, they are all English, or rather Mercian or Northumbrian. Among the surviving

¹ Willelm. Malmesb., lib. ii, § 134; also the continuator in *Eulogium Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 189. Rolls Pub.

churches are St. Chad and St. Alkmund; and among extinct chapels there is record of both St. Werburgh and St. Romwald,—not of Ireland and Mechlin, but a Mercian infant of miraculous baptism. There was, however, a fraternity and altar of St. Wenefrede (the Welsh St. Gwenfrewi, of Holywell) in the Abbey. But the Abbey is without the town, and on the right or Welsh bank of the Severn; and this dedication is certainly known to have had a post-Norman beginning in a late translation of her reliques from Holywell to that church.

The case of Shrewsbury, however, is substantially parallel to that of Chester. The same political condition of the land which had desolated Chester brought final destruction upon Uriconium; and the same reconstructive policy of the successors of Alfred, which revived Chester, led to the planting of Shrewsbury; except that the Dee already afforded at the ancient site that natural circumfluence, now become a valued element of defence, which the Severn more perfectly offered a few miles higher. No doubt, seeing how every coign of vantage throughout the surrounding region has been so occupied, the remarkable position now covered by Shrewsbury could hardly, from the earliest times, have been without a strong fortress, or a succession of them, for various peoples, and for different strategical purposes. Of these, the present Castle, on what is both the neck and the highest part of a remarkable river-peninsula or holm, is, no doubt, the successor. It may, in the sixth century, have been the stronghold or hall of the bewailed British Prince Kyndylan, whose poetical obsequies have been rewaked in a tournament of criticism.¹ The British name of the fortress was probably, as we are told, Pengwern; but at the end of the ninth century the spot had already an English name before it was called Shrewsbury. Its origin as an English town has not been carried higher than A.D. 912 by its own most thorough historians,² and this only by inference. Referring to the admitted building of Bridgnorth by Æthelstæd in that year, they say that she “must frequently have visited Shrewsbury, in which she founded the collegiate church of St. Almund in honour of a Northumbrian prince who died more than a century before, and had, we presume, been

¹ See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, vol. x, 1864.

² Owen and Blakeway, vol. i, p. 20.

recently canonised". It is believed that a distinct, authentic record of the fact which they are content to infer was not only before these two careful writers when they wrote this sentence, but has also been in like manner handled, and then rejected unrecognised, by every one of the long train of the historians of the kingdom in general, as well as those of the county, from the time it was first written to this day.

In two of the four parallel MSS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, as edited by Mr. Thorpe, are interpolated the annals of Æthelflæd from a Mercian chronicle,¹ and among these, under A.D. 912, is this entry: "Now came Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians, on the holy eve Inventionis Sc'e Crucis, to Scergeat, and there built the burh; and in that same year that at Brieg". This last name, "Brieg", is universally, and no doubt correctly, interpreted Bridgnorth; but the other name, "Scergeat", has been evidently a standing puzzle to all who have either transcribed or endeavoured to place it, including the latest writers who have either edited the *Chronicle*, or woven the text into their own writings. Some have made the most unscientific guesses, from the merest fanciful resemblance of the name; but the wiser majority have passed it by in silence.²

¹ See these distinguished, and printed separately, at p. 269, Appendix of *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, by the Rev. John Earle, M.A. Oxford, 1865. 8vo.

² The place intended by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* had been already lost sight of when Florence of Worcester paraphrased the Annal, "Ad locum qui Sceargete dicitur". (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 569 F.) He is copied by Simeon Dunelm. (Twysden, col. 153.) Henry of Huntingdon says, "Edelfled domina Merce construxit burgum ad Scoriato". (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 744 B.) Jo. Bromton recasts the passage into his own words, but retains "Scoriato". (Twysden, col. 834.) In Ethelredus Riv. it becomes "Scorgate" (Twysden, col. 356); Roger Hoveden, "in loco qui Sceargete dicitur" (Savile SS., 1601, p. 421). Leland gives "Sceargete" (*Coll.* ii, 183); "Scoriato" with "g" optional over the "i" (300); and in his list of "Market Townes in the Wolds of Glocestreshire" he gives it "Scargate [with various reading Scorgate] about Severn side" (*Itin.* v, 2), evidently confusing it with "Sceorstan" of A.D. 1016. Coming down to the critical period, neither the learned editors of the *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*, nor Sir R. Twysden attempt to place the name. Bishop Gibson is content with the broad gloss of "loci nomen", in which he is followed by Lye. Miss Gurney leaves it "Scergeate", as she finds it. Dr. Ingram translates it "Shergate"; but in his *Topographical Index* interprets it "Sarat, Hertfordshire", and is followed by Professor Bosworth and by Mr. Thorpe. Mr. Sharon Turner redistributes the foundations of the strong towns of Edward and Æthelflæd to their several political objects, but omits this name. Lingard and later writers cover it with the words "other places". Mr. Kemble (*Saxons in England*, vol. i, chap. ii, p. 557) says "now Scargate", but most unfortunately omits to mention the particular "Index Villarum" in which it is "now" to be found. The case is no better when we come to the special writers on Shropshire, although the joint entry with Bridgnorth always necessarily brings it directly before

It is thought that what will here be said will make it most likely that the "burh" which the lady built when she came to Scergeat was Shrewsbury itself, and that Scergeat was the former English name of the place upon which she then built a borough. We may at once discard from consideration both the "-bury", which her act then first added to the name, and, for the present, the descriptive suffix "geat", which it replaced. In "Scer-" we have "Shrew-" actually breaking through its etymological egg-shell—already hatched, indeed. The "Sc" in these old names and words almost universally becomes the "Sh" of our own speech; and in thousands of living mouths "r" still persists in changing places with an adjoining vowel, as "Burlington" for "Bridlington", "brid" for "bird" in Lancashire, "Ūrch" for "Rich(ard)" in Devon, pot-"shord" for "shred", and many more. It may be left open whether or not the element now represented by the "w" in "Shrew-" was then absorbed by the following "g"; or as the "-eat" without the "g" would be complete for the purpose we shall presently have for it, whether the "g" belongs entirely to the first or root part of the name. In either case the intimate relation of "w" and "g" may be instantaneously tested by any one who will take in the word "plough" through his eyes, and pass it out over his lips.

As to the second portion of the ante-borough name, "-geat" or "-eat", or, as some writers above quoted give it, "-iate", it is, in fact, the modern word "gate" applied in a manner which prevails over the March counties. It is there found attached to that narrow neck of land at which a river, after

them. Of course, not knowing their own interest in it, they pass it in silence, except Mr. Hartshorne, who gets it out of his borders by identifying it, as Leland had done, with Sceorstan of A.D. 1016. There is, however, one apparent exception among the pre-critical or middle period compilers. Holinshed includes Shrewsbury in his list of Æthelflæd's towns; but it turns out that he does so by mistake, and not from opinion. The order of the list of them is substantially preserved in all the writers down to his time, as it was in their first source, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; but in this order, besides "Scergeat", and lower down (A.D. 913) is mentioned "Cyricbyrig". In the original text of Higden this had already become "Chiresbur" (Keynsham MS., circa 1400). In Trevisa's translation (Treveris, 1527, fol. cxxxxvii B) it had next become "Shyresbury", and thence easily slid into Holinshed's "Shrewsburie". The "Cyricbyrig" of the *Chronicle* is, however, always by writers of the critical period translated "Chirbury". But seeing that the lady built Runcorn in the same year, and considering the slender thread upon which such interpretations have been hitherto hung, it may not be presumptuous to offer "Chirk" as more likely. The "-byrig" may belong to either. "A. S.", who compiled the Index to Twysden, follows Holinshed's error, discounted by a *forsan*.

having made a bold sweep, and formed a peninsula or holm, again very nearly approaches itself. "Symonds Yat", on the Wye, is a well known and perfectly typical example; and if upon the Ordnance Survey we trace the Severn above Shrewsbury for four inches, or miles, we reach another holm called "The Isle", with its neck separately lettered "Isle Gate". The site of Shrewsbury itself is a strikingly perfect example of these isles or holms; and on the neck or "gate" may still be seen its castle, the successor of Pengwern, and of probably a post-British fortress which in the year 912 the Subregula Æthelflæd found already with the English name of Scer- or Shrew-gate, but which from her own recorded act thenceforth became the "burh", or Shrewsbury.

The commonly accepted derivation of the name of this important and most curious town, as signifying a shrubby hill, can only be referred to one of those fanciful interpretations of a surface-likeness, which are usually thought sufficient for such occasions. The variations, such as "Scrobb-" and "Shrop"—in a middle date form, "*Sciropes-berie*", may be plainly discerned a bodily resurrection of our primæval "Scer—"—are the effects of a well-known force or habit of speech, which may be illustrated by the name "Bill", as familiar for "William"; and perhaps even by the form of the Anglo-Saxon character *p*—now *w*. Besides, this usual derivation, which only pretends to be descriptive of the actual site of the town, does not cover all of its business, which claims it over a larger surface. The fact turns out to be that the ingredient "Shrew-" is really one of those roots of names that are found extended beyond a particular spot, over a whole, although somewhat limited, district. They are not always easily accounted for; but have apparently a territorial origin of some kind. In this case we find it repeated about seven miles off, at *Shrawardine*, higher up on the same bank of the Severn. The identity of the root of *Shrawardine* and *Shrewsbury* is further shown by the former being sometimes found as "Shrewurthin", "Screwardin", and "Scrawardin"; whilst, as "Saleurdin", it participates in the tendency to the change into "l", which appears in "Salopesbury".¹

It is true, that Mr. Kemble has printed a charter of Æthelred, the Ealdorman of the Mercians, to the Abbey of

¹ Records quoted by the Rev. R. W. Eyton, vol. x, pp. 95-98.

Wenlock,¹ attested by himself and his wife Æthelflæd. The MS. appears to be an original charter, but much damaged ; so that frequent rows of points are printed where words are deficient. It is dated A.D. 901—"anno dominice incarn DCCCC^oI^o. ind in civitate scrobbsensis" (*so*). Mr. Kemble interprets this place as "Shrewsbury, Salop": if correctly, of course the date, A.D. 912, above assigned, cannot be that of the foundation of the borough, for this charter would have been executed there in A.D. 901.

It is believed, however, that the name of the place is now unfortunately replaced by some of the envious row of dots. It was, no doubt, some place within the district, that has been above indicated as retaining traces of the names "Shrew-" or "Shraw-". Possibly, even a subregal residence or fortress at "Shrewgate" itself. If it had been previously a home of the British princes it would be likely to have continued a royal demesne of their successors of Mercia. The word "civitas" is scarcely likely, in any sense of it, or at any period, to have been applied to the town or borough of Shrewsbury. It must be remembered that our present use of the word "city", limited to a particular class of walled town, is merely the survival of an accident or coincidence. A "civitas" is a district or circle of civilised government, distinguished from the weald or forest country from which it had been reclaimed. A "civitas" is not identical with a "chester". In some cases the entire "civitas" may have been included within, and conterminous with, the walls of a chester: in others, the chester may have been the strong seat of administration of the polity of the "civitas" or state by which it was surrounded. The unmaterial boundaries of any such a state have been since obliterated or absorbed by later territorial divisions; whilst the word city has continued adherent to the substantial walled *urbs* or chester, which alone has remained to visibly represent it to us. Possibly, some of those outlying territories of cities, which are still called "liberties", may be a fragmentary relic of this early constitution of cities.²

¹ Cod. Dipl., No. 330. Mr. Kemble interprets "wininiensis ecclesia" as Winchester; but there can be no doubt that Wenlock is meant.

² Since the above was written a learned topographical antiquary has expressed his surprise at finding a street "between the arch and the gate" at Aosta, called "*La Cité*", asking, "But why is the city outside the gate?" (*Saturday Review*, Nov. 14, 1874, p. 633.) Perhaps what is said above may point towards an answer to this question.

Thus, both Shrewgate and Shrawardine, with no doubt other places labelled with the same root, although no longer so distinctly discernible, would have been contained within the "*Civitas Scrobbensis*" of the charter; of which they are the only other reliques. The latter part of each name is what is descriptive of the spot, and its note from other spots within the "*civitas*"; whilst the prefixed name of the "*civitas*" or community was its note of difference from the like spots in other communities. Thus we find a Shrawardine, that is the "*-wardine*" in the *Civitas Scrobbensis*; and also a Wrockwardine, which may be assumed to have been a similar constituent of a *Civitas Vriconensis*; ¹ perhaps bounded by the Wrekin, and having Uriconium for its ceastre, or centre of power. It will at once come to the mind of every one, that the whole kingdom is, in like manner, powdered with these handfuls of names, having a radical element in common, followed by a descriptive distinction from their neighbours. What does this indicate, unless the former existence of something at least analogous to states or "*civitates*"?

But, apart from these considerations of the name, and this attempt to identify the record, in the *Chronicle* of the year 912,² as that of the foundation of Shrewsbury, a built-up etymology, such as that above offered, however sound the several constituents, cannot afford to despise the strong extrinsic historical confirmation which is fortunately at hand. Should, therefore, the identity of the name not be deemed to have been efficiently established, there are other circumstances which are at least sufficient to show that the beginning of Shrewsbury was contemporaneous with, and part of, the same scheme of national consolidation as the extinction of the custom of the intramural Welsh colonies, which is all that we are concerned with. It may also be observed that there is a visible unity of purpose, not to say an individuality of strategic genius, connecting the two fortified boroughs of Shrewsbury and Bridgnorth. They are both upon the same river or natural

¹ Within living memory the initial "w" followed by "r" had still, in some country districts, the traditional force of a strong or double "v". The desuetude of this is a substantial loss to our modern speech, most conspicuous in the word "wrath".

² Or 913 as Florence of Worcester gives it, supposed to be copying a text of the *Chronicle* not now known.

boundary, a few miles apart, and aimed against the same danger; two parts, indeed of the same work. It is very remarkable that this should never have led to a suspicion that the joint annal of two foundations, of which Bridgnorth was one, was not unlikely to have had Shrewsbury for the other. More than this, the twinhood did not end with their common beginning, but united them for like purposes for three or four centuries afterwards. Long after they had even passed, under a great national revolution, into different hands, under a new dynasty, the custody of the two fortresses was often united, and during the first seven or eight reigns after the Conquest the costs of repairs and improvements of both were jointly returned to the crown.¹ It will also be remembered that the dedication, St. Alkmund, although not common, reappears at Derby, another of the Lady Æthelflæd's towns; also at her foundation at Bromborough,² on the estuary of the Mersey, an outpost of West Chester, which she had restored three years before. Indeed, wherever the name of this saint remains, except when, perhaps more tardily, he has been so honoured in his own country of Northumbria, it may be accepted as a footprint of this heroine. Besides this, the *Historia Foundationis* of the Abbey of Lilleshall sets out with a distinct declaration that she "dicitur fundasse et magnis honoribus ditasse" the Church of St. Alkmund at Shrewsbury.³ It appears also that there is still at Shrewsbury a considerable outlying portion of the parish of St. Alkmund in the isthmus or "geat", near the castle, and extending into the suburb beyond. This seems to indicate that the parish or territory of the college of St. Alkmund originally extended over the whole of the highest part of the borough, including the isthmus with the stronghold itself, but that the parish of the church in the castle, St. Michael, and that of St. Mary, were

¹ See accounts quoted by Eyton, vol. i, pp. 253 et seq.

² The "Bremesbyrig" of A.D. 910, in the Mercian annals of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. This name has also been a fruitful subject of the guesses of all who have hitherto tried to place it. Dr. Ingram says Brumby, Lincolnshire. Mr. Thorpe says Bramsbury or Bramsby, Lincolnshire; but does not tell us by what roads any place of either of these names can now be reached. Not only do the dedication, St. Alkmund, and the strategic position on the Mercian frontier, claim it for Bromborough, but the name of a town in the same parish is "Brimstage". Gibson identified it with "Brunnanburh", of which famous and much disputed name the real locality will, it is understood, be determined in the expected new edition of Professor Bosworth's Dictionary.

³ Num. i, *Mon. Anglic.*, vol. vi, p. 262.

afterwards carved out of it. In this case her religious foundation must have originally held in cure the most considerable and essential part of her new walled borough.

On the whole, therefore, it is believed that, as at Chester, so at Shrewsbury, the absence of any intramural traces of these "Welsheries",¹ as more recent ones in Anglo-Welsh towns have been called, or alliances of the English border municipalities with their Welsh neighbours, a social condition which ended when those two towns first came into existence, is thus most amply accounted for. But even if the above inquiries should not have earned the reader's confidence, a more general explanation of the absence, along the northern portion of the frontier, of a phenomenon which is so strikingly prevalent in the southern half, would have been sufficient: that the northern portion was within the more immediate purview of the central government of Mercia; so that, in that case, these clandestine municipal amenities were either never allowed to grow, or had been, in that district, suppressed at a still earlier period.

Having thus accounted for the absence of these colonial dedications in the more northern frontier towns, it may still remain to show what likelihood, on other grounds, there may be that the places where they are found themselves existed so early. The early history of all our cities and towns is necessarily obscure, more particularly at the very time when light would have been most valuable for our present inquiry. This is in fact the apology for our pains, the object of which is to admit one transient gleam into this very period of obscurity.

The name alone of Gloucester contains within itself an indisputable monument of an antiquity for that place, more than sufficient for our concern with it.

The recorded Bishops of Hereford reach back to A.D. 676. This alone indicates an important status at that date, which could only have arisen out of a precedent existence more or less extended. But before the Welsh name Henfford had become accepted by the English, the place was known to the Saxons as "Fernlega".² What if it should, after all, have been "the place that man calleth Feathan leag", of A.D. 584 of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, the battle-place of

¹ See Jones' *Brecknock.*, vol. i, p. 247.

² Jo. Bromton, Twysden, SS., col. 753, 30.

Ceawlin with the Britons? This name, Feathan leag, was placed by Gibson¹ at Fretherne, on the eastern shore of the Severn: and this mere guess was followed by all interpreters, including Lye and Ingram and Thorpe, until it was justly objected by a distinguished writer already quoted,² that it could not have been the scene of the acquirement of the "many regions" and "much spoil" of the annals, as it lay within the very district which had been already subjugated, A.D. 577. Moreover, the presence of the two "r's" in Fretherne is also an obstacle to the identity of the name, an objection which must be admitted to be partly shared by "Fernlega". If, however, the etymological consideration of the name had been the only or even the most conspicuous ground, this question should not have been further urged. Indeed the name, which in Jo. Bromton is written "Fernlega", is given by Leland variously "Fernallege", "Ferulega", and "Fernlege"; by Humfr. Llwyd³ "Ferleg"; by Lambarde "Ferlega"; but all these writers identify it with Hereford. The Aberpergwm copy of the *Gwentian Chronicle*,⁴ however, after recording several previous battles at "Henfford", which seem to prove that the Wye had become the settled line of contention, under A.D. 838, records that an "action at Fferyllwg took place between the Wye and the Severn". "Fferyllwg" being apparently a Welsh rendering of "Ferulega".

But although the circumstantial objection to Fretherne may be accepted as valid, the place to which, with so much learning and skill, the scene of the conflict of A.D. 584 has been removed, may still be open to question. That which it has here been presumed to suggest in preference, would include and result in the conquest and annexation of the rich and populous, and naturally defined, trilateral of the Wye and Severn, and would have a political and strategic unity of purpose with Ceawlin's recent subjugation of Gloucestershire, east of the Severn; not so obvious in an expedition from Gloucestershire into Cheshire. The conqueror's first object must have been, either the suppression of troublesome neighbours, or the acquisition of a

¹ *Chronicon Saxonum*, Gloss.

² "On the English Conquest of the Severn Valley," by Edwin Guest, LL.D., Master of Gonvil and Caius College, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xix, 1862, p. 197.

³ *Commentariolum*, 1570, ed. 1731.

⁴ Printed for the Cambrian Archæological Association, 1863.

desirable territory. Both would be served by the conquest of the Herefordshire and east Wye district. Henry of Huntingdon says that by this victory Ceawlin gained "regiones multas", and, considering that one of these "regiones" was the rich ancient mining district of the Forest of Dean, with its centre of Roman civilization and wealth, it is no wonder that he adds "et innumerabilia spolia". Instead, therefore, of a distant northern expedition, that recorded under A.D. 584 was more probably one of the inroads as far westward as the Wye, admitted to be indicated in "Welsh legend".

Not to dispute the grammatical necessity by which the ancient "Feathan leag" ought to become the modern "Faddiley", it may be observed that, although obvious etymological causes often do govern such changes, they do not always; or, perhaps more correctly, some such causes prevail in one case, and others, although more obscure, in another. If such obvious etymological causes had always strictly ruled, for example, the ancient Welsh "Henfford" could never have become the English "Hereford", as we find it to have done. The small Cheshire township of Faddiley was formerly an appendage of the manor of Baddiley, to which name, although of modern structure, it seems to have a remarkable alliterative correspondence, that may be suspected to be a filial likeness. Baddiley (Bedelei) is mentioned in *Domesday*, and Faddiley is not.

The assumed journey of Ceawlin from Gloucestershire to Cheshire is not only a long one, but is closely flanked for many miles on both sides by the territorial fastnesses which are conceded to have been still the refuge of "the poor Welshman", and not only includes the valley of the Severn, but the watershed is required to have been passed over into Cheshire and back again. In fact so great a deflection from direct and obvious policy seems to require a broader foundation than the identity of a single unhistoric and unimportant name, such as Faddiley, with Feathan leag, even conceding that identity to have been established.

No doubt Chester and Uriconium, with their surrounding nationalities, had their destroyers and ravagers. The Faddiley expedition does not pretend to account for the devastation of Chester. Why is it needed for Uriconium? For aught that has been shown, the operations of the conqueror of Gloucestershire at Dyrham, A.D. 577, were afterwards



fined to the advance of his own policy, the westward extension, and the consolidation of his own conquests and dominions in the south, against that part of the Welsh people who lay at his own doors.

There need be no hesitation to the admission of Chepstow into this ancient community of suppressed international marts. It must have been the crossing-place of the Wye for the Roman intercourse between Lidney and Caerleon: and this is confirmed by the best of the etymologies of the name¹—Estrighoel=Ystrad-Iwl=Strata Julia. Some relics of Roman masonry and Roman engineering are contended for by judges of it. But although less hard than stones and mortar and paved ways, English names are sometimes even more enduring. The name "Chepstow" is the most ancient English form of the phrase "The Market Place", in a sense so preeminent as to be the name of the town, the mart of intercourse between the two peoples. The history and former importance of this town seem to have been much overshadowed by that of the castle; but the extensive unoccupied area, circumscribed by the yet standing wall, shows that it was much more important than it is now. It was at the head of a Roman traject, if not a bridge, and afterwards had two bridges; and as a retreat and landing place for the ships of ancient calibre, it was equal in capacity and situation to ports which have become much more famous.

As for the Hewan's rock landing place at the Wye mouth, it must be content with its community of the traditional name, which is also, to some extent, the same as the claim we have been setting up for Bristol itself.

But there is another example of the dedication, St. Owen, far removed from those of the southern four English border marts. This is at Dublin; and, unlike the English ones, the Dublin church is only partly destroyed. This has been considered to be a graft from our Bristol St. Ewen. In fact one Jordan Wace, of Bristol, is found to have possessed land, in the year 1203, between the churches of St. Owen and Holy Trinity or Christchurch, Dublin.¹ It will be remembered that the expedition of Strongbow,—a name

¹ By the late Mr. Wakeman, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. x, p. 249.

² *Monast. Angl.*, 1846, vol. ii, p. 77.

intimately connected with the last-named church—although said to be levied through South Wales, was planned and contracted, and most likely largely recruited and provisioned, at Bristol. There is also a St. Werburgh at Dublin. But a glance at the names of the churches contained within that part of the old city, lying south of the Liffey, which is said to have been occupied by the English adventurers, is almost a reproduction of those of Bristol itself. This distant St. Owen, as well as St. Werburgh, seems to be thus fully accounted for, which is all we have to do with this very curious overflow of the materials of our inquiry. It seems, however, to indicate that the settlers gathered themselves into their own reconstituted parishes; so that those who had been neighbours in their old home should continue so in their new one.

Here our inquiry was thought to have concluded, as, indeed, it substantially has done; but at this point it was considered worth while to sift the residuum, to ascertain to what extent the name of St. Howyn or Owen is to be found scattered among the dedications, between his two Glamorganshire and Carnarvonshire centres, over the rest of Wales. The result, although it does not affect our argument, was nevertheless somewhat unexpected. Although his name, then written "Hoywen", was, so late as the fifteenth century, still celebrated by the poets as one of the brightest in the Bardsey constellation,¹ it is almost as scarce in the dedications over the Cambrian area as it had been found east of our border galaxy in England.² Except at Aberdaron, and a St. Owain at Ystrad-Owen, Glamorgan (and even this seems to be one of the princes), it does not occur,³ at least in its national form. Of this unexpected result some explanation shall now be attempted.

It is well known that almost all the Welsh dedications were originally national, or even more frequently tribal, or

¹ *Cambrian Reg.*, vol. iii, pp. 196, 200, 201.

² The only English St. Owen recorded in *Liber Regis*, eastward of our border series, is at Bromham, Beds., a dependent of Caldwell Priory. Attention has since been kindly directed to some elegant remains of a chapel or church, still preserved in the walls and chambers of a farmhouse at South Wraxhall, Wilts, said to be St. Adwyne's, St. Edwyne's, or St. Jewen's. (See Pugin and Walker's *Examples of Gothic Architecture*, vol. iii, p. 50.) Both of these are most likely St. Audoen or Ouen, Archbishop of Rouen. The Wiltshire one probably arose out of the surreptitious possession of the reputed skull of the Archbishop by the Abbey of Malmesbury.

³ Bacon, *Liber Regis*, pp. 992-1098 *passim*.

strictly local ; in many cases they are shrinal, or marking the spot under which the patron saint was buried : indeed, scarcely any of them were saints in the official, ecclesiastical, sense. Very few of them have found their way into any Catholic calendar ; and the *Lives*, by the Rev. Alban Butler, and even the great *Acta Sanctorum*, will be searched for most of them in vain. The dedications of the churches are the only authentic records of many of them. They were either reputed martyrs, or men or women distinguished by eminent or ascetic piety, or national patriots, or local benefactors, or even heroic but virtuous or religious princes, canonised by the public opinion of their neighbours or of their province or nation. Although the Britons submitted in the great controversies about Easter and the tonsure, in this they still secluded themselves from later Catholic rule by adhering to a more primitive usage. But in all four of the present Welsh dioceses, mixed up with these ancient national and local saints are now found the names of some of the Scriptural or greater Catholic saints ; and four of these occur with a frequency remarkably in excess of the others even of their own class. That of St. Mary (usually Llanvair) might account for its own frequency in any Christian nation ; St. Michael (Llanvihangel), affecting elevated spots, might be expected to be common in a mountainous country ; the other two are St. Peter and St. John, and both of these are much more numerous than the few other Scriptural names that occur.

In this matter it should be kept in mind that at some later time what may be called an evangelising feeling has set in, much to the prejudice of this national hagiology, not unjustly, perhaps, suspected of a tang of hero-worship. A disposition crept in to allow these local commemorations to slide into memorials of the greater or Catholic saints of the same or similar names. We have had something like it among ourselves in England. St. Thomas of Canterbury was for many ages a very favourite national dedication ; but in the sixteenth century it is known that some of his clients, and suspected that many of them, were either transferred to, or silently accepted as those of, St. Thomas the Apostle. The like has probably often been the case with St. John of Beverley in the province of York.

The Welsh dedications of St. Peter (often Llanbedr), are

also very numerous, and it is acknowledged by an accomplished Welsh scholar, the late Professor Rice Rees of Cascob, that the churches of the Welsh St. Pedr, a contemporary of our St. Howyn, at St. Iltyd's, "cannot be distinguished from those which are dedicated to St. Peter the Apostle."¹ He does not say, however, what is yet no doubt true, that several other names, that are also similar to Peter, have fallen into the same misappropriation. We have an example not far off. At St. Pierre, near the railway passage, in Monmouthshire, the now recognised dedication is St. Peter; but who can doubt that the external or secular name of the parish really preserves the name of St. Pierio, another sixth century member of the same famous Glamorganshire college, whose name is also perhaps included in that of Piercefield, or Persfield, on the Wye.

The question whether "Howyn", the name by which our saint is still known at his own port of Aberdaron, is an archaic Welsh synonym of the name "John", shall here be relinquished to Cambrian philologists. In this city we must remember that, spite of King Athelstan's trans-Wegan ban, the natural force of commerce has reasserted itself; and that there is still among our citizens a very considerable colony of Cambrians, so that a stranger trespassing over their pastures must be cautious. To us, however, who look on from the outside, some of the numerous Welsh variations, both of the name of their own saint and that of the apostle, approach so near to each other as to make it seem to us likely that they are identical. Thus we have "Hevin" for the British saint, and "Ifan" or "Evan" for John, as appears in the secular names of some parishes having St. John for their dedications. Also "Hewan" for the British saint, and "Ieuan" for John. But however this may be, it is at least certain that this approach is more than a sufficient pretext for the action of the evangelising tendency described; and to make it not impossible that any of St. Howyn's dedications, which may have been scattered beyond the conserving influence of his

¹ *Essay on Welsh Saints*, p. 211. The investigations of this learned and cautious writer are confined to the present Principality of Wales, and the planting of the mother and dependent churches therein. If they had been extended over England, and directed to the indications of the interlocations of the Celtic and Teutonic races to be found in the patron saints of churches, some of the observations now before the reader might, perhaps, have been forestalled.

local memory, have been absorbed among those now known as St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. •

It may be that the name has, in the frontier, maintained its ancient integrity because it has been in the keeping of a foreign speech, in which the transmuting process, above suggested, was not active because not understood. But if the explanation here offered of the absorption of the inland Welsh dedications of St. Howyn or Ewen in those of St. John should not be accepted, the significance of their restriction to the marts and trajects of the international frontier is much intensified by this great scarcity within their native interior. St. Howyn was sometimes called the "Steward" to the Bardsey congregation. Was there any Mercury-like connection of his *cultus* with commerce?

But whether or not this attempt to identify the person who for more than twelve hundred years has had his name remembered in the midst of Bristol has been successful, it is only collateral to our main argument. Whoever he may have been, he was certainly an ancient true Briton, one of the ancient Cambro-British people, and not a Norman exotic; and it is scarcely to be doubted, that the insulated thread of his dedications in the border cities, and the pilgrims' ferry at the mouth of the Wye, requires to be accounted for by a local, not a far-fetched cause. What seems most surprising is, that the name of "Owen", so thoroughly steeped in Cambrian associations, should, when found in so remarkable a local chain, have ever been referred to a continental source. This can only be attributed to the ready method of those who have usually attempted such explanations, of depending upon Catholic calendars and indexes; and, from these, the adherence of the Welsh to the more primitive hagiological system has entirely excluded the name they were seeking.

Looked at from the point of view here believed to be established, the existence of this dedication among us witnesses to us a very important fact. A national name which has outlived nearly a thousand years in exile must have had a very long precedent growth in its own soil. So lofty a tree must have had a deep root. This name, therefore, proves to us that Bristol, where we now find it, not only had a continued existence from probably the end of the sixth century to certainly the beginning of the tenth;

but also that during that early existence it held a very important standing, as a centre of intercourse between different races, and different nations. In common with Hereford, Gloucester, and Exeter, and also Chepstow, Bristol has within it a distinct relique of a remarkable municipal social condition which only existed during that period. A relique or vestige that is wanting at Chester and at Shrewsbury, most likely because Chester only awoke from its long desolation of three centuries, and Shrewsbury only came into existence at the very time when this social condition was extinguished. At Exeter, the dedications, which there constitute this vestige of the banished Britons, still attest their Damnonian or Cornish provincialism. In Bristol, Gloucester, Hereford, and Chepstow, the vestige is Cambrian. In this last remarkable insulated group, it is moreover identical; from which we may be almost certain that in them it was of nearly contemporaneous beginning. This honour to a national or tribal saint was confined to that period after his own life during which his memory predominated over other similar claims, in fact, to the radius of his nimbus. There was, what we should call, a fashion in these dedications, which made certain of them the favourites of certain ages.

But then we are told that the name of Bristol is not found in any written records before the year 1051. So much the worse for the records. The preservation of such documents before that time has been very fortuitous, and is very scattered. A geologist, in accounting for the valley of our river, the Avon, would perhaps say that the cap of Dundry was once continuous with Lansdown, but that the intermediate mass has been removed by denudation. So it is with the written remains of Anglo-Saxon times, only that the denudations are more predominant. These documents are nearly all outliers, or Dundrys, no continuous Cotswolds. Such as have come down to us have chiefly owed their survival to their having been the title deeds, or annals, of religious congregations; almost the only institutions that have bridged over most of the interval. If Bristol, instead of an independent secular commercial port, had been an appendage to an Anglo-Saxon monastery, its name might have come down to us in some cartulary. This has been the luck of some places only known to us as pleasant summer evening walks, such as Pen-Pole, and perhaps

Combe-Dingle; which are found mentioned by name as early as the ninth century.¹ But no matter. If the name "Bristol" does not stand along with its smaller neighbours in any of these written waifs, a very archaic sample of it, perhaps older than any of these, comes daily out of our mouths whenever we mention one of them. The name of the adjacent village of "Brislington" contains in its structure considerable evidence that it belongs to one of the very earliest showers of Teutonic place-names that fell upon this island;—that it has existed from the very earliest settlement of a tribe of Angles or Saxons in this district. And yet, in this name, the name of "Bristol" is visibly reflected as preexistent. This name makes the preexistence of "Bristol" as certain to us as that a person is in an adjoining room, although we only see his image in a mirror. Here is, in fact, a timeworn pebble, dropped from a denudation, and lying loose upon the surface, which contains, embedded within it, a fossil specimen of the ancient name "Bristol". The name "Brislington", or shall we say "Bristolington", is one of a numerous and well-known family of names, chiefly built up of descriptive words, the meanings of which are no longer known to those who utter them.² When this ancient name "Brislington" was first used, Bristol not only already existed, but had an offshoot, to which it then stood godfather.

Rome was not built in a day, neither was Bristol a sudden growth of yesterday.

¹ Cod. Dipl., 313, A.D. 883.

² In saying this it is not necessary to depend upon the late Mr. Kemble's interpretation of "-ing" as mostly indicating the name of a people or tribe. Not being aware that Brislington immediately adjoins Bristol, he makes it a settlement of a tribe whom he calls the "Brislingas" (p. 459). In the long list of places with this ingredient, which he has thus classed (*Saxons in England*, vol. i, pp. 59 and 449-478), he appears to have much overloaded his theory, or ridden it too hard. In many place-names "-ing" seems to be another form of "-inch", for a peninsular river-meadow. Brislington may have been the "-ton" which had settled on the edge of the "-ing" or "-inch" formed by the sweep of the Avon adjoining Bristol.

It was not foreseen that any one could have doubted that the name "Brislington" contains an obvious repetition of "Bristol"; nor, indeed, is it believed can any one who knows their neighbourhood have such a doubt. But it seems that some persons have been puzzled at the presence of the "l" in Brislington, because, they say, until a comparatively recent date the name Bristol ended with "u" or "w" instead of "l". And so it did when the name was written in English without any added syllable. But whenever any addition was made, such, for instance, as a Latin inflectional ending, the "u" or "w" was compelled to consonantise, and in so doing it has only the choice of "v" or "f". It

POSTSCRIPT TO PAGE 4.

The Mercians in Cornwall and Devon.—The topographical distribution of the dedications of St. Werburgh would most likely yield some indications of early unrecorded political revolutions. Besides those which sprung up within Mercia, within the circle of the fame of her own sanctity, they appear to have been planted at the outposts of Mercian dominion or conquest, probably marking the aggressions of Æthelbald, who was kindred to St. Werburgh, in the relation, apparently, of what we should call second cousin.¹ Nine out of the following twelve are all that have found their way into the general record² of churches still having benefices; and these twelve might receive additions from those who have local, traditional, or cartular knowledge of other extinct examples.

Those at Hanbury, Staffordshire, her original shrine;³ at Chester, her translated shrine; at Warburton on the Mersey;⁴ Shrewsbury;⁵ Kingsley, Staffordshire; Derby; and at Blackwell, Derbyshire; making seven, are all at home to answer for their own nationality. That at Bristol, and an extinct one at Bath, also, are immediately within the southern frontier of Mercia.

But there are three remaining that are great vagrants. One in a very out of the way corner of Kent, being that slip of land, almost an island, lying between the mouths of the Thames and Medway, but first

must either become "Bristovia" or the like, or "Bristollia". And the looking into the objection now started has brought into view a principle which seems to be so curious as to deserve the notice of even those who consider themselves "lucky in etymology". The exercise of this choice, between "v" and "l" as the necessary consonant, is discovered to be itself a persistent dialectic force. The "l" was permanent for ages in the writings, and no doubt already had its habit or natural bias in the mouths of those who were native of, or directly concerned with, the place. When written by William Wyreestre, or in charters and deeds between parties locally concerned, "l" is the chosen consonant; but in the Latin chronicles, into which it has been translated from its English form by strangers, "v" prevails. The late Rev. S. Seyer, who seems to have had a sense of this latent principle, was at the pains to collect a long list of the middle age forms of the name. (*Memoirs of B.*, vol. i, p. 280.) Of the early exercise of this dialectic choice of the consonant, the adoption of the "l" when "Bristow" was lengthened to "Brislington", is a very remarkable and valuable example.

¹ See pedigree in Lappenberg, *A. S. K.*, vol. i, p. 291.

² *Liber Regis passim.*

³ Shaw's *Staffordshire*, vol. i, p. 73.

⁴ Qy. the "Weardbyrig" of A.D. 915, of the *Mercian Chronicle*, placed by the authorities in Oxfordshire. But the *Chronicle* says that Æthelflæd built this fortress in the same year as that at Runcorn on the Mersey, and "Cyricbyrig" (? Chirk); all three having, with Bromborough, one obvious purpose of outposts to Chester, revived A.D. 907. In No. 343 of *Codex Diplom.*, Æthelflæd is seen dating from "Weardburg" about this very time. This, however, is offered with somewhat abated confidence; for whilst the name of the saint is distinctly discernible in the present name of the parish where the dedication is now found, the ancient name here produced bears only what may be an outside likeness to her name. On the other part it may be noted that the engineering works, with their religious accompaniments, of the Subregula, had up to this date been directed chiefly to the strengthening of Cheshire and the northern half of her dominion; and at this time the Mersey frontier seems to have had her special care.

⁵ Owen and Blakeway, vol. ii, p. 475.

connected with the mainland by the bridge at Rochester, from which this St. Werburgh appears to be within three or four miles. But the relations of the kingdoms of Mercia and Kent, as they are written in the chronicles, and of the kings of Mercia, with this very spot, as they are witnessed by contemporary charters, are quite sufficient to account for this distant dedication. This straggler may, therefore, be safely left to the care of scholars, without these pre-scientific endorsements, except that a much disputed topographical riddle may be glanced at on some other occasion.

Another of these distant St. Werburgh dedications is found in Cornwall, at Warbstow, about nine miles north-west of Launceston. Warbstow is sheltered on the west or Cornish side by a large and prominent hill-fortress well known as Warbstow Barrow. Although it lies about eight miles due west from the river Tamar, it is scarcely two miles from the present boundary of Devon. At this very place, for once only, and for only a short distance, the present county boundary forsakes the course of the Tamar, and Devon there makes a direct and very remarkable westward inroad into Cornwall, apparently endeavouring to reach and include Warbstow, as at some early time we shall have to assume that it did. After this deflection the present boundary returns eastward with at least equal abruptness, and resumes the course of the Tamar northwards until it has passed the source, when it makes another direct westward turn to the sea, leaving Hartland Point and the surrounding district in Devon.

The topography of the district is marked by another very striking feature. All the country from Hartland Point to the north-west of Dartmoor, and between the Torridge and the Tamar, is covered with places of which the names end in “-worthy”; not only the towns, but manors, farms, and the smallest spots. Of course this ending is far from being uncommon in the rest of the county, and in many other parts of England. Here, however, they literally swarm; so that over this part of a good map the “-worthies of Devon” seem to be swimming in such a shoal that the Rev. John Prince might have filled his folio at a single dip. It is this extraordinary density of the name-form over a limited tract of country which requires to be accounted for, if we can do it. There is also a thinner but still very considerable sprinkling of them east of the Torridge, along the country north of Dartmoor, approaching Exmoor; but although they are the most abundant along the east of the north Tamar, very few have strayed across that river to the Cornish side, except in the loop of Devon before described as crossing that river and stretching westward towards the Mercian dedication at Warbstow. Within this loop, although surrounded by a scarcity of them, they are found clustered as thickly as they are along the east side of the river.

It is thought that this name-ending “-worthy”, so luxuriant in this district, is no other than a transplant of the “-wardine” or “-nerdin” so thickly sprinkled over the margins of the Severn and the Wye, here flowering under another sky. It is also thought that we have here, written on a modern county map, but unwritten in chronicle or charter, a historical episode of the aggressions of Æthelbald (A.D. 741-743) directed against Wessex, or, still more likely, against the Cornish Britons. The conquered land was most likely approached by sea, for it was divided from the West Saxon territories by the Devon midland

highlands, then occupied by the Britons or Danmonians in force; and the "worthy" is most frequent towards the north coast. Even a mid-land kingdom, which already possessed such ports or harbours as Gloucester and as Bristol, could not have been without the means of at least extemporising the convoy of a coasting expedition of such magnitude as to account for even the large migration that has left these legible characters upon so considerable an extent of country. At any rate it is clear that an inroad was then made of this English people upon the Cornishmen beyond the Tamar; and at the outpost of his conquest we still find the usual standard of the Mercian invader, his national, or rather his own family, dedication of St. Werburgh; and it is probably due to this national sanctuary, and the neighbouring fortified hill, that the county boundary has at this part diverged so as to retain in Devon an entire trans-Tambrine parish; for, when nearly two hundred years later King Athelstan made of the Tamar the boundary of the Cornish people, a condensed English population must have been found occupying this advanced tract of land, whose already established possession was then respected in this anomalous divergence of the frontier. In truth, we have here a reversal of what has been before described. Here was evidently an "Englshery" among the Britons, which still survives in active, recognised vitality. The protruding Devon parish is North Petherwin; but there is a South Petherwin near, and probably at one time both were one parish. But although the north parish is in Devon, and the south in Cornwall, both are still in the archdeaconry of Cornwall, and both in one deanery. Both have the Cornish dedication, St. Patern, although the English, St. Werburgh, remains farther westward, and within the present Cornwall. From this may also be learnt that during the two centuries between Æthelbald and Athelstan, Christian dedications had ceased to be trophies of conquest, and that the two peoples, although politically separated, had become content to accept a community of saints, or at least to reverence and continue those of each other, when found established. This we have already seen in the British dedications which still remain in the cities from which their founders had been expelled by Athelstan.

There is still left, unaccounted for, one of the twelve known St. Werburghs, which is also one of the three errant ones. This is on the south-west coast of Devon, at Wembury, near the mouth of the Yealm, and between that and the estuary of the Plym. Little can be offered at present to account for this, more than that what has been already said may be accepted as the ground of a belief that it also is one of Æthelbald's banners on the outer walls, and perhaps the sole record of one of his aggressions upon Wessex. The church is on the sea-shore of a bay, opposite the New Stone. May it not mark the southern limit of the same invasion of which Warbstow is the western outpost? The neighbourhood and the intervening country west of Dartmoor to the Tamar is not without some sprinkling of the other national mark, the place-names in "worthy". The whole may, in that case, represent a very formidable enterprise of Mercia, having both for its pretext and one of its objects the repression of the Cornish Britons, but at the same time the establishment of a strong position along the entire rear of Wessex.

ON THE MUNICIPAL SEALS AND ARMORIAL ENSIGNS OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

NEXT to a critical inquiry into the origin of the armorial insignia of the ancient nobility and gentry of England, which the further it is pursued becomes more interesting and instructive, the examination of the official seals of the mayors and corporations of the cities, towns, and boroughs of the United Kingdoms, with a view to establish the date of the grants and the meaning of the arms or devices they exhibit, has a special claim on the attention of archæologists, and more particularly on that of those who, like myself, have made heraldry one of their favourite studies, and earnestly laboured to remove the errors and absurdities which have so long disfigured and degraded it.

Among such seals those of the important city in which we have the pleasure of being at present assembled are of the most curious, and have been, of late years, connected with a story which, if founded on fact, or even upon credible tradition, is valuable, as illustrating a particular period of our national history and the fortunes of a noble family.

Long before a congress at Bristol had been arranged, or even more than distantly contemplated, I received in my official capacity a letter from the Rev. Mr. Wickenden, of Stoke-Bishop, written at the request of the Mayor, asking for some information respecting the origin of the arms of the city.

Led in the first instance by this application to investigate the subject, I was subsequently induced by its interest to continue my researches, and trust the observations I shall make to you upon it will not be wholly unworthy your consideration.

In the library of the College of Arms is a copy of William Barrett's *History of Bristol*, published in 1789, interleaved and profusely illustrated by the late Rev. James Dallaway, Earl Marshal's secretary, with drawings, prints, coats of arms in colours, and a mass of valuable information in MS.,



comprising the notes and collections made by Mr. Seyer, with the purpose of publishing a new edition of Barrett's *History*, but which he did not live to accomplish. From these notes and the commentaries on them by Mr. Dallaway, the substance of which, as far as relates to the seals and arms of the city, he subsequently published in the form of a letter to the late Sir Henry Ellis, in the 21st vol. of the *Archæologia*, I have extracted all that is important to the present inquiry, and subjoined my own views and suggestions. "The first mention", says Mr. Dallaway, "that I have seen of a common seal is in the charter of 47th Edward III, A.D. 1372, for the choice of a sheriff, 'sub sigillo communi diete ville Bristol', but he observes, "that circumstance does not prove that the common seal was then first made, but rather that it had been extant previously".

No doubt but there were several seals extant previously, and it is with the origin of the earliest of all that the story I have alluded to is connected by Mr. Dallaway, and upon the evidence that he produces in support of this theory the result of the present inquiry entirely turns.

The device on this earliest seal is a castle with four towers, the two largest of unequal height having between them a great gate, the portals of which are closed. The loftiest tower is presumed by Mr. Dallaway to represent the keep of the castle. That on the other side of the gate is surmounted by the figure of a man blowing a trumpet, and may therefore fairly be designated the warder's tower. Mr. Dallaway observes, that there is reason to believe that a representation of the Castle of Bristol, as it existed at that period, was purposely intended, as in the case of the seal of the city of Norwich. Be this as it may, it is the design on the obverse that awakens our interest in this seal, as it is supposed by Mr. Dallaway to have reference to a remarkable incident connected with the city of Bristol, unmentioned by Mr. Barrett, but respecting which Mr. Dallaway has collected many passages from the chronicles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The subject of the design is as follows: at the end or angle of a wall is a round-headed archway surmounted by a crenelated battlement, above which are seen the head and arm of a man who is apparently beckoning to the steersman of a single masted vessel in full sail, either about to pass or making for the

building. The circumscription in Lombardic characters reads :

“Secreti clavis sum portus navita navis
Portam custodit portum vigil indice prodit”;

which Mr. Dallaway interprets thus : “I am the key of the secret port. The pilot steers the helm of the ship. The warder points out the port with his forefinger ;” and adds, “the arch and tower are intended to represent the secret port, by means of which vessels of considerable size were admitted into the walls of the castle, the river Avon being thus made to communicate with the ditch.” Without stopping to question the accuracy of the translation of this monkish Latin, which Mr. Dallaway admits he made *sui periculo*, I at once endorse his opinion, that whatever circumstance suggested the design it has been the prototype of all the city seals, however varying in their details, and likewise of the city arms ; but that it is “evidently historical” must not be so hastily admitted. Nevertheless, the story told by Walsingham and others, and which Mr. Dallaway adduces in support of his theory, is extremely curious, and fully deserves investigation. It runs thus : a large ship, which by stress of weather had been driven about in the British Channel, was discovered when becalmed (*ex paucis ventis*) hovering at the mouth of the Avon by some persons (“cives”, not “navita”). Walsingham says “only four” in small boats. The ship excited the greatest interest from its size and furniture, and the certainty that some one of consequence was on board. The “cives” induced the passengers by promises of safety to enter the port of Bristol. Wykes says, “puppim ipsam eam tota farcina capientes invitos perduxerunt intersecus” (into the creek and gate of the castle), that is, after they had perceived that they had fallen into the hands of the enemy and that all opposition would be useless. Speed, following Walsingham, only says they were surprised. The vessel proved to have on board Almeric de Montfort with his sister Alianor, daughter of Simon, the great Earl of Leicester, whom he had brought over from France, with the intention of landing her on the Welsh coast, and giving her in marriage to Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales, who was then at war with King Edward I, A.D. 1275. The treachery or successful manœuvre was the piloting this rich vessel, with the marriage portion of the

bride and other valuables, into the secret port of the town, and then surrendering the prize into the hands of the king himself, who, it is inferred, was at that time in the castle. The lady, it is said, was treated courteously by the sovereign, but the men with the savage barbarity practised in those days. Wykes relates that the citizens gave "*predam ipsam non ignobilem domino regi triumphali lætitia*," and Mr. Dallaway argues that it is borne out by these circumstances that the delineation of this achievement was represented on the common seal of the burgh and port, and an inscription added in monkish Leonine verse, obscure in itself, excepting that it be allowed to allude to this historical fact in particular, and was then first of all confirmed by authority.

Here, again, I must demur to the conclusion arrived at. Let us first hear Peter Langtoft's account of the incident; modernising the spelling it would read as follows:

"The next year following Edward's coronation
 Lewellyn of Welshland into France sent
 De Montfort's daughter to wed. Her friends all consent.
 Almerick led her to the ship. Now on they went
 Sailing and rowing to Wales to Lewellyn.
 A burgess of Bristol with a cargo of wine
 Overtook their ship, and asked why and whence they were.
 They said with King Philip to Wales they would fare.
 What did this burgess? Misled their wending.
 The maid and her property he brought to the King.
 The maiden Edward took, as he was most courteous,
 Into safe custody, and thanked the burgess.
 When Lewellyn heard the tidings, on war he did decide,
 For he was sorely vexed at the capture of his bride."

Mr. Dallaway contends that as Edward is expressly stated to have thanked the burgess for so acceptable a prize, it is most probable that he allowed a service performed by the men of Bristol to be commemorated in their great seal. These are the grounds on which Mr. Dallaway founds his theory, and we will now endeavour to ascertain how far they may be relied on.

Alianor de Montfort, daughter of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was born in England, and educated in France; married Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, at Worcester in October, 1278, and died the year following. The date would fairly enough accord with that given for the capture of the lady on her voyage to Wales, and there is sufficient evidence to

be found in Rymer's *Fœdera* that Alianor de Montfort was in the power of the King, at Windsor Castle, in January of the former year. The battle of Evesham, in which her father Simon and her brother Henry de Montfort were slain, was fought in 1274. Almeric and the rest of the family escaped to France; and thus far, again, there is nothing to militate against the hypothesis of Mr. Dallaway. Here, however, we leave the region of fact, and enter the clouds of conjecture. Mr. Dallaway produces no evidence that Edward I was at Bristol in 1275, but only says it may be inferred he was. I shall show you that he was not.

Thanks to the labours of my lamented friend, the late Rev. Charles James Hartshorne, we are enabled to state positively that Edward I never set foot in Bristol, after he came to the throne, until the 20th of September, 1276, when he remained here five days, and on the 27th was at Gloucester. His next visit did not occur till the 1st of December, 1284, when he appears to have passed one day in this city on his way to Caermarthen, returning hither on the 21st, and remaining till the 2nd of January, 1285, so that he seems to have kept Christmas here; we are consequently certain that at no time in 1275 could Alianor de Montfort have been delivered to him personally in the Castle of Bristol. This fact, however, only affects the exact date recorded of the capture of the ship, which it may be contended might have occurred in September 1276, during the five days he was here; but at that period Llewelyn was already carrying fire and sword into the marches, and consequently it could not have been the seizure of his bride that drove him into rebellion. The cause of the war was the repeated non-compliance of Llewelyn, on various insufficient and frivolous pretexts, to attend and do homage to the King of England for his dominion in Wales, which neglect he followed up by open hostilities, ravaging the English marches, and burning and destroying all before him.

Having examined the historical facts which are presumed to have suggested the design of the seal, let us now turn our attention to the seal itself, which I have already described. I confess that I cannot discover the slightest reason for supposing the capture of Almeric de Montfort's vessel is in any way represented, or even indicated, in the composition, which I believe to be of an earlier date than the inci-

dent to which its origin is attributed by Mr. Dallaway. If I am justified in that opinion, of course there is an end to the argument ; but as that point is still open to discussion, I will state my objections upon other grounds little less fatal, I think, to the theory he has propounded.

In the first place there is nothing singular in the design. A ship is making for a port, and the warder, from his tower, is signalling to the steersman, or, as Mr. Dallaway translates the inscription, "points out the port with his forefinger". What more appropriate design could have been suggested for the common seal of a city which as early as the reign of Henry II was described by William of Malmesbury as "a wealthy city full of ships from Ireland and Norway and every part of Europe, which brought to her great commerce"?

The seals of Bedford, Launceston, Carlisle, Exeter, Dorchester, Barnstaple, Lancaster, Norwich, Newcastle, Cardigan, Caermarthen, Denbigh, Guildford, Pembroke, Warwick, Totness, Bridport, Tewksbury, Queenborough, Clitheroe, Bridgenorth, Stafford, Orford, Devizes, Malmesbury, Ludgershall, Pontefract, and several other towns in England and Wales, display castles, accompanied more or less by certain charges for difference. Any one who is familiar with the designs of our early or mediæval painters or illuminators must be struck by the absence in the example before us of the principal features and incidents of the story this seal is supposed to commemorate. Where is the lady? Where the ship of the Bristol merchant, or, according to one version, the boat with the four citizens of Bristol on board by whom the French vessel, with its fair and noble freight, was decoyed into the "secret port" of the castle? An artist of the thirteenth century would not have left the subject of his design for an instant in doubt. Alianor de Montfort and her brother would have been seen on board the betrayed bark, and the artifice by which they were entrapped indicated more or less clearly, according to the fashion of the time. The circumscription in which Mr. Dallaway perceived a mysterious allusion to the event, appears to me a plain and simple explanation of the subject represented, a warder is giving directions to the steersman of a vessel making for the port, which, if the ship was being brought in by Bristol citizens, or a Bristol merchant, would



be unnecessary. The words, therefore, I take to be of general, and not special application.

The next seal in point of date is a smaller one, inscribed "Sigillum Maioritatis Ville Bristolie", and represents the same subject with a remarkable difference. Here we see a castle with a water-gate on one side of it, out of which a ship is *issuing*. Little more than her forecastle is visible, but on it is planted a banner, of the oblong form, characteristic of the reign of Edward I, displaying the three lions passant guardant of England, and beneath it is the letter B. Now, surely if there had been any intention to commemorate the capture of Alianor de Montfort by the device on the former seal, supposing it to be of that date, it must have been fresh in the recollection of the engraver of the latter, as well as of the civic authorities, and in any alteration, care would have been taken to improve the design by identifying it more clearly with the event, instead of depriving it of any chance of recognition by making the vessel a king's ship, flying, what is in modern parlance called the royal standard, and leaving in lieu of entering the port of the castle. This seal is not noticed by Mr. Dallaway, but he describes another, engraved on the same plate, said to have been affixed to a deed, dated 1350, with the same circumscription and a similar design; but the architecture of the castle is of a later period, and there are two warders on the battlements blowing trumpets. Of the ship, the forecastle only is visible. The banner planted on it is square, and charged with the arms of France (*semée* of *fleurs-de-lys*) and England quarterly, as first borne by Edward III. A fourth, a drawing of which, made by Augustine Vincent, Rouge Croix Poursuivant, *temp.* Queen Elizabeth, is to be seen in his most interesting and valuable MS. in the library of the College of Arms, was appended to a deed of the 10th of Henry VIII, by Thomas Halleway, who was mayor of Bristol in 1434, and founded a chantry in the church of All Saints in this city in 1450. Here we have again a castle of similar character, a flag flying on the keep and two warders on separate towers blowing trumpets. The hull of a vessel of a different build, without masts or sails, little more than her head out of the water-gate, and displaying on it a banner of the royal arms, France and England, quarterly, the *fleurs-de-lys* in the first quarter reduced to three,

a change which took place in the reign of Henry V. This is the latest, I believe, of the seals of the mayoralty of Bristol, and as void as the others of any special feature which would connect it with the story of Alianor de Montfort.

Now let us turn to the arms of the city, which exhibit the same subject with similar slight variations, and must, therefore, have been founded on the seals which undoubtedly claim priority of date. There are engravings of four; the most ancient from the form of the shield and the character of the architecture is, I should say, coeval with the third seal time of Edward III. But who can state that the arms had been only granted at that date? They may have been in existence some time previously. The style of painting or sculpture of any particular example indicates merely the date of its execution, and arms might have been assigned to Bristol long before the original of this engraving was made. It represents only the water-gate of a castle, flanked by two round towers, out of which is seen issuing a vessel with a bowsprit and one tall mast, but no sail. There is a flagstaff on the forecastle, but no flag. There is no warder on the wall, and the effect is altogether poor and inartistic, conveying indeed the notion of its being an unfinished production.

The next example displays a better style of architecture. The two towers have slated domes or cupolas, on each of which is a vane, and the ship fully rigged, with her foresail set, appears to be passing out of the water-gate, which, in lieu of being between the towers, is situated in the centre of the one on the right. The base of the shield is heraldically parted per pale, the dexter side representing water, and the sinister grass or marshy land.

The third example presents us with a similar castle, and the water-gate in the right hand tower as before; but the towers are each surmounted by an imperial crown of six arches with either standards or vanes on them. The ship is still more elaborately drawn, and appears putting to sea with foresail and mainsail set; a small quartered flag is flying at each mast head. The base of the shield is not divided heraldically, but the dexter side beneath the ship is barry wavy, representing water, and the sinister a mass of rock projecting beyond the line which would have parted the base per pale, as in the former instance.

The fourth shield displays the arms of the city as at present borne, and said by Mr. Dallaway to have been granted by Sir Henry St. George, Garter, for confirmation of which he refers us to the visitation of the county of Gloucester taken by that officer's deputies in 1683, he being at that time not Garter but Clarenceux ; but no such arms appear in that visitation.

On a fly leaf at the beginning of Camden's visitation of the county, taken in 1623, is the drawing which has been copied by Dallaway in his MS. additions to Barrett's *History*, with the ungainly supporters and inexplicable crest, of which the original grant by Cooke, Clarenceux, in the reign of Elizabeth, is preserved amongst the muniments of the Corporation.

In an alphabet of arms, compiled about the latter date, the arms of the city of Bristol are blazoned thus, "*gules, a ship issuing out of ye port of a castle, joined to the sinister side of ye shield or, with ye castle argent, on a mount vert*"; but no mention of supporters or crests. In all modern paintings or engravings of the city arms, the water-gate is omitted, and the ship is represented and blazoned as passing by the castle; while in the early seals and shields, the ship is invariably represented issuing out of the port, and not being decoyed into it. I submit, therefore, that there are no grounds whatever for the conjecture of Mr. Dallaway, unsupported even by tradition, that either the seals of the corporation or the arms of the city of Bristol owe their design to the story of Alianor de Montfort's capture by stratagem on her voyage from France to the coast of Wales, whatever truth there may be in the story itself, the details of which are contradictory, and the date, as far as the presence of King Edward I at Bristol in 1275, absolutely erroneous.

In the absence of documentary evidence, I can only suggest that the oldest seal, of which a representation is before us, dates from the grant of the charter of incorporation of Henry III, in which case there is an end at once to the conjecture of Mr. Dallaway. The style of the architecture, the form of the ship, and the mode of steering it, all point to an earlier date than the accession of Edward I, during whose reign the small second seal was probably executed, and the original design improved by a better artist.

The third seal is undoubtedly of the time of Edward III, who confirmed and extended the charter of Henry III, removed the staple of wool to this city, and in 1373 erected it into a separate county, under the designation of the city and county of Bristol.

The fourth and latest of the ancient municipal seals may have been made in the reign of Henry V, as it was appended to a deed dated the 10th of Henry VI; and the reduction of the *fleurs-de-lys* in the quarter of France to the number of three forbids our assigning it to an earlier period than the time of his father, who made that alteration in the royal arms.

I cannot conclude this paper without expressing my regret that such a crest should have been assigned by any king of arms to such a grand old coat as that which has for six centuries distinguished the city of Bristol. The unicorns, but for their unpicturesque attitude, might be accepted, though not in the least applicable to the city; but the crest is designed in the very worst style of heraldic composition. The false taste which in the seventeenth century induced painters and sculptors to represent contemporary monarchs, illustrious statesmen, and victorious generals in *quasi* Roman costume infected the College of Arms, and classical emblems displaced, or were incongruously combined with, mediæval devices. It is to such departures from the true character and object of heraldry which increased rapidly in numbers during the following hundred years, that a noble and instructive service owed the loss of the reputation it had enjoyed from the days of Henry II, and its officers as well as their office the respect accorded to them during the middle ages. The critical spirit of modern archæology I am happy to say is gradually re-establishing the science of armoury in the position it should rightfully occupy amongst the useful as well as ornamental arts of the present period, when history is being rewritten, and education considered almost the one thing needful.

ON FUNERAL GARLANDS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

DURING a recent visit to Shropshire, our valued associate the Rev. S. M. Mayhew met with several curious examples of funeral garlands suspended in the church of Minsterley, some ten miles from Shrewsbury. It was our good friend's desire and intention to have brought these melancholy tokens of affection to the notice of our members, but clerical duties press so heavily on him just now that he cannot carry out his wish, and he has deputed me to submit to you a drawing of one of the garlands, and offer such remarks as seem needful for its illustration.

Brand's *Popular Antiquities*,¹ *The Antiquarian Repertory*,² Hone's *Table Book*,³ and *Year Book*,⁴ Chambers' *Book of Days*,⁵ and other works of like description, have so exhausted the subject of funeral garlands, and wearied us with twice-told tales, that there is little left to be added to what has already appeared, and I am thus compelled to brevity in my remarks upon such matters. I would, however, observe that the employment of funeral garlands, in some form or other, is wide spread and of remote antiquity, as is shown by a few existing examples, and certain passages in the pages of classic authors.

I produce a portion of a mortuary wreath, taken some thirty-five years since from the brow of an Egyptian mummy. It consists of a narrow bandeau of thin wood, across which



is folded the lanceolate leaves of the *henna plant*, called by Pliny⁶ *Cyprus*, and by modern botanists *Lawsonia inermis*, and vulgarly known as *Egyptian Privet*. Nothing can be more simple in construction than this chaplet, but when

¹ Vol. ii, p. 302.² Vol. iv, p. 239.³ Vol. ii, pp. 105, 273.⁴ P. 1204.⁵ Vol. i, p. 271.⁶ *Hist. Nat.*, xii, 51; xxii, 46.

new it must have had a pleasing effect. Three thousand years may have run their lengthy course since this *immortelle* was placed around the head of the departed, its verdure has faded, its circle broken, its very substance threatens to crumble into dust, and yet, in spite of age and of decay, this fragment from the tombs is still eloquent of love, of sorrow, and devotion.

The Etruscan sepulchres furnish conclusive evidence of the use of funeral garlands by the Tyrrheni. In 1826, Signor Avolta discovered the tomb of a warrior in the high road leading to Rome, in which, among other valuable objects, was a wreath of lilies formed of pure gold. And Signor Campanari met with a chaplet of ivy cut out of gold plate, in the tomb of a warrior at Vulci, and one from Canino may now be seen around a brazen helmet in the British Museum. The ivy was sacred to Vertumnus or Bacchus, who in Etruria was believed to preside over funerals, and hence the plant became a fitting material for mortuary decoration.¹ Such metal garlands as those just spoken of seem to have been called *corollaria* by the Romans, Pliny² describing them as being made of thin plates of copper, gilt or silvered. But the classic ancients used real leaves and flowers in their funeral rites, as well as metallic imitations. Virgil³ makes Anchises exclaim, when grieving for the death of the young Marcellus, "Give me lilies in handfuls; let me strew the blooming flowers; these offerings, at least, let me heap upon my descendant's shade, and discharge this unavailing duty". Or, as the passage has been rendered in verse,—

" Full canisters of fragrant lilies bring,
 Mix'd with the purple roses of the spring.
 Let me with funeral flow'rs his body strew :
 This gift, which parents to their children owe }
 This unavailing gift at least I may bestow."

Pliny⁴ tells us that those persons who had gained chaplets at the public games were entitled to have themselves and their parents, after death, crowned, whilst the body was laid out in the house, and on its being carried to the tomb. And the same author¹ records that the people scattered flowers

¹ Pliny (xxi, 28) speaks of the chaplets wrought of the leaves of the smilax and ivy, but gives no indication whether they were for the service of the living or the dead.

² xxi, 3.

³ *Æneid*, vi, 883.

⁴ xxi, 5.

upon the corpse of the Tribune Scipio Serapio as it was being borne to its resting place. And he also speaks² of sepulchral chaplets.

The Roman poet Tibullus,³ comparing an amiable with a cruel mistress, says of the former :

“Atque aliquis senior, veteres veneratus amores,
Annua constructo sarta dabit tumulo.”

Elton has thus rendered this portion of the elegy :

“But she, unbribed, unbought, yet melting kind,
May she a hundred years, unfading bloom;
Bewept, while on the flaming pile reclined,
And yearly garlands twine her pillar'd tomb.
Some ancient lover, with his locks of grey,
Honoring the raptures that his youth had blest,
Shall hang the wreath, and slow-departing say,
‘Sleep!—and may earth lie light upon thy breast!’”

The transition from heathenism to Christianity offered no bar to the employment of the mortuary chaplet, and our ancestors seem to have continued its use from time immemorial, and the writers of olden days make frequent and touching allusions to it. In the sixteenth century it appears to have been known under the title of *Crant*, an old northern word for garland, and one which Shakspeare introduced into his play of *Hamlet*, v, 1, where the priest, speaking of the obsequies of Ophelia, says :

“She is allowed her virgin *crants*,
Her maiden strewments, and the bringing home
Of bell and burial.”

These mortuary crants, crowns, wreaths, garlands, or chaplets, as they are indifferently termed, after decorating the coffin of a maiden whilst in her home, were borne with it to the grave, and then suspended in the church, as near the place she once occupied as could well be contrived. To this latter practice, Gay makes reference in the fifth pastoral of *The Shepherd's Week* :

“To her sweet memory flow'ry garlands strung,
O'er her now empty seat aloft were hung.”

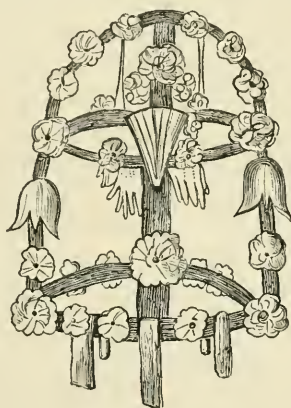
This pleasing and antique custom brings us at once to the immediate object of this communication, the curious

¹ xxi, 7.

² xxi, 8.

³ ii, El. 4.

old crowns seen by the Rev. Mr. Mayhew at Minsterley, a mining village in the mountains, an old-world sort of locality, having a seventeenth century church with round-headed windows and oaken fittings. Projecting from the upper part of the interior north and south walls of this church are several short iron rods with heart-shaped escutcheons at their ends, four of which are respectively inscribed E. W. 1736,¹ M. M. 1736, F. J. 1734, M. J. 1751. To these iron brackets the garlands or crowns were originally attached, but seven of them now depend against the



gallery walls. Each measures a full foot in height and is thus constructed. The lower part consists of a hoop of thin wood about $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, to which are secured two arches of the same material, intersecting each other at top, and steadied by a second hoop placed mid-height. This wooden framework is covered with linen, and on it are sewed lilies and roses of two sizes, made of pink and white paper. From the lower circle descend short paper streamers, principally blue and white ; but in one instance there is the addition of strips of red cloth. Within these crowns are hung three pairs of gloves cut out of white paper. These several features are well exemplified in Mr. Mayhew's drawing.

The paper gloves, though varying in number, seem to have been thought an essential accompaniment to the crown-formed garlands, and to them were at times added a collar

¹ "Elizabeth Woodhouse, daughter of Edward Woodhouse and Mary his wife. Born Sept. 1, in ye year 1715. Died 1736."

or a kerechief also of paper, and on one or other of which were written the name, age, and date of death of the maiden in whose memory they were fabricated ; but at Minsterley the initials, etc., on the cordiformed shields projecting from the walls seem to be the equivalent to the written record on the mimic articles of attire. In some instances it appears that gilded or painted eggshells and hour-glasses were suspended within the garlands.

Such were the ordinary crown-formed garlands and their accompaniments in olden days, but others were made of stronger materials than wood and paper, and demanding a higher degree of taste and skill to fashion, and which in some measure may be compared with the *corollaria* of the Romans. An example of the kind to which I refer was found in the year 1733, in digging a grave close to the east end of the chancel wall of Bromley Church, Kent. A correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1747, described it as "wrought in filligree work with gold and silver wire, in resemblance of myrtle, whose leaves are fastened to hoops of larger wire of iron, now something corroded with rust, but both the gold and silver remain to this time very little different from their original splendour. It was also lined with cloth of silver, a piece of which, together with part of this curious garland, I keep as a choice relic of antiquity." A portion of a filligree garland, very similar to the one described by this writer, was exhumed in the Steelyard, Upper Thames Street, in 1866, and which, no doubt, once swung above a pew in some neighbouring church.

William Cole, in his *Art of Simpling, or an Introduction to the Knowledge of Gathering Plants*, 1656, p. 64, says, "It is not very long since the custome of setting up garlands in churches hath been left off with us." This statement is presumed to refer to the metropolis, for certain it is that the fashion lingered in the provinces down to the close of the eighteenth century; Hertfordshire, Shropshire, and Derbyshire still displaying a few tangible relics as attesting witnesses of the fact. And though often printed, I cannot resist citing a portion of an ode by Miss Seward, as it bears so directly on the question before us. Speaking of her native village of Eyam, in Derbyshire, she says :

"Now the low beams, with paper garlands hung,
In memory of some village youth, or maid,

Draw the soft tear, from thrill'd remembrance sprung,
 How oft my childhood marked that tribute paid.
 The gloves, suspended by the garland's side,
 White as its snowy flowers, with ribbons tied ;—
 Dear village, long these wreaths funereal spread,
 Simple memorials of thy early dead !”

We must now close this subject. Starting from the Valley of the Nile, and wending our course to the land of the Tiber, and hence to our own shores, we see clearly that the Minsterley garlands are a continuation of a Pagan custom, so ancient that it reaches beyond the script of record, or whisper of tradition. But Pagan as it may be in origin and practice, there is something in it so innocent, so sweetly touching, so redolent and expressive of affection, that the Christian may without blush or hesitation follow in the wake of the votaries of Ra and of Jupiter. And in the beautiful language of Mrs. Hemans I would call on all to

“ Bring flowers, pale flowers, o’er the grave to shed,
 A crown for the brow of the early dead !
 For this through its leaves hath the white rose burst,
 For this in the woods was the violet nursed !
 Though they smile in vain for what once was ours,
 They are love’s last gift. Bring flowers, pale flowers.”

KEYNSHAM ABBEY, SOMERSETSHIRE.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ.

AMONG the important services rendered to the cause of archæology by our Association, perhaps no small importance may be attached to those devoted to noticing the remains of buildings the memory of which may have passed away.

The narrative of a discovery of a lost priory at Ludlow, and of an unknown church at Repton, in two of the earlier volumes of our *Journal*, will always be read with marked interest, as will several similar descriptions in others.

It is in the hope of adding something to our knowledge of a somewhat celebrated abbey, that I have attempted the description of a building, the remains of which had so completely passed away that even in the last edition of Dugdale it is stated that no remains of the abbey then existed.

The site of Keynsham Abbey,¹ like so many others in England, shows traces of long occupation, and it is probable that the ancient relics, so recently opened, are comparatively modern in comparison with the occupation of the site, which has many natural advantages, standing as it does high above the junction of two rivers. Among the abbey ruins recently met with, several Roman coins of the later emperors have been found, and are in the possession of Mr. Cox. It is of this spot that the legend of Saint Keyna is related. The old writer Capgrave states that Saint Keyna was the only daughter of Braganus, prince of a province of Wales now called Brecknockshire, and who lived towards the end of the fifth century. Refusing all offers of marriage, and resolving to lead the life of a recluse, she travelled in quest of a deserted spot. Finding this suitable, she begged leave to settle here, when being disturbed by the vast numbers of snakes which infested the wood, she changed them all to stone.

Leland² is of opinion that there was here a small priory before the foundation of the abbey, and which was then "newly repaired and endowed"; no authority is given, and it is doubted in Dugdale's description.

The discovery recently among the abbey ruins of a portion of Saxon stonework, may call attention to Leland's statement, since it seems to point to some Saxon building having been on the site. There is no mention of a church here at the Domesday survey, when "Canesham" was held by the king. Had any such existed, it was, therefore, probably then in ruins.

The history of the abbey is well made out. It was founded by William Earl of Gloucester, and, it may be presumed, shortly after the death of his son and heir, Robert, the latter having made request on his death bed to his father for this house to be built and endowed. The date of the death of Robert is given by Tanner as having occurred in A.D. 1166, and the foundation as between the years 1167 and 1172 as by the witnesses to the foundation, and probably soon after 1167.³ The original endowment of the

¹ Mr. Collinson supposes that the name "Keynsham" was derived from the ancient British tribe, the Changi, who lived in this district.

² *Itin.*, vol. vi, p. 92.

³ Compare Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, English edition, 1717, vol. i, p. 149; and with ed. Caley, Ellis, etc., vol. vi, p. 451.

house may be gathered from the *Inspeximus* of Edward II, which recites the different donations as they stood in his time², and which are confirmed. The charter of King Edward II is dated the eleventh year of his reign.

The abbey was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. Peter, and St. Paul. It was for canons of the Augustinian rule. It is curious that St. Keyna's name does not occur in the dedication either of the abbey, parish church, nor, as far as I can trace, in any of the dependencies of the abbey, and affords another illustration of how unfrequent it was for churches to be dedicated to saints, except at the period of their popularity.

The names of many of the abbots are on record, from several of them having been summoned to attend convocations, the first named being William, in 1175, and the last John Stourton, in 1528, who subscribed to the King's supremacy, 1534. At this time there were fifteen religious in the house, in addition to the prior. Willis² gives the name of the last prior as John Stoneston, and states that there were but ten monks at the date of the dissolution. He gives the names of nine, with the amount of their annuities, including £60 per annum to the abbot. The other amounts paid range from £9 to John Horne, the prior, to £2 only paid to Richard Adamps. The discrepancy in the numbers arises, doubtless, from this being quoted from a list compiled from the annuities paid in 1553, and after the deaths, probably, of several. This view is the more probable since one name, that of John Given, sub-prior, is omitted from the list.

The income, at the dissolution, is set forth in the catalogue of the religious houses delivered to King Henry VIII in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, as follows: "Keynsham Ab. Can. St. Aug. £419 14s. 3d. 2q."³

The common seal of the Abbey exists attached to the deed of surrender. It is of elaborate workmanship, and represents the Virgin holding the infant Jesus in her right hand, and in the left a sceptre. St. Peter is on one side, and St. Paul the other. It has also the arms of the Abbey, six

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

² *Hist. of Mitred Abbeys.*

³ "Monasterium de Keynsham, John Stourton, abbas. Summa totalis valoris omnium possessionum tam temporalium quam spiritualium, £450 : 3 : 6. Summa allocationum, £30 : 13 : 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. Et remanet clare, omnibus deductis, £419 : 10 : 4 $\frac{1}{4}$."—Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*.

clarions in base. The legend is SIGILLUM COMMUNE MONASTER' BEATE MARIE DE KEYNESHAM.¹

Records of several interments have come down to us, the earliest being of William Earl of Gloucester, who died in 1173; Robert, his son; Jasper Duke of Bedford. The latter, by his will, dated 15th December, the eleventh of Henry VII,² bequeathed his body to be buried, and a handsome tomb to be made, one hundred marks to be expended, and certain lands in Nottingham, Derby, and Warwick (value, £40), for finding four priests to sing masses perpetually here for the welfare of his soul; also that of his father, Catherine Queen of England, his mother, Edmund Earl of Richmond, his brother, and the souls of all his predecessors. Many of the Berkeley family were also buried here.³

Immediately after the dissolution the site was let to farm to John Panter (July 5th, 1535) for a term of twenty-one years, together with the convent orchard, and consisting of fifteen acres, at an annual rent of 6s. 8d., the tenant covenanting to repair the houses and buildings, and the King subsequently.

The fate of the Abbey and its buildings, after the dissolution, is soon told. King Henry VIII settled the manor of Keynsham upon his last Queen, Catherine Parr, who died in 1542. Edward VI, by patent bearing date May 12th, 1550, granted the manor, the parsonage, and church of Keynsham, also the site and chapel of the manor of Keynsham, and other properties, to Sir John St. Loe, Knight, for a term of sixty years.⁴ It was afterwards sold to Sir Thomas Bridges, from whom it descended to the Duke of Chandos; and afterwards, by marriage, to the Duke of Buckingham.

The demolition of the church appears to have begun shortly after this date. By the will of Sir Thomas Bridges, dated the 18th of October, 1559, he bequeathed £40 to repair the causeway and bridge of Keynsham, with as much stone of the Abbey Church as was needful for it and the

¹ Dugdale, ed. Caley, etc., as above. A fragment of this beautiful seal, and a fine impression of the seal of Adam, an abbot of this house, who has been omitted by all the historians, are among the charters in the British Museum (No. 15205). This charter will be printed among the original documents relating to Bristol in a future part of the *Journal*.

² Dugdale, *Bar.*, ii, p. 242.

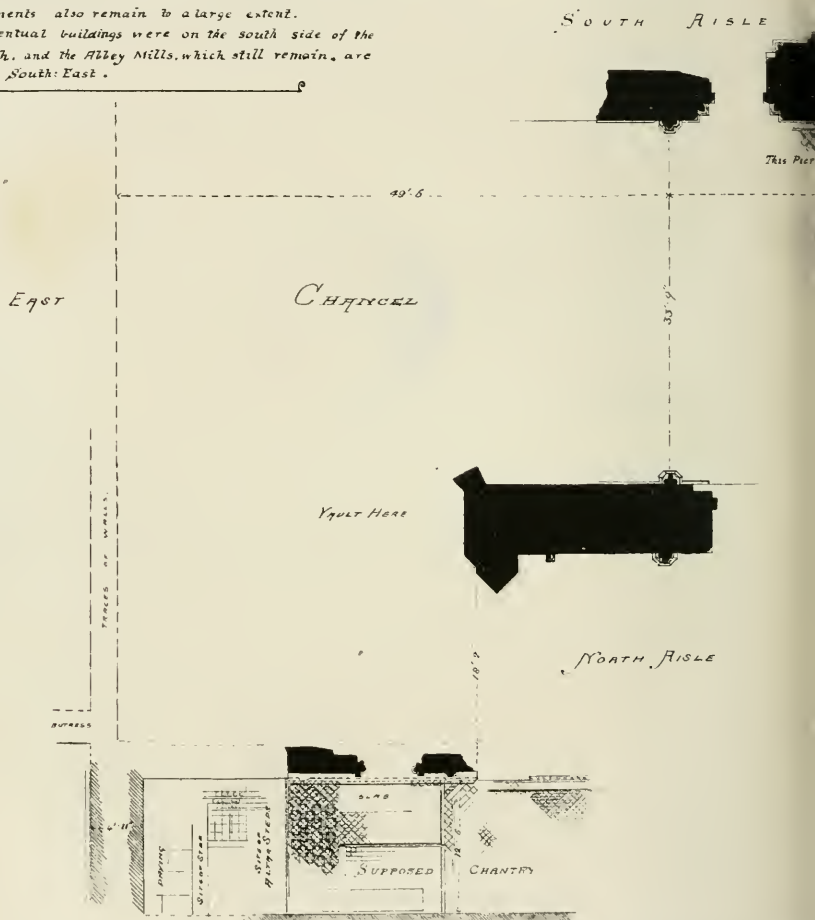
³ Collinson's *Somerset*, vol. ii, p. 401.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 403.



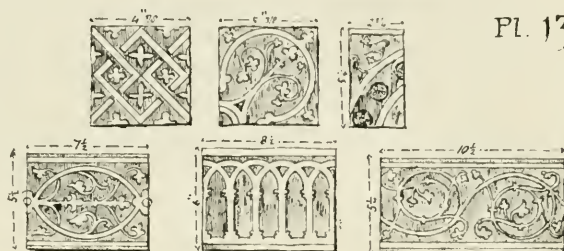
KEYNSHAM

The parts shaded are no longer visible and have been sketched from data supplied by J. Tho^r Irvine Esq^r. The foundations of the remainder of the Church as well as some of those of the conventual buildings most probably still exist beneath the accumulated earth. The Tile pavements also remain to a large extent. The conventual buildings were on the south side of the Church, and the Abbey Mills, which still remain, are to the South: East.



— ABBEY —

Pl. 13.



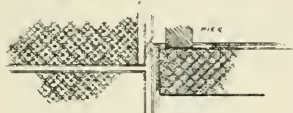
ENCAUSTIC TILES

portion is covered with earth
about 12 feet in height.

covered purposely for
plan. June 1875.

80 0"

NAVE



WALL

WEST

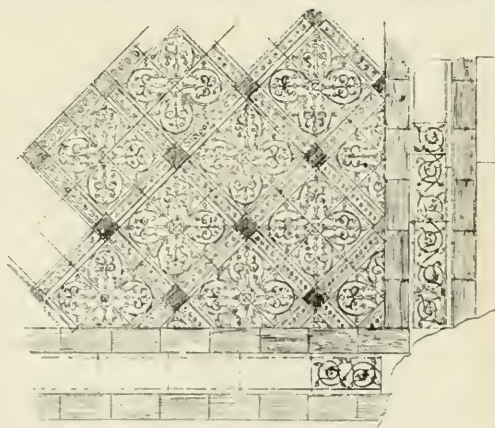
REINSEPT

Monumental Slab
found here



— CHURCH —

PORTION of TILE-PAVEMENT of NAVE OPENED JAN 1875 AND SINCE COVERED



0 40 50 60



church. The latter refers to the parish church, a building earlier than this date; but since a tradition points to the tower having fallen down, and having been rebuilt with stone from the Abbey, it is probable that the upper story only may have suffered injury, and been rebuilt at this period. The lower portion is of good Perpendicular work of several years earlier date, and still in good repair. The belfry-stage is of later date, and of poor work. The chancel of the church is Early English, and the building is dedicated to St. John the Baptist.¹

A large house, called by Collinson "a superb and elegant seat", was erected on part of the site of the Abbey, and sometimes occupied by Colonel Bridges, and afterwards by the Duke of Chandos. This has also passed away, having been pulled down about 1776. Its site (now an orchard) has been pointed out to me, just abutting upon the east end of the parish church, and between the latter and the site of the Abbey. Nothing remains above ground, and the foundations only of some of the walls have been met with recently. The building communicated with the churchyard by a broad flight of steps, which remained until the demolition of the house. Before dismissing the house, it may be added that an old painting of the latter end of the seventeenth century is preserved at "The Lamb and Lark", Keynsham, and stated to have been brought from the house, and to represent it. It shows a long two-storied building of very plain architecture, having two rows of square sash-windows, a central and two end gables with roofs of different slopes, round windows in the pediments, and in front a formal row of cut box-trees. A building with large Gothic traceried windows adjoins it, and this may probably be a part of the nave of the church then remaining. Two worn coats of arms carved in stone were preserved on the demolition of the house, and are now in Mr. Cox's premises, as is also the stonework of an entrance-arch which he proposes to re-erect. An arched vault filled with spring water of great purity has been discovered within the last few days, just clear of the site of the house, and due east from the church, beneath the stable of Mr. Cox's house.

¹ Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales*. A small hospital probably stood near the church, of which no record exists except a seal bearing the figure of St. John the Baptist. It was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries.

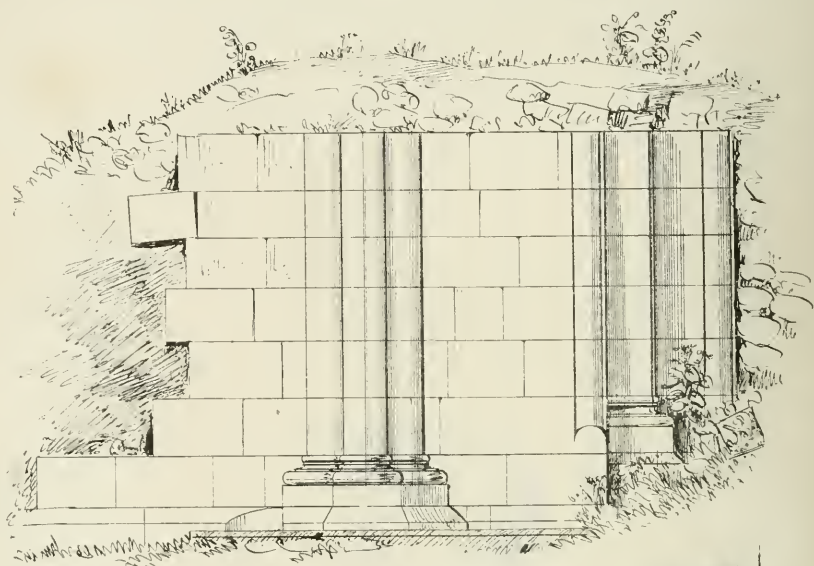
Records of the Abbey occur scantily from this period, and all tend to show its entire demolition. Three effigies, stated to be of abbots, were dug up at the end of the seventeenth century, and carried away. Collinson relates that about the year 1776, when Chandos House was removed, at the same time some ruins of the Abbey, about one hundred yards behind the house, were dug up to level the ground. At this time many monumental stones were found. In 1791 there were no traces of it remaining.

The cemetery of the Abbey was north and east of the church, for I am told by Mr. Henry Masters of Bristol, on excavating for the Great Western Railway, which is here in a deep cutting, human remains were found in large quantities just in the rear of the arrival platform from Bath, and also between it and the railway bridge.

The site of the Abbey appears to have been marked only by irregularities in the bare site, and by a few sculptured stones, until it came into the possession of Mr. Cox, who commenced to lay it out for building operations. These works led to the opening of the ground, and I fear that many traces of the walls have been entirely removed, no thought naturally having arisen of their relation to others yet to be discovered. Sepulchral slabs of considerable interest, some of them with floriated crosses of great beauty, were uncovered, besides a vast amount of very rich tabernacle and other stonework of all styles, from semi-Norman to the latest Perpendicular. The Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club took interest in these discoveries, and succeeded in procuring two of the best of the slabs, which are now preserved under the portico of the Museum.¹ It is feared, however, that many of the slabs have been destroyed. During the Bristol Congress a few of the members succeeded in paying a visit to the site, which had been cleared to a great extent; a dry, bare stretch of meadowland broken up in places for building purposes; several new villas; a deep slope towards the little river, the Chew, spanned by the viaduct of the Great Western Railway before it cuts into the side of the raised ground where the Keynsham Station is,—this was the site of the Abbey; but on the first glance no trace was visible of the beautiful building which must have crowned grandly the high ground

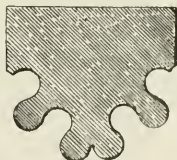
¹ See *Proceedings* for 1867, No. I, p. 78.



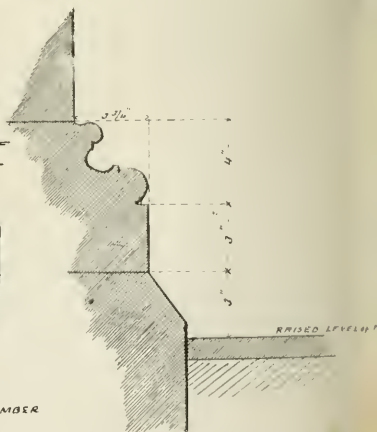


DOOR RECENTLY
UNCOVERED

— EARLY-DECORATED-PIER —



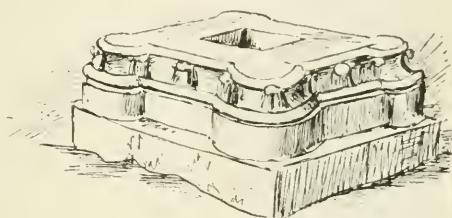
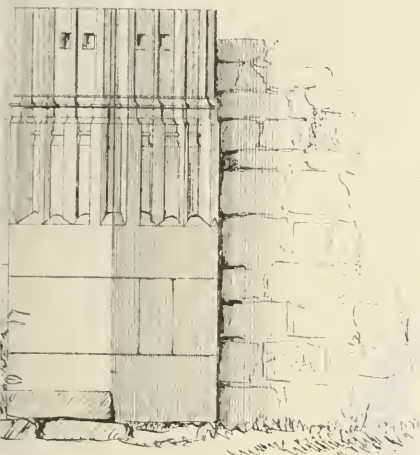
VAULTING RIB STONES IN GREY NUMBER



RAISED LEVEL

PL. 14.

KEYNSHAM — ABBEY —



EARLY ENGLISH BASE.

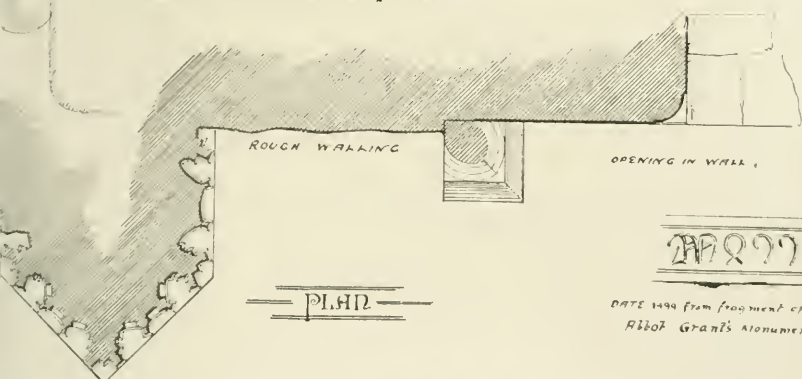


FLINT MOLDING.



LABEL MOLDING.

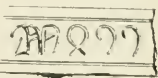
PERPENDICULAR PIER



ROUGH WALLING

OPENING IN WALL.

PLAN



DATE 1499 from fragment of
Ribot Grant's Monument.



NORMAN PANEL ORNAMENT

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK DEL

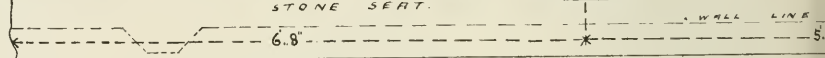




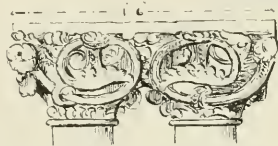
— KEYNSHAM — ABBEY —



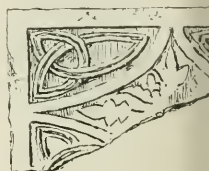
STONE SEAT.



GRAVE STONE
HERE, AND TILED



NORMAN CAPITAL SQUARE.
FOR 4 SHAFES.



SAXON. FRETWORK.



NORMAN FRET.



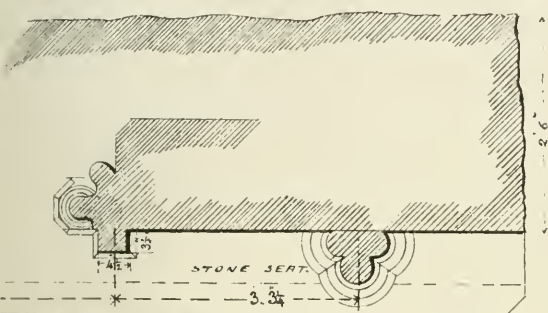
NORMAN PANEL



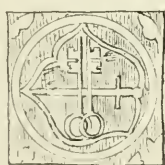
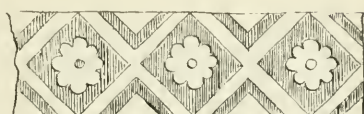
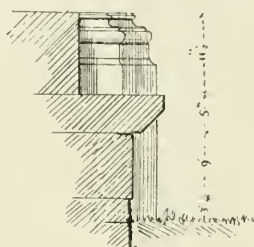
NORMAN CAPITAL.



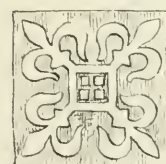
EARLY-DECORATED WINDOW.



SECTION



DEADEND OF MOLT.



The colours are in every case, whitish yellow on a Red ground.
Those marked with initials are from sketches by J. Tho' Irvine Esq.

above the valley, and formed an admirable group with the tower of the parish church. Traces of the Abbey fishpond were seen in the centre of the field.¹

On nearing the site we saw a sort of irregular mound which had been cut through, and partially cleared. Here we found remains of considerable importance and beauty, and clearly of the Abbey Church. They consist of portions of the chancel and northern aisle. This had, most probably, the Bedford Chantry at its east end. These remains are set forth in the accompanying plans. It will be noticed that the chancel is 33 feet 9 inches wide, and the aisle 18 ft. 9 ins. Besides the pier of the supposed chantry, of late Perpendicular work of elaborate description, are two stones of the earlier work built into the more recent wall. Mr. Cox tells me that almost all the delicate tabernacle-work preserved in his house came from this spot. The stone seat and the bases of the columns westward of it are shown on the section. On the southern face of this mass of walling the bases remain of three engaged shafts of bold Decorated work; and there are three similar shafts on the opposite side of the chancel, existing to a greater height, 2 ft. Westward of this latter there is a bold re-entering angle with a large bowtell moulding in it, apparently for a diagonal vaulting-rib. The earth still covers the site westward, and it cannot be determined whether or not this is the opening into a transept. A portion of it was cleared during my recent visit, and I am sanguine that much light will be thrown upon the ground-plan when the earth, which is 8 feet deep, is removed. During my stay several fragments of encaustic tiles came up with the rubbish, and hence also the floor of this portion may be also tiled. No trace remains of the eastern walls, but some cross-walls were met with at about the point marked on plan, but they have been removed. The ground rose a foot or so at the east end, probably for the altar-steps, and most of the pavement before it was tiled when first cleared. It will be noticed by the section of the two piers of the chancel, that the floor had been raised, the one paving stone remaining being high up on the stone plinth. The eastern side of both bases shows a sinking, evi-

¹ The axis of the parish church is almost in a line with that of the Abbey, an arrangement similar to that of the parochial and priory churches of Lindisfarne.

dently cut out subsequent to their erection. Westward there exist no traces of the nave-walls. Whatever may have existed before the ground was opened on the north side and west end, has been entirely removed; but on the south the earth still covers what there may be of the wall on this side, and traces of buttresses, windows, or a south side-aisle, may eventually be met with. The western part of the nave has an encaustic tile-paving of early Decorated date, and of great beauty. This has suffered very severely by the recent frosts, and will soon pass away. It ends abruptly westward; but I am informed that no trace of a western wall was met with here. It is probable that the west end has not yet been reached, since beyond these tiles, and north-west of them, a large piece of encaustic tiling was found on a spot now covered by the greenhouse of the new house recently built near the north side of the remains. It is, therefore, premature to conjecture the length of the building.¹ The tiles are very beautiful, and I have the pleasure of showing specimens of nine of these. They are all of varying design, and are almost perfect. It will be noticed that they are of two dates, early Decorated and Perpendicular; and for the elegance of their design and their preservation may be fairly considered among the best specimens preserved to us. The earlier specimens have the peculiar green glaze which we so frequently meet with on early mediæval pottery. The two later ones have the brown glaze. I am indebted to our associate, Mr. Vere Irvine, for tracings of the whole series of these most interesting tiles, no less than twenty-four varieties; and it will be noticed that among the many varieties there are a few heraldic tiles, one bearing the arms of Beauchamp of Holt, another the ten pellets of Zouche, while a third has the keys of St. Peter and the sword of St. Paul arranged saltirewise upon a shield.

The principal of the sculptured stones are preserved in the garden of Mr. Cox's house. I know of no more interesting study than the beautiful fragments there arranged as rockwork. They are of admirable workmanship and of great beauty, and should be preserved in some more fitting place. There is a fragment of Saxon fretwork, already referred to,

¹ Particulars of what appears to be a portion of a western wall and a pier have since been furnished me by Mr. Irvine, and are set forth on the plan. I am indebted to him also for some particulars of the east end, now removed.

and denoting an ancient building which has entirely passed away. The Norman or rather semi-Norman period is represented by a vast number of carvings of elaborate character, which bear out the date of the foundation very well. These are capitals of usual type, fragments of zig-zag arch stones, sculptured panels, a Greek fret (so to speak) of great beauty, and particularly a charming capital which has been carried by four slender detached shafts. There are early English bases and caps with shafts of the blue stone of Wells Cathedral. Decorated work of very excellent workmanship, including two small gable crosses. Perpendicular pinnacles and tracery, with elegant heads of niches in great variety. There are here and in the neighbouring gardens several remains of statuary, some monumental.

I exhibit an impression from an ancient seal kindly forwarded to me by Mr. Masters. It has an inscription in early Norman character, which seems to read IOHNESVNEI. The field is occupied by a cross-tau with three palm branches. A few brass abbey coins of common type, a groat of Edward IV, minted at Bristol ; a penny of John of Gaunt, and a few other coins, have also been found in the ruins, but no articles of furniture calling for special description.

These facts point to the erection of a semi-Norman building of costly character at the date of the foundation, and the subsequent rebuilding of the church in the early Decorated style (about 1310), and the still later addition of a Perpendicular chapel to the north aisle. One of the fragments remaining is probably part of one of the Decorated windows of the church, and is given in the sketches. The remains afford abundant evidence that the buildings must have possessed considerable architectural beauty. The stone of the abbey is the capital freestone of the county, and is found in perfect preservation. It is to be noticed that much of the walling of Decorated date has been whitewashed, and that traces of red colouring are very apparent on the walls. Vast numbers of St. Keyna's petrified serpents (the ammonite fossils of the locality) are to be observed in the stone in the walls.

In conclusion, much praise is due to Mr. Cox, not only for his courtesy in permitting ready access to be had to the remains and to his garden, but also for his desire to preserve them. He has promised me that all stone found in

position shall be carefully retained, and only the loose and fallen blocks removed for the building works now in progress.

I am indebted to the courtesy of the Reverend Prebendary Searth for the following particulars of the monuments found during the progress of the excavations. The oldest of the inscribed stones is one which has the inscription round the edge in Norman French, and has on the surface an Early English cross, ornamented with trefoils at the extremity of each limb. The length of the stone is 7 ft. 4½ in., the breadth of the upper part 2 ft. 5¼ in., the lower 1 ft. 8 in. The writing is that of the twelfth century and the inscription is as follows: + ISABEL. DE. PENDELSFORD. GYST. ICI. DEU. DEL. ALME. EIT. MERCI. AMEN: PATER. ET. AVE.

This lady was probably a benefactress to the abbey, and takes her title from a place now called *Pensford*, but at the date of the stone written Pendlesford. The next slab contains in the surface a very elaborate cross of a much later date, and has the letters IHC inscribed in the centre of the upper part, which is trefoiled and cusped. The inscription runs thus:

+ HIC. IACIT. WALTERVS. JOIE. (or IOCE) CANONICVS. NUPER. CVSTOS. CAPELLE. SANCTE ANNE. IN. THE. WODE. CVJVS. ANIMA. PROPICIETVR. ALTISSIMVS. AMEN.

The style of the cross and lettering fix the date of this in the early part of the sixteenth century.

In another inscription is also found the expression "Sancte Anne in silva", or "the Wode", which chapel was situated at Brislington, and belonged to the Abbey of Keynsham. One of the Lords de la Ware founded this chapel on the north side of his manor, to the honour of Saint Anne, according to William of Worcester (*Itin.*, 190) as quoted by Collinson (*Som.*, vol. ii).

The chapel was 57 feet in length by 15 feet in breadth, and there were nineteen buttresses about it. The height of it from the ground to the covering of the arched vault was 80 feet. The place where the chapel (long since ruined) stood, says Collinson, is little known, being in the nook of the county opposite Crews Hole, in the parish of St. George, Gloucestershire, from which it is divided by the Avon. A more retired spot could hardly be found, a deep dell overhung with aged oaks, alders, and poplars, bounds its southern aspect, and through it runs a limpid rivulet from Brisling-

ton, murmuring over a rocky bottom and forming several waterfalls.

Another slab, which was broken in several pieces, had the following hexameter verses upon it, together with the date, A.D. 1499, in Arabic numerals.

IN . MARSHFIELD . NATVS . GRANT . ABBAS . ECCE . JOHANNES .
(..... JACE)T . HIC . SUB . PVLVERE . PRES.....

In another portion of the slab was inscribed, OBIT . 14 .
KALEND . MARCH . A . DOMINI . M811 (1499).

According to Dugdale's *Monasticon*, John Grant was confirmed Abbot of Keynsham A.D. 1487, but from Willis' *History of Abbeys* (ii, 198), the date of his election is stated to be 1493 and his death 1506. The date of confirmation as abbot appears, however, from the register of wills, as cited in Hutton's *Collections*, to have been 1487. In Hutton's collections from the register of wills (MS. *Harl.*, 6966, fol. 72a), 1, Jan. 1487. "John Graunt confirmatur abbas de Keynsham." Three other incised slabs, lying side by side, are to the memory of the Deschell family. One was thus inscribed : IESV . MISERERE . ELEANOR . DESCHELL . QVON-
DAM . CONSORTIS . JOHANNIS . DESCHELL . CVJVS . CORPVS .
HIC . REQUIESCIT : ANNO . DOMINI . MCCCC . IESV . FILI . DEI .
MISERERE . MEI . AMEN.

A second is in the memory of IOHANNES . DESCHELL, the husband of Eleanor. The name alone of this was legible. A third had the name obliterated and only the words HIC REQUIESCIT CORPVS CVJVS ANIMA PROPITIETVR. Another slab, which had been buried with its face downwards, had the following inscription and a cross and scroll in the centre:

HIC . JACET . IOHN . SPALDING.....CUSTOS . AC . FRATRIBVS .
SEMPER . AMABILIS . ET . GRATVS . ET . CVSTOS . SANCTE . ANNE . I
SILVA . CVJVS . ANIME . PROPITIETVR . MAG . DEVS. The scroll contained the following words : DOMINE . SECVNDVM . MISE-
RICORDIAM . TVAM . VOLO . ME . IVDICARI.

Often fragmentary inscriptions were scattered about, one, to a man and his wife, having two floriated crosses in it, above which was a shield supported by an angel, with the letters IHS inscribed upon it ; the only part of the inscription remaining was the following words : HIC . IACENT.....
CATHERINA . VXOR . EJVS.....CVJVS . ANIMIS . PROPITIETVR .
DEVS.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 4TH APRIL, 1875.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were returned for the following presents :

To the Society, for the Archæological Journal, vol. xxxi, No. 124, 1874.

„ „ for Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire, issued by the Powysland Club. Part XVI. April, 1875.

„ „ for the Birmingham and Midland Institute : Archæological Section ; Transactions, Excursions, and Reports. 1872, 1873.

To the Author, for Address at the Anniversary Meeting of the Geological Society of London, February 1875. By J. Evans, Esq., V.P.R.S., President of the Society, and Vice-President of the British Archæological Association.

The Chairman said that before the arranged business of the evening commenced, he had a melancholy duty to perform, that of announcing the decease of three old and valued members, whom he was proud to count among his personal friends. These several deaths occurred within a few days of each other. On March 17th, William Beattie, M.D., breathed his last, but leaving behind him a name and fame which will not soon be forgotten. The author of the *Castles and Abbeys of England* filled for some years the office of our Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, and his truly elegant contributions to the pages of our *Journal* will testify in some slight degree to the valuable aid he lent to the Association. He was, indeed, a man worth knowing ; for never lived a Highlander with a warmer heart, a nobler spirit, a more cultivated and refined mind, than the late William Beattie.

On the morning of our last meeting (March 24), Dr. Silas Palmer, our Local Secretary for Berkshire, was snatched from us. It seems but as yesterday that he was in London, hale and hearty, full of life and spirits, and giving promise of a long career of useful exertion, and expressing a desire of renewing his former active connection with our proceedings ; but ere that desire could be accomplished, he has passed away.

The death of Silas Palmer was followed, four days after (March 28), by that of Alexander Zanzi, a kindly, well read, intelligent Italian gentleman with ample store of information, which he was ever ready to impart to all inquirers.

Sad, indeed, is it to think how our old associates, one after another, are called from us, leaving gaps in life-long friendships which it is hard to fill up. But it is useless to repine; and although death has removed many of the early members, there is no reason to fear that our time-tried Association will not continue to flourish and prosper, for year by year new blood is infused into its veins, new recruits are pressing to the front, health and vigour attend its onward progress, and at no previous period were we ever more prosperous than at the present moment. So if we have bitter regrets on the one hand, we have much of hope, encouragement, and satisfaction on the other.

The melancholy news was received by the members attending the meeting with profound regret and most sincere expressions at the severity of the loss sustained by the Association by the sudden bereavement of three associates whose careful and sustained interest towards the common good of the Society was so well appreciated and so liberally tendered.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition an ancient implement of copper of rare type, exhumed in Tokenhouse Yard, Aug. 1865. It is $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. in length, wrought of a single piece of metal, and may be described as a thin, somewhat spud-shaped blade, sharp at the broad edge, and slightly so for a short distance up the sides, and provided with a slender and nearly cylindric haft terminating with a flattish conical knob. Upon this implement Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following observations: "I believe the specimen now submitted to be of Keltic fabric, and unique as a London find, but can offer nothing more than a conjecture as to its purpose, namely, that it may have been designed as a razor, an instrument called by the Britons *ellyn* and by the Hiberno-Kelts *ailton*. Our idea of a razor is so influenced by the familiar knife-like blade with its thick back, that we can scarcely realise the fact that any other form is applicable for shaving operations. But if we turn to Southern Africa, we shall find that spade-shaped razors of iron are well known things with the native tribes; Kurreecane, on the borders of the Marootzee nation, being one of the chief places where such cutlery is manufactured. Campbell, in his *Second Journey*, figures a Mashow razor in its pristine state, and I exhibit one which has been used and much sharpened by the Bechuanas, and thus rendered more pointed than that shown in Campbell's *Travels*. My specimen is part of the collection gathered in 1834-5 by the expedition organised by the Cape of Good Hope Association for exploring Central Africa. After all, it may be said that the African razors bear but a

slight resemblance to the instrument before us, but they do display a wide variance in contour from the recognised form of the 'shaving-knife', as do also the presumed double-bladed razors of bronze discovered in Ireland, and one of which is engraved in the *Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, p. 549. If the specimen under consideration be not for toilet purpose it is hard to guess for what other use it could have been turned. The substance of which this curious article is made demands special notice. It is not bronze, but pure copper, and appears to have been hammered into the required shape, like the early copper implements found in Ireland, and those of North America, mentioned in the *Journal*, ix, 187. Keltic instruments and objects of copper are of extreme rarity in every part of the Britannic Isles, and a mere trace of such things has been brought to light in London. It is an incontestable fact that the relics exhumed in Long Alley, Moorfields, in 1866, are among the most archaic remains yet discovered in the metropolis, and in close contact with these primitive vestigia were indications of Keltic occupation. Among other items here found were several metallic hoops of the class called 'ring money', and, on cleaning one of them, I found it to be composed of copper, and it is produced as a second tangible instance of an object of this material having been exhumed in the city. It is evidently not cast, but hammered into shape, the strip of which it is fashioned being full one-sixth of an inch wide, and the outline of the ring is more ovate than round, measuring upwards of 2 in. one way, by only $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. the other. This rare annulus weighs 8 dwts. 21 grs., and, saving a little erosion of surface, is in a good state of preservation.

"Regarding the rarity of Keltic objects of copper, Sir William Wilde makes the following pertinent remarks in the *Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, p. 357. 'It is remarkable that so few antique copper implements have been found, although a knowledge of that metal must have been the preliminary stage in the manufacture of bronze. The circumstance may be accounted for, either by supposing that but a short time elapsed between the knowledge of smelting and casting copper ore and the introduction of tin, and subsequent manufacture and use of bronze; or from the probability of nearly all such articles having been recast and converted into bronze subsequent to the introduction of tin, which renders them harder, sharper, and more valuable.' "

Mr. George Adams exhibited a fine and ancient carving in wood, being a representation of St. George and the Dragon. In illustration of this relic the Rev. S. M. Mayhew showed a variety of objects bearing upon draconic myths, a subject brought prominently before the Association by Mr. Phené at a previous meeting, when he delivered some interesting remarks upon serpent worship and ornament:

1. A Keltic armlet of bronze with terminal serpent heads, found with others of a similar character in the Steelyard, February 1864.

2. An antique statuette group of white glazed porcelain, from Fokien, representing Shin-mow holding in her arms the infant Fuh-hi, and standing on the head of a kylin.

3. A superb massive ring of antique fashion, in bronze, set with silver annulets, and bearing the well known heraldic device of Gonzaga of Milan, a serpent erect, crowned, engouling a child.

Mr. Mayhew then drew the attention of the members to a group of Roman antiquities from London, of great rarity.

1. A statuette of Cupid in bronze, finely patinated, about three inches in height. The workmanship is very good, and the anatomical development is accurate.

2. Of these Mr. Mayhew said, "We cannot look upon this collection I am about to bring to your notice without a certain degree of sympathy, for they certainly formed a link, and a very tender one, in a family history some 1,700 years bygone. In April 1873, a workman in a deep cutting sent his pickaxe through, what to him appeared, solid concrete. Underneath was a decayed oaken cist, the burial cist of a Roman infant. It contained a cantharus of white pottery, a small red Caistor vase, three armlets and leglets of jet, polished and carved, a finger ring of gold wire, exactly corresponding to the rings of children exhumed by General di Cesnola in Cyprus, and the obolus, a fine and perfect gold coin of the Empress Salonina, wife of Gallienus, bearing on the obverse the usual portrait of the empress and legend SALONINA AVG., on the reverse Venus holding a palm branch and leaning upon a column, at her feet a shield, the legend VENVS VICTRIX. This type of the coins of Salonina is exceedingly rare, and has been known to fetch a large sum of money¹ when in such good condition. Scarce a vestige remained of the frame of the once loved tenant, laid there doubtless by a mother's hands, whose affection for her lost darling would bribe the stern ferryman, by a costly offering, to a swift and happy passage for the departed light of her home."

3. The remaining objects of exhibition were an ornamental cross of Venetian imitation gems, sapphires, and crystals, of great beauty and refracting powers, set in silver, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length by $3\frac{1}{8}$ in breadth. The cross is a very bright, beautiful, and extraordinary object.

4. A sword, quite perfect, of the fifteenth century, found by Mr. Mayhew hidden with two others in the roof of an ancient farmhouse in Kent. Length of iron blade, 30 ins., and of carved horn handle, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The guard is of iron, and its peculiar shape assigns the date as given above; but it probably saw service in the Civil Wars of the seven-

¹ Cohen, *Monnaies*.

teenth century. A handier and more formidable weapon can scarcely be conceived, and well would it have girded one of Cromwell's Ironsides. The family in whose house it was found (the Allens) possess documentary evidence of local holding of farm and other property since the days of Edward III, but they have also a receipt for ship money levied on, and being probably resisted by, their ancestors.

5. An unique armlet of dark blue glass, enamelled with white curved lines, lately found in an excavation in Cannon Street, and recognised as an antiquity of the greatest possible rarity.

Mr. Cuming remarked of the gemmed cross that it had in all probability adorned the cover of a richly bound service book, and could not be later than the sixteenth century. With regard to the sword exhibited by Mr. Mayhew, he was of opinion that its origin must be referred to the fifteenth century, and instanced a similar weapon of the time of Henry VI, engraved in Skelton's *Meyrick*, Plate 101, fig. 1.

Mr. Cuming then laid before the meeting a drawing, by Mr. Watling, of the upper part of the west doorway of Cratfield Church, Suffolk, on the spandrels of which are sculptured a wild man and a dragon. The hirsute hero is armed with a club and circular *pavoisienne*, or hand shield, ready to do battle with the winged monster, which occupies the sinister spandrel, and darts forth its barbed tongue in fierce defiance. This singular design appears to be the work of the second half of the fourteenth century, and may possibly refer to some local tradition, for it clearly does not pourtray the fight between St. George and the dragon.

Mr. T. Morgan, *Hon. Treasurer*, read a paper entitled "Roman remains at Newgate", which will be inserted in a future part of the records of the Association.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock exhibited a selection of pottery from the recent excavation on the site of Newgate, and read "Notes on the result of further excavations on the site of Newgate". From the *factilia* exhibited, and from other indications, it was generally considered that the supply of water to the Roman station of Londinium was, at least, one of the principal objects to which the remains excavated has conduced. A future place will be found for this paper.

In the discussion which followed, the chairman after referring to the discovery of ancient treen and leaden water-pipes, which are mentioned in his paper in *Journal*, xxix, 184, stated that on the 3rd of last November the workmen employed in the construction of the new tramway from Clapham to Blackheath, exhumed some eight or ten water-pipes on the west side of the Newington Road, and slightly to the south of St. Mary's Church. These primitive tubes measured from 5 to full 6 feet in length, and were wrought of the stout trunks of elms, with the bark not removed, and were of a remarkable red hue. One end of each pipe was flat, the other conical, to drive into the bore of the next

stem, and so form a continuous line of conduit. They were in a very ruined condition, and evidently of ancient date, and he knew no reason why they should not be regarded as Roman *fistulae*, as traces of Roman work had been met with in their immediate neighbourhood. Allen, in his *History of London*, i, 37, informs us, that in 1824 a portion of the Roman road from St. Thomas-a-Watering to Stangate was discovered near Newington Church.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28TH, 1875.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

Mrs. Baily contributed a knife and two knife-hafts, all of the fifteenth century, and found together in the Fleet Ditch. The knife is 10 inches in length. It has a broad, flat tang cased on either side, at top, with ivory or bone carved as a profile of an ugly human face with small round eyes, upturned nose, prognathous mouth, and short beard. The broad, straight, pointed blade has a fillet of latten next the haft, and is inlaid with the cutler's mark, which seems to represent a patriarchal cross, *i. e.*, a stem with two transverse bars. One of the hafts is broad and flat, with a scalloped cap and fillet graven to imitate feathers, and the tang has been encased in wood inlaid with brass trefoils. The second haft is also faced on either side with wood secured by twelve fine pins or rivets of brass. It has a fillet of latten next the blade, and is surmounted by a representation, in brass, of two little hoofs turned in opposite directions.

Mr. J. T. Irvine of Rochester forwarded for exhibition a beautiful drawing, by Mr. A. A. Clarke, of an inscribed plate of lead about 10 inches long by 3 inches high, which was found sunk in the edge of the stone coffin of Bishop William Button II (the Saint), when it was opened by accident a few years since at Wells. Through the application of J. Serell, Esq., of Wells, to the Dean, this plate was carefully replaced in its original position, and properly closed up again. The inscription is in four lines, and reads as follows :

+ HIC : JACET : WILLELMVS : D : BVTTONA : SECVND ⁹ : BATHONIENSIS : ET : WELLENSIS : EPISCOPVS : SEPVLTVS : XII : DIE : DECEMBRIS : ANNO : DOMINI : M ⁰ : CC ⁰ : LXX ⁰ : IIII ⁰ .

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said it was no uncommon practice to deposit in the coffins of defunct ecclesiastics slips of lead graven with their names and titles. When the tomb of St. Dunstan was opened, in 1508, there was found on the prelate's breast a leaden plate inscribed HIC REQUIESCIT SANCTUS DUNSTANUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS. Erasmus, on his visit to Canterbury, was shown a slip of lead with the words THOMAS

ACRENSIS on it, which had undoubtedly at some time been taken from the coffin of Archbishop Becket, who was killed in 1170; and when the grave of Becket's immediate successor, Richardus Monachus, was opened in 1632, there was found in it an inscribed piece of lead. The grave of Abbot Alexander, who died in 1226, was opened in Peterborough Minster in 1830, and in it was discovered a piece of lead 4 inches long, on which was inscribed ABBAS : ALEXAN. These leaden slips remind us of the plaque bearing the name of Diogenes, described in this *Journal*, xxv, p. 395. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, in his edition of Le Neve's *Fasti*, quotes from letters in the Tower archives, that this prelate was buried at Wells, "between two pillars on the south side of the choir, under a very sumptuous monument, with his effigies in full proportions, habited in his pontificals."

Mr. Irvine also forwarded a sketch of half of a mould for casting four dumps, formed of a piece of chalk measuring $3\frac{4}{16}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins., found in an old sink at the south-west corner of the south transept of Rochester Cathedral in July 1874. The mould is prepared for dumps of two sizes; the two smaller ones having for devices a cross and pellets, and a porteullis; the two larger bearing respectively an anchor between four pellets, and a rude figure of a man between five pellets. For notices of other dump-moulds, see *Journal*, xxiii, p. 96; xxx, p. 330.

Mr. Philipps exhibited, by the kindness of Mr. Sharpe, an Albanian knife of steel with an ornamental handle and sheath of silver; the blade engraved with oriental arabesques, and bearing the inscription,

1030 : ΜΑΙΥ : Β : ΘΩΜΑΣ : ΙΑΚΩΒΥ : ΦΙΛΟΥΥ : ΔΩΡΟΝ.

The probable meaning of the inscription is:—"2 May, 1030: Thomas, the gift of his friend James." If the date is calculated by the Hegira, the year 1030 would correspond to A.D. 1652 or 1653, which is about the time of the art indicated by the knife.

Mr. Philipps also exhibited some fragments of Roman and Romano-British pottery from a hill overlooking Pontefract; and he explained his views of the possibility of a Roman road in the locality, illustrating his remarks by a series of plans and maps of Roman Yorkshire.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew was of opinion that the pottery, at least some of it, was of late Romano-British character; and in this view he was supported by Messrs. Roberts, Cuming, and Brock.

Mr. Loftus Brock exhibited two encaustic tiles found among the rubbish with which the Roman arched passage at Newgate had been filled in. They were found close to a wall of mediæval date, built of rubble, and evidently placed to stop up the passage, since it was built across it. The tiles are both of the middle of the fourteenth century, and have never been used. One of them was broken in the burning, and the other of uneven surface, and they were probably thrown away for these defects. They may, perhaps, point to the date of the filling in of the

passage. One has a cinquefoiled central flower within a circle ; and the other a flying eagle with wings treated conventionally, being the arms of Richard, King of the Romans. Both are highly glazed, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. square.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following note he had received from Mr. Watling respecting Debenham, co. Suffolk, and its ancient church :

“A few days since I paid a visit to the little town of Debenham in Suffolk. It is certainly a very ancient place, as I see by an old record that the Saxon princes sometimes held their court here, probably in the troublesome times when the Danes overran this part of the country. In examining the fields I found fragments of fictilia, and an extensive barrow is to the west of the town. The houses here have a very antique appearance, and project considerably in the second storeys. At the angles are massive posts ornamented with Perpendicular tracery, flowers, etc., elaborately executed. When I visited the place, some thirty years since, I saw in the houses a considerable quantity of very old furniture, and among other things an Elizabethan sofa ; but now all have disappeared. There are in the vicinity of the town several old halls, now used as farmhouses ; among them are Crow’s Hall and Ulveston Hall, both moated, and of considerable antiquity. The former has only one of its wings now standing, and was formerly occupied by the ancient families of Framlingham and Gawdy. There were also Blood Hall, Gastlings’ Hall, White Hall, and Old Hall. Tradition says that the Deben was in Saxon times navigable up to the town from Woodbridge ; and a few years since an anchor was found at a place called ‘The Gulls’, embedded in the sand.

“St. Mary’s Church appears to be of Saxon origin, portions of the square tower exhibiting the long and short work and herringbone masonry. The arch which forms the opening to the chancel is also evidently Saxon, as well as the little window in the south face of the tower. The church, in its primitive days, was a fine structure, but now considerably damaged by neglect and injudicious repairs. The tower is very massive, and without buttresses, and was surmounted by a spire which was destroyed by lightning in 1667. At the west is a porch ; and on the gable a fine cross with the Saviour extended on it, and on either side a standing figure. In this porch are kept the ancient chests containing the parish documents, bound with massive bars of iron. The neglect and destruction which characterise the exterior of the church have unfortunately found their way within the fabric. The nave is an elegant example of Pointed architecture, divided from the aisles by six clustered pillars with sculptured capitals rich with foliage and hearts, from which spring trefoil flowers. The font was so encrusted with mortar that it seemed a round object ; but when it was cleansed it proved to be octangular, and ornamented with the em-

blems of the Evangelists. The entire aspect of the church within is extremely miserable. The chancel is entirely blocked up, and shut off from the rest of the fabric for want of funds to carry on the work of restoration. In this chancel desecration and mutilation have reigned unchecked for years. The arch which forms the entrance to the nave is tottering to its fall, and has to be propped up by massive woodwork. The floor is not safe to tread upon; and I was credibly informed that some few years since it gave way, and disclosed the vault of the Gawdy family. In this vault nothing of importance was found, but fragments of coffins, and a brass which once ornamented one of them. On a flagstone which covered this vault are two demifigures without inscription. Beneath the Communion-Table is part of a flagstone cut with five crosses, and split in halves to admit of a modern interment. The piscina is very curious, and ornamented above with fleurs-de-lys. Near the south wall is an altar-tomb with the recumbent effigies of Sir Charles Framlingham and one of his two wives. This tomb is in a very wretched condition, and people have without scruple cut their names on the figures, and sadly mutilated them, and the crests are entirely defaced. In this chancel was preserved the armour of the persons here buried; but all trace of it has gone save the helmet suspended over the tomb of Sir Charles Framlingham. A few old and well carved stalls are left in the church to tell of its former grandeur."

Mr. Watling's note was accompanied by several drawings and rubbings from brasses, of which the subjoined is a brief description:—

1. South-west view of St. Mary's Church, showing the square embattled tower, the porch surmounted by the rood, the long nave and low chancel, and the yard thickly set with gravestones.

2. Semicircular topped window in the lower part of the south face of the tower. This window may be compared with some at Brixworth, Northamptonshire, or still better, with those at Gillingham, Norfolk; the first of supposed Saxon origin, the second assigned to *circa* 1080. The arc, jambs, and sill of the Debenham window are composed of large stones; and the walling displays the herringbone work in a marked degree.

3. Rood surmounting the pediment above the embattled parapet of the western porch. Figures of St. John and the Virgin Mary flank the cross, the limbs of which originally terminated in fleurs-de-lys, all of which are now broken off. The brackets on which the two effigies stand appear to represent bearded heads. This curious piece of sculpture seems to be of rather late fourteenth century work.

4. *Mensa*, or slab of the stone altar, incised with five crosses emblematic of the wounds in the person of the Saviour. Remains of similar altar-slabs exist in St. Clement's Church, Sandwich, Kent; in Arundel Church, Sussex; in St. Giles', Oxford; in the chapel of

Broughton Castle in the same county; in St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury; in Lincoln Cathedral; in the chantry chapel, Gloucester Cathedral; and in some other places. These cruciferous slabs of stone seem to have been made chiefly during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and were removed or covered over at the time of the Reformation, when the primitive Communion-Table of wood regained its position in the Anglican Church.

5. Piscina placed within a trefoil arch, with pediment-roof decorated with crockets. Date, fourteenth century.

6. Rubbings of the upper portions of brasses of a knight and his lady, on a slab covering the vault of the Gawdy family. Both of these demi-figures clasp their hands in prayer. The knight wears a bascinet of the form usually seen on brasses of the fifteenth century. Not only the arm-pits but the bends of the arms are protected by disc-shaped palettes, in other respects the armour does not call for comment. The lady wears a close cap with enriched edge, covered with a veil. The gown is belted at the waist, and has loose sleeves exposing the tight fitting ones of the under garment, the whole attire being in keeping with the style of the fifteenth century.

7. Rubbing of a spade-shaped coffin-plate of engraved brass, found in the vault of the Gawdy family, and now placed in the south wall of the chancel. On the upper part of the plate is a shield of eight quarterings, the first being charged with the arms of the Gawdy family, viz., *vert*, a tortoise passant *argent*. This shield is ursigned by the Gawdy crest. On a chapeau *gules* turned up *ermine*, two swords erect on their hilts, *argent*, hilts and pomels *or*. Beneath is this inscription:

"This is the body of Charles Gawdy, Knt., sone and heire to Charles Gawdy of Croweshall in the coun. of Suffolk Kt. who in his lifetime was blessed in the happie choice of a most virtuous wife by name Veare Cooke the younger of the two daughters and coheyres of Edward Cooke of Guidy Hall, in the coun. of Essex Kt. A Lady to say noe more severely modest & of a most pure & unblemish'd conjugall Affection by her hee left a hopefull issue five sonnes & one daughter. He lived and died a zealous proofessor of the reformed religion settled and established in the reigne of Qu. Elizabeth by Act of Parliament. A lover of Monarchy and of an undaunted Loyalty to his Sovereigne Charles the First, which he frequently manifested by espousing his cause and quarrell to ye uttermost hazard of his life and fortune. Having sojourned heere the space of 38 yeares or thereabout on the 10th of Novem. 1650 being the Lords day about twelve at night he departed I cannot say hee died for by A voluntary chearfull and devout resignation of himselfe into the hands of the Almighty to the wonder and astonishment of the beholders though he prevented not the stroake yet assuredly he felt not the bitterness of death."

8. Side view of the altar tomb, and bird's eye view of the effigies thereon, of Sir Charles Framlingham and his first wife Doretye Heigham. The recumbent figures are of very stiff design. The knight rests his head on his helmet, his body is encased in clumsy looking armour, and he has a long sword belted at his side. The lady lies on the right side of her husband. She wears a cap and huge wheel-ruff. Her sleeves are rather full, the body of her dress tight-fitting and pointed at the base, and her skirt extended by a farthingale, a most inelegant costume. Both knight and lady clasp their hands in prayer. On the wall above is a tablet thus inscribed, "Here lieth the bodie of Syr Charles Framlingham Knight who dyed the 28 daye of July Ann. 1595. The sayde Syr Charles had two wyfes, the first named Doretye, daughter of Sir Clement Higham Knight, and by her he had issue Clement that dyed without issue, and Anne that was married to Sir Basingborne Gawdye Knight and for his second wyfe he had Elizabeth daughter of Sir Thomas Barnadiston Knight, which second wyfe outlived the sayde Sir Charles and caused this monument to be erected Ano. 1598."

9. Rubbing of a shield on the east side of the above tomb, with twenty-two quarterings, the first charged with the arms of Framlingham—*argent*, a fesse *gules* between three birds *sable*, beaked and legged *of the second*. The arms of Heigham appear in one of the quarters on the sinister half of the shield—*sable*, a fesse chequy *or* and *azure* between three nags' heads erased *argent*.

10. Rubbing of a shield on the west side of the above tomb, with twenty-two quarterings, the dexter half being a duplicate of the foregoing, the sinister displaying the arms of Barnardiston of Ketton—*azure*, a fesse dancettée *ermine*, between six crosses crosslets *argent*.

11. Drawing of the tilting helmet placed on an iron bracket above the tomb of Sir Charles Framlingham, and which is surmounted by his crest, a lion's head erased.

Mr. Cuming also called attention to some drawings illustrative of discoveries made at Earl Stonham Church during its recent restoration. Among other things there met with is a conical muller of jasper, apparently for grinding colours, which was found with Roman fictilia in the south transept. On the sill of the little east window on the north side of the choir were brought to light the following examples of heraldic tiles. Two with the arms of England, the lions turned sinister ways, in the manner shown on the Hacombe and Thurgaton tiles engraved in this *Journal*, iv, 226, viii, 249. One with the arms of De Ferrers—Vairé *or* and *gules*. A fourth tile seems to be charged with a saltire composed of two spears with a blade at either end, in chief a quadruped. These arms have been taken for those of either Botatort or Botetourt of Norfolk, or Tiptoft, the first being *or*, a saltire engrailed *sable*;—the last *argent*, a saltire engrailed *gules*. A green glazed tile

found in the chancel bears a Catherine wheel with a trefoil in each angle. Another drawing gives a reduced copy of the fresco discovered in July last on the west wall of the north transept of the church, referred to in this *Journal*, xxx, 434. This singular picture represents a number of figures, mostly bearded, two of them being specially noteworthy. One of them is a venerable bare-footed monk or friar in kneeling posture, clothed in a gown of a dark blue or black colour, confined at the waist. He directs his gaze upwards. Behind this monk, and apparently advancing towards him, is a male personage, whose head is either covered by a broad brimmed hat, or surrounded by a red nimbus. He wears a tunic reaching nearly to his knees, which seems to be sprinkled with large black ermine spots. The arms and legs are naked. The skin garment of this bearded man is remindful of John the Baptist. Dispersed among the figures at different elevations are large and variously shaped blocks of a red colour which may be likened in contour to the bits of a Chinese puzzle, but which are possibly intended for the stones of a falling building. The legend of St. Herculan describes how the Temple of Apollo fell when the martyr cast his gaze on it; and the destruction of the Temple of Jupiter is mixed up in the story of St. Julian, Bishop of Mans, in the third century; but it is very questionable whether the scene depicted at Stonham relates in any way to either of the events here named. Can it exhibit the catastrophe at Calne in 977, the kneeling monk being St. Dunstan?

Mr. Cuming's concluding remarks related to a rubbing of a brass of Johanna Brooke, wife of Sir Robert Brooke, Knt., on a slab in the south aisle of Yaxford Church, Suffolk, discovered beneath a seat in some alterations made in 1848. It is a standing figure with the face turning to the left of the spectator. The hands are clasped in prayer. On the lady's head is a sort of Mary Queen of Scots cap; round her neck a wheel ruff, the bodice is long and pointed, the skirt of a richly damasked fabric, and provided with a wheel farthingale. Beneath is this inscription: "Hic jacet sepulta domina Johanna Brooke Uxor Roberti Brooke Militis Quæ Fuit Primogenita Filiarum Humfridi Weld Militis vixit annos Triginta Octo et obiit xxij die Majj An^o Dni. 1618."

Mr. Roberts considered that the window referred to in the above note was, if correctly delineated in the tracing upon the table, too long to be attributed either to Saxon or to Norman work, and that it might be referred with greater propriety to a later period.

Mr. Brock was, however, of opinion that the window was of early date, but that the length of the aperture was unusual and might perhaps be attributed to some inaccuracy of the drawing.

Mr. Mayhew exhibited a knife of the early sixteenth century, and a

bronze spoon having the stamp of a Tudor rose upon the inner surface of the bowl. Mr. Mayhew also exhibited a box of the fifteenth century, at one time covered with leather, now decayed away, containing a fifteenth century model of the celebrated lance of Longinus preserved at Nuremberg and attributed to the tenth century. Mr. Mayhew promised a paper upon this remarkable relic, which contains a minute piece of the True Cross let into the wood of which the model is formed.

The Rev. H. M. Scarth, Prebendary of Wells, forwarded for exhibition an interesting series of photographs of Saxon gravestones found in the foundation of Adel Church, Yorkshire, in 1864, and described in the paper on the church by Mr. Roberts, *Journal*, vol. xx, pp. 60, 347. Mr. Scarth also contributed three photographs of the porch of Malmesbury Abbey, which were received with great admiration by the meeting, and Mr. Brock made some remarks upon the beauty of the architectural elaboration displayed at so early a period of the art.

Mr. Birch exhibited a photograph of an elaborately arabesqued funeral urn from Marajo in Brazil, found by Professor Hartt, and kindly forwarded by Hiram Hitchcock, Esq., of Hanover, New Hampshire.

Mr. Roberts addressed the meeting at some length upon the traces of the Roman Road at the Edgware Road, originally leading in a straight line from Paddington to Harrow-on-the-Hill, and promised a future paper on the Roman roads of London.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

12TH MAY.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, proposed several verbal alterations in the text of the rules of the Association. It was also proposed and carried unanimously that the number of Vice-Presidents should be raised to fifteen; and the number of gentlemen forming the Council, including Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, be raised to nineteen.

Mr. Wright announced the progress of his action on behalf of the Association with regard to holding the Annual Congress at Evesham. Everything in connection with the proposed meeting in a centre so replete with archæological interest, appeared to be in a forward and favourable position; but the definite answer which had been expected by him from the nobleman whom the Association had designated as President, was unavoidably, as he thought, delayed. In accordance with the general desire, the final selection of a President for the year was postponed to the ensuing meeting on the 26th instant. [At which meeting the Most Noble the Marquis of Hertford was unanimously elected President.]

Mr. Roberts proposed, and it was unanimously adopted, that a moiety of the sums accruing to the treasury from life-compositions and entrance-fees should be invested, and form a reserve-fund, the formation of the same counting from the commencement of the present year, 1875. It was also proposed by the same gentleman, and unanimously received, that members of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, should be admitted associates with remission of the entrance-fee of one guinea required of members not possessing these qualifications.

Mr. T. Morgan, *Hon. Treasurer*, read the Report furnished by Mr. G. M. Hills, late *Hon. Treasurer*, which was as follows :

“TREASURER’S REPORT, 1874.

“The balance remaining in my hands, £49 : 3 : 9½, I have transferred to Mr. Morgan’s account at the bank, and have closed my account. The balance is small, and would really have exceeded £100, but for some exceptional charges which, to exhibit the matter in its true light, I have stated separately, viz., the part payment of the Index ; the donation to Sheffield, which is strictly a charge on the preceding year ; and the old accounts with the Heliotype Company. I have already explained to the Council how that Company sent in additions to be made to old accounts which I had discharged, they having discovered that they had omitted to charge certain items of work done. The Council authorised between £8 and £9 to be paid on this ground. The Company subsequently made fresh discoveries of the same kind ; and after a good deal of correspondence their agent has satisfied me that these further charges should be paid, and I have paid them, making in all £17 : 9 : 3. The Company has now transferred its business, and the matter is ended.”

The ballot for the officers and Council for the ensuing year was then taken, and the following noblemen and gentlemen were declared duly elected :

President.

[THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.]

Vice-Presidents.

[*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M. ; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G. ; THE EARL OF CARNARVON ; THE EARL BATHURST ; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH ; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L. ; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, BART. ; SIR W. C. MEDLYCOTT, BART., D.C.L. ; JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A. ; GEORGE TOMLINE, F.S.A. ; KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, M.P.]

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
SIR H. W. PEEK, BART., M.P.
SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.
JOHN BARROW, F.R.S., F.S.A.
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., F.S.A.

R. N. PHILIPPS, LL.D., F.S.A.
J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Somerset Herald*
REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D.,
F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.
JOHN WALTER, M.P.
THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN.

Secretaries.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L.

E. ROBERTS, F.S.A.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A. (*with a seat at the Council*).

Draughtsman.

G. F. TENISWOOD, F.S.A.

Council.

GEORGE G. ADAMS, F.S.A.

GEORGE ADE

W. A. T. AMHURST, F.R.S.L.

THOMAS BLASHILL

WILLIAM BRAGGE, F.S.A.

CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK

GEORGE G. COCKAYNE, F.S.A., *Lancaster Herald*

WILLIAM HENRY COPE

T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A.

R. HORMAN FISHER

J. W. GROVER

SHOLTO V. HARE

H. W. HENFREY

JOHN M. HOWARD, Q.C.

J. S. PHENÉ, F.S.A.

J. W. PREVITÉ

S. I. TUCKER, *Rouge Croix*.

Auditors.

F. A. WAITE, M.A., F.S.A.

J. TURK LACEY.

The following resolutions were then put from the chair and carried unanimously :

1. That the most cordial thanks of the Association be given to the President for the past year, Kirkman D. Hodgson, Esq., M.P., for the kind and generous manner in which he fulfilled the duties of the office.

2. That the cordial thanks of the Association be given to the Vice-Presidents for their valuable services and attention to the welfare and interests of the Society during the past year.

3. That the best thanks of the Association be given to Gordon M. Hills, Esq., for his services as Treasurer, not only during the past year, but for the admirable manner in which he has filled the office for many years; and this meeting desires to express its regret that he still declines any other official position in the Society which might be offered to him.

4. That the best thanks of this meeting be given to the members of the Council during the past year, for their great attention during a most trying period, and for the excellent manner in which the duties have been discharged, and for the large numerical attendances at the meetings.

5. That the hearty and sincere thanks of the Association be given to the several officers during the past year, namely, the Honorary

Secretaries and Hon. Curator, for their valuable and continuous assistance in conducting the business of the Association.

6. That the best thanks of this meeting be given to the auditors for their valuable services and report.

7. That the thanks of this meeting be cordially given to those gentlemen who have contributed to the interest and value of the meetings by the reading of papers and the exhibition of antiquities.

8. That the handsome and warm invitation of the Mayor and Corporation of the town of Evesham to hold this year's Congress in that place, as conveyed through Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., be heartily accepted.

Mr. Morgan, *Hon. Treasurer*, said: "Having finished our annual business work, may I be allowed to say a few words on the subject of archæology during our past session. Though disturbed by many exceptional events, such as the action taken for a fusion of this with another society, which occupied the time of many of the council and officers of our Association to the prejudice of other business, still our proceedings have been marked by several points of interest in archæology. The discovery by Mr. Brock of the Roman remains in Newgate Street has excited an interest, not only within the city walls, but very far outside them, and we are much indebted to that gentleman for giving us the benefit of his professional skill in the measurements, plans, and elevations which will perpetuate the record of this masonry when it has disappeared, and I believe it is already covered up by the new buildings erected over it. These remarks will also apply to the plans and measurements of the remains of Keynsham Abbey, which Mr. Brock has in like manner drawn to scale; and I may here allude to a remark made by Mr. Walter de Gray Birch at one of our evening meetings, when a paper by the Rev. Mr. Jones was read upon the lately discovered Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon. Mr. Birch then remarked that accurate plans and measurements of this interesting building by a professional member of the Association would be of great value towards the illustration of the *Journal*, and he expressed a hope that some one would take it in hand. I bring this forward to reiterate the wish that Mr. Birch's suggestion may not remain a dead letter. I may at the same time recall a promise made by one of our Secretaries, Mr. Edward Roberts, to map out the Roman roads round London, when he gave us a description of a portion of the old Watling Street, lately uncovered by him at Maida Hill in the Edgware Road, and when Mr. Phillips at the same time offered some remarks on the Roman roads of Yorkshire, and exhibited some remains of pottery which he said had lately been found near the line of one of them.

"As to our evening meetings, if not so numerously attended as we

could wish by our associates and friends, they have been well supported by vice-presidents and members of our council. Mr. Syer Cuming has never failed us, being always ready with something old to show us and something new to tell us, not only about his own antiquities, but upon whatever else may have been brought before the meeting; and with pleasure have I seen the attendance of two gentlemen on many occasions, the Rev. Dr. Sparrow Simpson and the Rev. Mr. Mayhew, because, apart from their well known antiquarian learning, the presence of two clergymen of the Established Church is an answer to those who would accuse us and other kindred societies of identifying ourselves too much with mediæval superstitions in our excess of zeal for mediæval antiquities, whereas we are only their exponents and chroniclers. The best antidote to superstition is a broad and thorough knowledge of history and archæology, and this seems to be admitted by the highest authority, to judge from the noble liberality of the Right Reverend Primate the Archbishop of Canterbury in throwing open the valuable library at Lambeth Palace to the reading public on three days in the week. Such an act is more eloquent than volumes of written or spoken language. In that library may be seen a priceless MS. of the ninth century lying side by side with the highly illuminated *St. Alban's Chronicle* of the fifteenth, and near it is the pictured book of devotional exercises used by Queen Elizabeth. The collection of early printed and block books of Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde is copious, while those who do not care to wade through the numerous volumes of MSS. bound up, classified, and indexed, may read the history of the Anglican Church from the conversion of Constantine down to our last revolution in those marvellous store-houses of learning accumulated in the works of the historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, among whom stands out conspicuously that profound historian and scholar Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's. In availing myself of the privilege of visiting this library I acknowledge with pleasure the attention shown me by our associate, Mr. Kershaw, the librarian, in pointing out the MSS. and works of special interest, and explaining the catalogues and arrangements, and I am sure that he will do the same for other members of the Association who may pay the library a visit.

"I have, also, to thank the vice-presidents, the members of the council, my fellow officers, and many other associates who have so kindly initiated me into the duties of treasurer, in which I am a novice, and I shall do my best to merit the high honour which I feel they have conferred upon me."

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DEC. 1874.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance due to the Association at the audit of 1873	141	3	3½
Annual and life-subscriptions, and donations	321	6	3
Balance of the Bristol Congress	107	1	10
Sale of publications	14	16	0
	£584	7	4½

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

Signed
 F. A. WAITE }
 E. P. LOFTUS BROOK } *Auditors.*

May 10th, 1875.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	239	5	2			
Illustrations to the same	127	6	8			
Miscellaneous printing	18	19	3			
Rent for 1874, and clerk's salary	58	11	6			
Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	18	13	1			
Petty expenses, carriage of antiquities, postages, advertisements, etc.	14	16	2			
Stationery	4	12	6			
				482	4	4

Exceptional Expenditure:

Index	25	0	0
Donation to Sheffield Archaeological Association	10	10	0
Heliotype Company, old accounts	17	9	3
	52	19	3

Total expenditure	535	3	7
Balance in hands of Treasurer	49	3	9½
	£584	7	4½

Biographical Memoirs.

WE have the painful duty of recording, during the progress of the year 1874, the deaths of several of our valued associates :

MAYER AMABEL DE ROTHSCHILD, of Mémentmore, Bucks., the fourth son of Nathan Meyer Rothschild, the founder of the great financial firm of N. M. Rothschild and Sons, died 7th February, 1874. He was born in 1818, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards joined his brothers as a partner in their business. He represented Hythe for several successive sessions of Parliament, and was a warm and liberal supporter of the turf, where he was generally known as "The Baron". He served the office of High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire; and his magnificent residence there was stored with works of art of the most rare and elegant type, and of almost priceless value. He joined our Association in 1873, and continued a member up to the time of his death. His princely hospitality and charitable disposition endeared him not only to his own friends and acquaintances, but even to those who were personally unknown to him; and his funeral *cortège* consisted not only of the equipages of the highest personages of the land, but he was also followed to the grave by great numbers of all classes to whom he had shown kindness during his lifetime.

THOMAS GRIFFIN, of Wolverhampton, died 11 March, 1874, aged fifty-one years.

ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, who joined us at the Sheffield Congress in 1873, died at his residence, Highfield Terrace, Sheffield, on the 23rd of May, 1874, aged sixty-four.

SIR WILLIAM MARTINS, the senior gentleman-usher in daily waiting on the Queen, and usher to the sword of state, died at his residence, in Hyde Park Gardens, on the 5th June, 1874, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. The deceased gentleman was knighted in 1840, on the occasion of her Majesty's marriage. By Sir William Martins' death a valuable appointment in the royal household became vacant. Sir William, who used to form a prominent figure in royal processions and other state occasions, held a post in the household, in which he rose to the highest place, under four successive sovereigns and under a long succession of Lords Chamberlain.

DR. WILLIAM VESALIUS PETTIGREW, M.D., F.R.C.S., who died on February 13th, aged fifty-eight, was the second son of Mr. T. J. Petti-

grew, F.R.S., F.S.A., Surgeon and Librarian to the Duke of Sussex, and for many years well known as an able archæologist, and one of the Vice-Presidents of the British Archæological Association. Dr. W. V. Pettigrew was educated at Westminster School, and proceeding to his medical studies under the direction of his father, he attended the Windmill Street School of Medicine and Charing Cross Hospital. He passed the College examination in April 1837, and then went to Glasgow, where, early in 1839, he took the M.D. degree. Returning to London he established himself in practice in Chelsea, and also soon became known as a teacher and lecturer in anatomy and physiology. His first regular employment in the medical schools, in this capacity, was at Grainger's School of Medicine in the Borough. Afterwards, for many years, he was one of the lecturers at the well known St. George's School of Medicine in Grosvenor Place. In 1844 he was made an Honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and he became a Member of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society and of the Royal Institution. For many years he enjoyed an extensive and lucrative professional practice, and was well known amongst us by his frequent attendance at the Society's meetings. In 1866 and 1867 his health painfully yielded, both mentally and physically, so that he was compelled to retire from active life. Although subsequently somewhat restored, he had since been obliged, by increasing physical weakness, to keep in irksome idleness a mind naturally most vivacious and active. He died at his residence, Colebrook Lodge, Upper Norwood, of bronchitis.

Dr. Pettigrew married first, and very early, a lady who died within a year, leaving a son; and secondly, Frances Mary, daughter of Thos. Moore, of 5, Dorset Square, who survives. He leaves also a second son, employed now on the topographical survey of India; one married daughter, also in India; and two other daughters. His first son died a few years since, whilst a medical student.

The death of SIR EDWARD SAMUEL WALKER, Knight, J.P. and D.L., took place at Berry Hill, his seat at Mansfield, in Nottinghamshire, on the 15th of January, 1874, at the age of seventy-four years. The deceased gentleman was the third son of the late Joseph Walker, Esq., of Eastwood House, near Rotherham, in Yorkshire, and of Aston Hall, Derbyshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of the late Samuel Need, Esq., of Nottingham, and was born at Aston Hall on the 17th of February, 1799. He was educated at Rugby School, which he entered in 1812, and afterwards became a Fellow Commoner of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in law (LL.B.) in 1821. For many years he was resident partner of the lead house of Walkers, Parker, and Co., being likewise Manager of their establishment at Chester, and

of their smelting works at Bagilt in Flintshire. In 1838 he was elected Mayor of the city of Chester, and received the honour of knighthood in 1841, in his civic capacity. He was again elected Mayor of Chester in 1848; and was nominated a Deputy Lieutenant of Notts. in 1855, serving as High Sheriff of that county in 1866. Sir Edward Walker was also in the commission of the peace for Flintshire, and likewise for the county and city of Chester. He was twice married: first, in 1842, to Frances Valentine, daughter of George Stevens of Old Windsor Lodge, Berks. She died in 1864. Secondly, in 1866, to Mary Elizabeth, second daughter of Captain Francis Hallows, R.N., of Glapwell Hall, Derbyshire, by Mary, daughter of the late John Haffenden, of Ashford, Kent. Sir Edward's eldest son, by the former lady, is Mr. Edward William Walker, who was born in 1844.

E. S. CHANDOS POLE, of Radbourn, Derbyshire, on the 8th of May, 1874.

J. SPENCER STANHOPE, of Cannon Hall, Barnsley.

CYRUS ELLIOTT, on the 7th of March, 1874. He was a medical man well known in connection with the treatment of insanity, and a very old member of the British Archæological Association. Mr. Elliott was an occasional contributor to the exhibitions and papers before the Association.

On the 16th of June, after a long illness, at Newland Grange, Edgware, AUGUSTUS GOLDSMID, F.S.A., of the Inner Temple, barrister. Mr. Goldsmid was a contributor of several interesting notices and papers to our *Journal*; and his intimate knowledge of Slavonic languages rendered his services of peculiar and important interest to the Association.

On the 19th of June, at his residence, The Lawn, Speen Hill, Newbury, Berks, after a long illness, HENRY GODWIN, F.S.A., aged sixty-three years. Mr. Godwin was the author of the *English Archæologists' Handbook* and several other works, he was also a frequent contributor to these pages, and the papers he prepared on the mediæval history of England were distinguished for their lucidity and merit in treating the difficult questions they essayed to solve.

Mr. J. H. FOLEY, R.A., the eminent sculptor, died at his residence in London, on Thursday, August 27, 1874, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was a member of the English and Belgian Academies of Art, and also of the Royal Hibernian Academy, to an honourable place in whose Councils he was entitled by a national as well as artistic birth-right. As the sculptor of "Ino and Bacchus", and many other works

of a graceful and fertile fancy, the gifted artist has frequently been compared with Canova. Nor does the later man's name suffer by such juxtaposition. Mr. Foley was born in Dublin, where his statues of Oliver Goldsmith and Edmund Burke, in front of the University, perpetuate his fame among Irishmen, who will hear with sorrow that a statue of Daniel O'Connell, on which he was engaged, and which was intended to rank among the memorial sculptures of his native city, was left unfinished at the time of his death. Foley's portrait-figures vie in excellence of character with his classical and imaginative works. Among the most important of his life-like presentments are those of Sir Charles Barry, executed for the New Palace at Westminster; of Lord Herbert, for the quadrangle in front of the War Office; of Lord Elphinstone, for Bombay; of Father Mathew, for Cork; of Mr. Fielden, M.P., for Todmorden; and of Sir Henry Marsh and Sir Dominic Corrigan, besides Burke and Goldsmith, already mentioned, for Dublin.

At the early age of thirteen, John Henry Foley entered on his first course of studies at the Royal Dublin Society, under the advice and with the assistance of a relative, himself a sculptor. The young student soon made his mark, and was not long in carrying off the principal prizes for the study of the human form, animals, and architecture; his skill in modelling being, for his years, quite marvellous. In 1834, as a youth of sixteen, he came to London, entered the schools of the Royal Academy, and assiduously continued his exercises, with the ambition to approach the ideal perfection of the antique. He was twenty-one when he contributed to the Exhibition of 1839 his first public work, "The Death of Abel", which production, since well known, he accompanied by a graceful figure called "Innocence". In another year he produced the exquisitely beautiful "Ino and the Infant Bacchus", which was judiciously purchased by the Earl of Ellesmere, and which at once stamped the young sculptor's reputation. With few exceptions among modern statuary, this finely imagined piece of work has been the oftenest transferred into the miniature prettiness of "Parian" and "biscuit" china, to say nothing of the more trustworthy as well as cheaper castings in plaster of Paris. In 1842 Mr. Foley exhibited a strikingly effective design, "The Homeless Wanderer"; and when, in 1844, competition was invited for the national task of executing statues for the Houses of the Legislature, he readily entered the lists, exhibiting the "Ino and Bacchus" from the Ellesmere gallery, and a newly finished statue destined to become almost equally famous, and perhaps in the highest critical respect more deserving fame, the "Youth at a Stream". By virtue of these examples, and of the name he had worthily acquired, Mr. Foley was chosen as one of the three sculptors who were to adorn the New Palace at Westminster, and his commissions were for Hampden and Selden. The first of these he finished in 1847; and the second

was placed near it, in St. Stephen's Hall, in 1853. Meanwhile, that is to say between these two dates, Mr. Foley had become an Associate of the Royal Academy. In the Great Exhibition year of 1851 he produced "The Mother", a work which showed, not for the first time, a tender vein in his imagination. In 1854 his "Egeria", commissioned by the Corporation of London, was placed in the Mansion House. In 1856 he completed, in bronze, "Lord Hardinge and Charger", for Calcutta,—a group so much admired that a requisition bearing a hundred and fifty signatures by persons the most eminent in art and literature, was presented to the artist, expressing an earnest desire to see a duplicate of the work erected in London.

It was in 1858 that Mr. Foley, having that year modelled his noble statue of "Caractacus" for the Mansion House, was made a Royal Academician. His diploma work, from *Comus*, followed next; and thenceforth it may be said that demands upon his time and skill for portraiture and for monumental design became so numerous as to leave him no opportunity of following the ideal bent of his genius. A group which even excelled the equestrian statue of Lord Hardinge is more freshly in the recollection of the public. It was the admirably spirited work, in bronze, of Sir James Outram reining his charger, and looking back, uncovered, as at the troops he is leading on to victory. This original and at the same time unaffected piece of modelling, so full of fiery vigour, called forth the heartiest and most unanimous praise ever spontaneously bestowed on a public monument. It was, as may well be remembered, temporarily erected on a pedestal in Waterloo Place, whence it was removed, to the general regret, at the close of last year. A committee was formed in this case, however, to secure a *replica* of the work, and the hope that it may reappear in facsimile at no distant date is well founded. The calls upon Mr. Foley's hand and brain soon became incessant, and he found himself unable to execute the labours thrust upon him. For a time, indeed, serious illness compelled him to relinquish work altogether. In 1871, the year to which belongs his most remarkable contribution to our national monuments (the group representing Asia in the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park), he went down to Hastings, where, after a quiet sojourn of some duration, he recovered health and strength so far as to be able to return to London, and resume the arduous though graceful labours of his profession. Perhaps the enthusiastic reception which his latest and greatest work had met on all hands may have had some influence in recruiting powers and energy which had been overtaxed. He must have rejoiced to find that his part in the assemblage of monumental sculpture had not only struck with admiration the thousands who had beheld it, but had drawn praise from sources whence it comes but sparingly, at least to modern formative art. But the renovated strength

of this great sculptor did not last him for any available period. He has left unfinished not only the O'Connell statue, to which reference has been made, but the colossal statue of the Prince Consort for the centre of the Hyde Park Memorial. His model for this last named work, however, was completed last year. The full realisation of this design, therefore, may lose little by that event which has too soon terminated a brilliant career, and which all men of culture and artistic apprehension deeply and sincerely regret.

MR. EDWARD LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A., died on the 7th of November, after a severe illness which lasted nearly three months. Mr. Levien was educated at Shrewsbury Grammar School, under Dr. Butler and Dr. Kennedy, and afterwards at Balliol College, Oxford, where he passed through the usual curriculum with considerable success. After being connected for some time with the University of Glasgow, he was appointed, on the 6th of May, 1850, to the post of Assistant in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, and faithfully discharged the duties attached to the position he occupied till his health wholly failed. Mr. Levien for many years held the office of Honorary Secretary of this Association; and the task of editing the *Journal* was confided to his care—a work he carried on with ability and discretion. In addition to many smaller works, Mr. Levien was the author of *A Brief Description of the Town of Hadleigh, in Suffolk*, 1853; *Outlines of the History of Greece*, in conjunction with Mr. W. D. Hamilton; *Outlines of the History of Rome*, 2 vols., 1855-6; *Memoirs of Socrates for English Readers, with Illustrative Notes*, 1872. For the Association, he wrote from time to time the following papers: "An Account of the Shrewsbury Book," vol. xvii, of the *Journal*; "On Joursanvault MSS." *ibid.*; "On Unpublished Devonshire MSS. in the British Museum," vol. xviii; "On Documents relating to the Captivity of Charles I.," vols. xviii and xix; "On Unpublished MSS. relating to Meaux Abbey," vol. xix; "On MS. Collections relating to Suffolk in the British Museum," vol. xxi; "On Deeds of the Ford Family," "On a Roman Congius belonging to John Davidson," vol. xxii; "On the Barony of Burford," vol. xxiv; "On Richard of Cirencester and his Writings," vol. xxv; "Notes on Assyro-Babylonian Tablets and Cylinders," vol. xxv; "On Popular Tumults at St. Alban's in the Time of Richard II.," vol. xxvi; "On the Hereford Missal," vol. xxvii; "On Wareham and its Religious Houses," vol. xxviii; "On Early Religious Houses in Staffordshire," vol. xxix; "On the Life and Times of Earl Waltheof," vol. xxx; besides several anonymous papers on a variety of archaeological subjects. His death will be a cause of regret among a large circle of friends, to whom his genial temperament and kindly feeling had endeared him; and the loss of his obliging assistance, never

sought in vain by archæologists and students of general history and palæography, will be long deplored.

Another of our associates has passed away from our midst, whose loss will be felt by a very large circle of friends, and by the various societies of which he had been a member for many years. The Rev. EDMUND KELL, M.A., F.S.A., was born on the 18th January, 1799, at Wareham, Dorsetshire, at which place his father was minister of the Unitarian chapel. In very early years he had a predilection for the church, and at twelve years old would take copious notes of his father's sermons, and was called by his companions "the young minister". At the age of sixteen he was sent to the University of Glasgow, where he remained four years, graduating and attaining a high standing in classics, and thence he went to Manchester College, York; while here he frequently, with a companion, went out on Sunday afternoons, preaching in the neighbouring villages. His recollections of his college days were of the most pleasant character, and frequently formed a topic of conversation with his friends, he always spoke of his old tutor and esteemed friend, the Rev. John Kenrick, with love and veneration. At this time, his father being in delicate health, he assisted him in his school duties, near Birmingham, for more than a year; he then went to London and studied under Thelwell, the celebrated elocutionist. In 1823 he preached his first sermon, at Portsmouth, and then received an invitation to fill the pulpit at Newport, Isle of Wight, which he accepted and held for thirty years. In addition to the duties of the ministry, he conducted a school (assisted by his sisters alternately) most successfully, and some of his pupils were afterwards valued friends through life.

In 1842 he married Elizabeth, daughter of J. H. Dunkin, Esq., of Newport. This amiable and talented lady was his loving partner and helpmate for thirty years; she was the author of several useful and interesting works, written chiefly for the benefit of the young, and assisted him in all his philanthropic labours. In his strenuous opposition to the "Contagious Diseases Acts", of the baneful effects of which they had abundant evidence at their own doors, she especially shared, and fell a victim to her over-exertion, and died on the 8th February, 1872. This was a heavy blow, but Mr. Kell bore it with patient resignation, only redoubling his own efforts.

In 1854 Mr. Kell came to Southampton, and purchased the old Methodist chapel, in Canal Walk, where he thought he would find a wider field for his labours. Here he gathered a congregation, and, almost entirely from the result of his own exertions, he built the edifice in Avenue Place, called the Church of the Saviour, at a cost of £3,300, to which he removed with his congregation in 1861.

Politically, he was ever on the side of progress and improvement ; he materially assisted his valued friend, Mr. Wilberforce, in his efforts towards the abolition of the slave trade ; he threw the whole force of his influence into the struggle for reform in 1832, and delivered many lectures in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws. Although persistently adhering to his liberal opinions, both political and theological, he possessed numerous friends of every shade of belief, his mild and serene temper endearing him to all who knew him. He was curator of the Polytechnic Institution, secretary to the Philosophical and Statistical Society, and, although not holding office, he took great interest in the Hartley Institution, and assisted on every occasion when his services were needful. He was also secretary to the Southern Unitarian Society and to the Southern Unitarian Fund Society for upwards of fifty years. His last act of benevolence was to build a school to the memory of his dearly beloved wife. He did not, however, live to see it completed. For some months his friends had observed with concern that his strength was failing, and they began to look out for an assistant, that he might take some rest. He died on the 17th January, 1874, at his residence at Portswood, Southampton.

As regards his archæological work, his mind was constantly engaged in it, to within a few days of his passing away. He used to say, there were only two things that he was very desirous of completing, viz., the memorial schools, and a comprehensive work on the *Roman Antiquities of Hampshire*, the latter he considered was a desideratum, that could only be supplied by private means, and had he lived the remainder of his life would have been spent in preparing it. In the autumn of 1872 he visited Cornwall, where he collected information regarding the tin trade, and inspected St. Michael's Mount and its environs ; the result confirmed his former opinion that the Isle of Wight was the place to which the tin was conveyed and shipped to Marseilles.

His loss is felt intensely by his congregation and numerous friends, it will be long ere we meet with a worthy successor to so good a man.

The papers contributed by Mr. Kell to the Association are very numerous and interesting. For their titles we refer our associates to the *Index* of the *Journal*, which will be in their hands very shortly.

On the 12th of May, our life-member, WILLIAM EUING, Esq., of Glasgow, of the firm of W. Euing and Co., insurance brokers of that city. Mr. Euing, who had attained the ripe age of eighty-six years, had been in failing health for a considerable time ; but to the last his friends were in hopes that he might be spared to them for some time longer. Mr. Euing was born on the 20th of May, 1788, at Partick, and the house of his birth is still standing opposite the foot of Douglas Street. Leaving Partick, his family came to reside in Sir George Elphinstone's

old mansion in Gorbals, from which they subsequently removed. Mr. Euing received the rudiments of his education at the Grammar School, Glasgow, from which he passed to the University. After completing the college course, in about 1819 he became an underwriter and insurance-broker, and very speedily acquired a good position in the city. Of his private character it is unnecessary to speak. He was one of the most kind-hearted and amiable of men, and took a special interest in all that was connected with Glasgow, and was ever forward to assist in everything that tended to the elevation of the citizens. He was a liberal contributor to the various charitable institutions of the city. To him Anderson's University is indebted for very valuable gifts. He was the originator and founder of the Chair of Music in that institution, and his efforts in that direction have been well repaid by the success which has attended it. The interest he took in the welfare of the sailors led him to bring forward a scheme for the erection of a place of comfort for those in port, and the present Sailors' Home is the result of his energy and perseverance. The library he collected is one of the most valuable in the city, and contains a large number of unique editions. One of his chief pleasures was the collection of early productions of Glasgow printing presses. Among these may be mentioned Foulis' Classics. His collection of editions of the Bible is one of the largest in existence, and his library of musical treatises is said to be the best in the county. Other distinctive features of the collections he made are books upon antiquarian and topographical subjects, together with histories of the ancient families of Great Britain. In his later years he made important gifts to the libraries of Glasgow University and Anderson's University, and to Stirling's Library. Mr. Euing was also a devoted admirer of the fine arts, and besides having a large number of valuable works in his own residence, he made many contributions to the gallery now placed in the Corporation Buildings.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 128.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5.

THIS morning, at 10 o'clock, the Congress, mustering about ninety ladies and gentlemen, left the Queen's Hotel in four breaks, together with several private carriages, followed an hour later by another break. The route lay over the Suspension Bridge and the deep gorge of the Avon. Here Ghyston's Cliff Hermitage, or rather the cave in which it stood (now better known as the Giant's Cave), was pointed out by Mr. Nicholls, who also briefly explained, during a short stoppage on the site, the curious *vallum* of Burgh Walls Camp, constructed on the same plan as the vitrified forts of Scotland.

Away past Beggar's Bush, Abbot's Leigh, and Sandy Lane, the carriages rapidly conveyed the party to Portbury. Here the City Librarian pointed out the tall, venerable yew trees, the little camp that dominated the ancient Roman port town, and the ruined walls of the small priory for two or three knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Through verdant narrow lanes, the old church of Clapton-in-Gordano was next reached; and at length the party surmounted the difficult hill on which this ancient ecclesiastical edifice stands.

Mr. Roberts, F.S.A., graphically described the building, which was dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. There are signs of early Norman work about the foundations of the nave and chancel. The tower at the west end, added afterwards, is Early English; the nave, of the thirteenth century, and other additions were palpable down to the sixteenth century. The rood-loft door is on the south side. In a hagioscope that looked into a south side-chapel is a piscina,—a very unusual position. The roof is of oak, of the fifteenth century, and very perfect. Inscribed tombstones in a chapel apparently belonging to the Winter family, of the seventeenth century, were found. A singular canopied tomb, apparently of the same family, with a gentleman and lady kneeling in prayer over a little girl seated with a Death's head in her lap. Underneath, on either side of the inscription, were raised sculptured emblems: one, a hand cutting flowers with a hook;

the inscription, in Latin, being "All flesh is grass." On the sinister side are bubbles bursting as they ascend to the clouds, whilst on a board below a hand is spanning. Here the inscription must be rendered, "Thy days are as a span." A singular inscription on the silver "angelus" bell was quoted by the Rev. H. Marshall, the rector:—"Signis cessandis et cervis clamo cibandis." This was not accepted as accurate by the Association, and a rubbing was suggested as the only solution. The seats are as old as the church, and perhaps rank amongst the oldest in England. The ends are low, of solid oak, some $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and 3 ins. to 4 ins. thick. A curious basin and some singular old brass candlesticks were pointed out over the super-altar; pieces of rare old glass, two hagiscopes, an Easter altar in a side north chapel, and some good work in the outside of the tower, all attracted attention. The porch had a staircase, but it is now blocked by a huge buttress: it led to a priest's chamber. The church is of the form and size of a Norman church, and was probably rebuilt, on old foundations, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

A hasty visit was then paid to the outside of the Manor House, the entrance-tower of which, bearing the arms of Berkeley and Clapton, was much admired. Mr. Davis, the occupant, very kindly furnished a guide up to Cadbury, through the beautiful woods, while the vehicles followed the road to Tickenham. Walking round and exploring the Camp, under Mr. Grover's guidance, the pedestrians then, led by Mr. Scarth, proceeded down the hill for Tickenham, passing many tokens of ancient pit-dwellings. Tickenham Church, dedicated to two saints, Julietta and her son Curiacos (pronounced locally *Quercus*,—names which excited some discussion, in which Messrs. Talbot and Kerslake bore a part), has a low chancel-arch of early Norman construction; Mr. Godwin, indeed, contending that it was possibly Saxon. Mr. Roberts again kindly pointed out the chief points of interest, giving it a date of the thirteenth century. He gave his reasons for differing from Mr. Godwin as to the chancel-arch, namely, that the imposts or abaci are purely Norman, and Saxon work has very rarely any. The tower (late Perpendicular) was, he showed, built against the Decorated church. Some curious capitals, not easy of explanation, were remarked upon. The chancel has been modernised. In the porch is a rare holy water stoup. The Perpendicular parapet to the chancel is exceedingly good, and there are some fine yew trees in the yard. But the great interest lay in fragments of ancient glass, and in three effigies that lie longitudinally in the south aisle. The first is in mail-armour of the beginning of the thirteenth century, with a lion at his feet. Then a female with head-dress and veil, *temp.* Edw. I, lies next, with her head at the foot of the mailed statue. At her feet is a Knight of the Garter, or at least a knight

with a garter on the leg, outside his chain-mail. This effigy is of the fourteenth century, and both it and the other male strikingly resemble those of the Berkeleys in Bristol Cathedral and the one in St. Mary Redcliff, save that the latter is of later date. They are, doubtless, of the Tickenham branch of the above family. Remains of the old mansion house adjoin the church, which were visited by all, and carefully described by Mr. Roberts. These consist of a fine hall of pure, flowing Perpendicular of the time of Henry IV. The kitchen was probably at the end, several doorways indicating the buttery and entrances. There is a doorway also on the upper part of the hall, showing that a gallery once existed. At about one-third of the length of the hall are two large brackets which probably supported a beam across. At the opposite end to the kitchen is a block of buildings forming, with the hall, a T-shaped structure. The end room was the withdrawing-room, now used as a beer-cellar. It has a fine oak ceiling, an oriel, and a stair to the room above. The windows are exquisite; and Mr. Roberts regretted that this beautiful relic could not be carefully, but not destructively, restored.

The road now lay over the moor to Nailsea. All were fatigued with the journey, and glad to partake of luncheon. Great credit is due to the host, who up to the morning had only prepared for thirty people. Fortunately a telegram had reached him, and he promptly prepared for upwards of a hundred excursionists, who were soon amply satisfied, and in excellent humour listened to Mr. Grover's admirable illustrated paper on Cadbury Camp, which will be found at pp. 68-75.

From the hotel, time not allowing a visit to the Court House, which the High Sheriff had with great courtesy placed at the disposal of the Association, that gentleman conducted the party to the church. This is a building not devoid of interesting details, with a stone pulpit built into the north wall; having a double staircase to it and to the vanished wooden rood-loft, two chantry chapels, hagioscope, and three piscinas. The west tower is of the usual Somersetshire form. There is a very good iron ring-handle on the porch door; and the remains of an early churchyard-cross.

From Nailsea, by narrow verdant lanes, and past ruined coal-works all picturesquely covered with ivy, the procession reached Backwell. The visitors were much pleased with what they saw in the fine fabric of Backwell Church, which has recently been restored. In describing it, Mr. Roberts said it was a place that deserved a great deal more attention than they could give it at that time. There was a very curious thing connected with the church, which archaeologists knew very well, but which perhaps was not known to every one, and that was that there was an inclination in the line of the nave and the chancel that was supposed by some to represent the leaning of the body of our Saviour on

the cross, but by others to represent the orientation of the part of the church on the saint's day to whom that part is dedicated. As in all the other cases they had noticed that day, what they saw around them did not indicate the original structure. The outer arch of the porch was as early as the thirteenth century, and outside the chancel there was a string-course under the window of the same period. The priests' door also belonged to that period, but besides these there was nothing earlier than the fifteenth century. Perhaps the most singular part of the church was the Rodney chapel, on the north side of the chancel. It was elaborately screened off in front, and had a roof supported by escalloped stone beams, but it had an arch of ribs foiled and filled in with stone slabs. It bore evidence of great skill, and was extremely beautiful. In the chancel there is an altar tomb with a very magnificent effigy, belonging, it is believed, to the Rodney family, and a well designed sacristy, with a quatrefoil opening looking towards the altar. Through the pillars of the chancel are hagioscopes, to enable those in the aisles to see what is going on at the altar. The very fine tower seemed to be much earlier than the church, and the church rather to have been fitted on to the tower. It had been pointed out to him that the chancel-arch did not coincide either with the tower or central roofs, all of which led to the belief that the plans had been altered after the church was originally commenced. Perhaps the finest thing in the church was that very fine and lengthy chancel screen, above which were traces of the rood loft. At one time every church probably had its rood screen. On the tower was an inscription which nobody seemed able to decipher. Outside the tower were some incised slabs and a coffin lid, and the tower windows were filled in with stones very beautifully pierced. In the churchyard was a high cross, raised on an elaborate base of three steps, and it was almost perfect, though the summit is modern. There is a stoup in the porch.

The church of Ashton was the last on the route, and the excursionists examined it with much interest. Mr. G. Godwin, F.R.S., offered a few remarks upon the structure, and the party then started on their return home, arriving in Bristol shortly after half-past eight o'clock.

In the evening a meeting of the members of the Association was held at the Fine Arts Academy, under the presidency of the Mayor, Alderman Barnes. There was a very good attendance.

The Mayor, in the absence of the President, briefly opened the proceedings.

The Rev. E. A. Fuller having made some observations respecting his remarks upon Redcliffe,

Mr. Plauché read his paper on "The Municipal Seals and Armorial Ensigns of the city of Bristol", which will be found *ante*, pp. 180-189.

The Mayor said he was sure they all felt very much indebted to Mr.

Planché for his interesting paper, and he invited discussion upon the various interesting topics entered upon by the learned lecturer.

Mr. J. F. Nicholls (City Librarian) had great pleasure in bearing testimony to the excellence of Mr. Planché's paper.

Mr. Edward Levien, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Sec., then read an interesting paper on "The Early Religious Houses of Somersetshire", which has been placed among the records of the Association at pp. 24-34 *ante*.

During the reading of Mr. Levien's paper, the President of the Association, Mr. Kirkman Hodgson, arrived, and at its conclusion the Mayor vacated the chair in his favour, and the President apologised for not having been present at the commencement of the meeting, stating he had been unavoidably detained by a previous engagement.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth then read his paper on the antiquities of the Mendip District, which has been already given at pp. 129-142.

Mr. Godwin expressed a hope that some steps would be taken by the State to preserve the Roman earthworks in the country.

The President having made some few observations upon the great opposition which was raised to Sir John Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Preservation Bill,

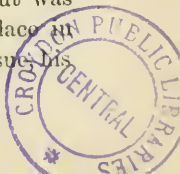
Votes of thanks were passed to the authors of the several papers read, and the proceedings then terminated.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6.

The members and supporters of the Association commenced their proceedings at nine o'clock in the morning at the Mayor's Chapel in College Green. Mr. T. Blashill had been announced in the programme to read a paper on this chapel, the ancient Hospital of St. Mark, but in his unavoidable absence the paper was read by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, as follows:

"THE ANCIENT HOSPITAL OF ST. MARK.

"The Hospital of St. Mark, at Billeswick, was founded by Robert de Berkeley, who was the second son of Robert Fitzhardinge, the founder of the Abbey of St. Augustine. The original foundation was for the maintenance of a chaplain and the daily relief of one hundred poor, and was under the control of the canons of St. Augustine. Robert de Berkeley married Alice, the daughter and heiress of Robert de Gaunt, her mother being Alice, the daughter of Hugh de Montford. The children of this marriage were Maurice and Eva, of whom Maurice took his mother's surname of Gaunt. Maurice de Gaunt probably completed the fabric, and he gave to the Hospital its first charter. He was one of the barons actively engaged against King John, but was afterwards a loyal subject of Henry III. His death took place in France, during an expedition against Louis IX. Leaving no issue, his



estates went to his sister Eva, who married Thomas de Harptree, and her son and heir, Robert, took the surname of Gournay. This Robert de Gournay made important changes in the constitution of the establishment. It was made independent of the Abbey of St. Augustine. It had a master—called also *prior*—and three chaplains instead of one, as well as twelve scholars, who were to be admitted and removed at the will of the master, and were to wear in choir black caps and surplices. During the year of probation each wore a red shield upon his habit, after taking the vows a white cross was added. The daily dole of the hundred ‘poor Christians’ was now fixed at ‘bread to the weight of 45lbs., with sufficient potage made with oatmeal, the bread to be of equal mixture of beans, barley, and wheat.’ This constitution was ordained by Walter, Bishop of Worcester, with the consent of Robert de Gournay and Henry de Gaunt, who are styled joint founders; and Sir Henry Gaunt, ‘a knight sometime dwelling not far from Brandon Hill’ (Leland), was the first master of the Hospital. Sir Henry Gaunt died in 1268, and was buried with an effigy in the church, and within six years after his decease the daily dole of bread and potage, small as it was—being about half a pound of bread for each person, who, moreover, had to deserve it for his good deeds—was stopped. Godfrey, Bishop of Worcester, being then engaged in reforming the abuses of the neighbouring Abbey, visited the Hospital in 1278, and ordered the dole to be resumed. Yet within another six years, in 1284, a further visitation showed that the poor were again deprived of their alms. Nor were the intentions of the pious founder of this ancient and interesting Hospital better observed in other respects, for in 1312 (by which time certain lay brethren had been added to the foundation) the master and friars were at variance amongst themselves, and the bishop had again to interfere. As he ordered the restoration of one of the friars who had been deprived and imprisoned, he appears to have found the Master of the Hospital so far in fault. In 1534 the ‘College of the Gaunts’ was surrendered to the king by the master (John Coleman) and the brethren, the revenues being worth £112 to £184 per annum, together with plate of the weight of 424 ounces. Hereupon (in 1540) the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of Bristol obtained a grant of the property, and they allowed the French Protestant refugees to hold service in the church until 1721, when it was fitted up for the mayor and corporation, and known as the ‘Mayor’s Chapel.’ The fabric has undergone restoration, chiefly consisting of needful repairs and of new fittings, on two occasions, first in 1829, and again within the last few years. Leland says that the brethren of this hospital were called ‘Bonhommes,’ but there seems to be no evidence of their having had any connection with that order of friars, which was the latest introduced into this country, and had only two establishments.

“The Bonhommes were a reformed order of Friars Eremites, living under the rule of St. Augustine, and wearing a blue habit. They were first established at Ashbridge, in Buckinghamshire, by Edmund, son and heir to Richard Earl of Cornwall, about 1283. There was a rector and twenty brethren. The only other house was at Edington, in Wiltshire, where William d’Edington, Bishop of Winchester, had about 1347 founded a college for a dean and twelve ministers. Leland says, that Edward the Black Prince had a great favour for the Bonhommes beyond the sea, and heartily besought the bishop to change the ministers of his college to that order. All the ministers consented to this except the dean; and two brethren were sent for from Ashbridge, one of them became the first rector of the Bonhommes of Edington, in 1358. There were, therefore, none of this order in England until about the time of the second reformation of the Hospital of the Gannets (in 1284), but it may be that at the subsequent enlargement of the foundation which has been alluded to, some advantage was taken of the reformed rule of St. Augustine as followed by the Bonhommes, while the hospital retained its independence of their order. The church is not in the usual position, the chancel standing north-east. It originally consisted of nave, chancel, and transepts, of good early thirteenth century work, portions of which about the arches of the transepts may still be seen. Modern stalls have been introduced for the mayor and corporation, as well as a modern gallery with fan-vaulting. The west window of the nave is of the early fifteenth century restored, and the glass used is chiefly from Fonthill, partly German, and partly French; some of it is dated ‘1543.’” The paper concluded with some interesting particulars of the tombs and monuments within the church.

At the conclusion of the paper Mr. Loftus Brock described some of the principal objects of interest in the church. He said that the fabric appeared well to bear out the history shortly narrated. The best of the Early English work could be well seen in the structure; and on the exterior was visible a very peculiar parapet, which seemed to be a portion of the first building. The foundation was evidently that of a cruciform church which ended originally, probably, at the first window, and had since been enlarged. The windows at the east and west ends were of a later date; and the one at the east end was filled in with very fine glass, probably Spanish. Mr. Brock preceded the party round the church, and pointed out the main architectural features. The beauties of the chapel at the right of the chancel were dwelt upon, and Mr. Brock referred particularly to the early Spanish tiles with which the floor of the chapel was covered. Some of the tiles were mixed with others of English make of an anterior date, the reason for this being, no doubt, that they were unable to obtain more of the particular foreign manufacture.

The members of the Congress next crossed College Green, and attended morning service at the Cathedral, after which they assembled to listen to a description of the chief features of the edifice, given by Mr. Gordon M. Hills, *Hon. Treasurer*.

Mr. Hills having called together the members present under the central tower, where the old part of the Cathedral is temporarily screened off from the work going forward in the construction of the new nave, said that on the spot where they were now assembled, the prayers and praises of the devout had gone up to Heaven for seven hundred and fifty years; and he was sure it must have touched them all during the service just concluded, to know by the sound of the axe and the hammer that outside, by the piety and devotion of men now living, there was a building growing up which they trusted might carry on the same devotion, and raise up religion, perhaps for seven hundred and fifty years longer. The speaker then proceeded to describe somewhat minutely the state of the monastic world at the time when the Cathedral was founded, and reminded his hearers that the Augustine canons who lived in the monastery were not followers of the St. Augustine who came to Christianise this country, but of an ecclesiastic of the same name who in very early times did much to spread Christianity in Africa. About 1140 the order was finally constituted, and they must distinguish carefully these canons from the friars who had been improperly connected with their order; for he had seen in a recent publication that this was a house of Augustine friars, which was not the case. Again, the place had been called a house of canons of St. Victor; and that might be, as St. Victor assisted in the foundation of the Augustine canons. The canons of St. Victor did not possess much influence, at all events, in later times; for though the house of St. Victor at Paris was considerable, yet its authority was not felt much in the monasteries that submitted to it. The foundation of the collegiate church was laid about 1140 by Robert Fitzharding; some authorities state about 1142; and it was commonly received that the church was consecrated and completed for service in 1148; but, in his opinion, that date wanted some reconsideration. By the kind permission of Lord Fitzhardinge he had visited Berkeley Castle, and found in a book of charters a note which said that canons were introduced in 1148. A church might have been so far raised that the consecration could take place then; but the initials of the four bishops mentioned as assisting in the consecration did not agree with the names given in the modern authorities as having consecrated the church, and they had to look later for the names agreeing with those initials. It was also said in the common accounts that four canons of Wigmore were introduced at this foundation of the Bristol Monastery; but then there was this difficulty, that no canons were at Wigmore

until 1179. And again, they were told that the sovereign was present at the consecration; but it has been distinctly shown that the King was in Anjou at the time of the alleged consecration in 1148. Admitting the possibility of the eastern part of a church having been consecrated in 1148, Mr. Hills pointed out that the consecration which was signalled by the presence of four bishops and of the King, and the introduction of the canons from Wigmore, must have been much later.

Mr. Hills passed on to notice the remains of the Norman work in the Cathedral, and he observed that it had been a question whether a Norman church was actually built complete; that is to say, whether as well as a choir, it had a nave. He thought that could not be doubted, as outside the wall behind him, at the west end, were still some Norman remains; and they had the nave, now so long forgotten, spoken of as late as 1480, and William of Worcester had measured it. It was difficult to fix the exact date when the nave disappeared. With regard to subsequent erections and the reconstruction of the church, they must observe that the line of abbots showed few remarkable men; in fact, they knew very little about them. Abbot Newland wrote their lives, and his chronicle is said to be in existence at Berkeley Castle. But though this statement has often been repeated, it was not correct; and he strongly suspected that everything said to have been taken from Newland's chronicle had been obtained from Mr. Smith's manuscript notes out of it. It was to be feared that in the civil wars that chronicle had been lost; and that gave great value to Mr. Smith's manuscript compilation still preserved at Berkeley Castle, which was the only existing representative of the chronicle. The Monastery was much concerned with the history of the Berkeley family. When prosperity was with the lords of that family, then the building progressed; and when they lost their means, as they often did in the commotion that prevailed, then the work of the building stood still. Between the years 1306 and 1363 they might attribute most of the work now lying eastward of them. By means of plans Mr. Hills illustrated the monastic buildings and the connection of the church and monastic structures, observing that it was only in later times that the church became a cathedral.

The speaker next entered the choir, and pointed out that the three eastern bays anciently belonged to the Lady Chapel, and that the choir, of which the high altar stood in the fourth bay from the east, as clearly appeared from William of Worcester's description, had only four of the bays east of the tower. He called the attention of his numerous audience to the east window as one of the most splendid examples of the Decorated period. Winston, a great authority, on examination of the ancient stained glass which filled the greater portion of the upper part, concluded that the glass might be of the year 1320, and he came to

that conclusion from an examination of the coats of arms. But whenever it was actually built, there was a tendency to the next style, viz., the Perpendicular; and since the works were certainly going on in 1363, evidently they took a long time in execution. The arcade on the east wall was not wholly ancient, as the centre arch and the two small panels, taking the place of the defaced altar of "Our Lady", were modern, and put in at the suggestion of Mr. Britton. The original altar had been succeeded by an ugly oak Corinthian screen: an order still in existence commanded the Dean and Chapter to cut away the tabernacle-work at the east end, and that screen was put up to cover the blank. When, thirty-five years ago, that screen was taken away, the central arch was made as now seen. Near the east end were some remarkable tombs which he desired to call their attention to, though he did not ask them to admire their singular canopies. They appeared to have been made preparatory for a series of effigies of some persons passed away, and for future dignitaries, and not at the death of the particular abbots. A gentleman here called attention to the likeness of character of the ogee arches of the passages in the wall to the canopies of the tombs, and suggested that the idea was of Spanish origin.

Mr. Hills adverted to the stall-work in the choir, which was, he said, evidently by Abbot Elyott, one of the latest of the abbots, who presided from 1515 to 1526. The vaulting in the aisles was also deserving of notice as remarkable in construction. The originality and loftiness of the design, and the details, exhibited a piece of rare mechanical and mathematical skill. The architect having resolved to cover the aisles with vaults at an equal altitude at the summit with those of the centre of the choir, had to consider how in the small width of the aisle he could gain the height which the wide span of the centre afforded for the central vault, without giving an extraordinary and ungainly pitch or height to the narrow aisle vaults, and without depriving the central vault of abutment of its lower parts, absolutely necessary to its stability. If he had considered only the outward thrust of the aisle vaults at the great height at which he has placed them, he might have counteracted it by ponderous pinnacles placed on the lofty buttresses we see outside, but this would not have provided, or have very ill-provided, against the outward thrust of the great central vault, operating lower down than that of the aisles. The architect adopted a wonderfully picturesque and sagaciously scientific expedient. Opposite the abutment of the great vault, where required at its lower part, he constructed transverse arches in the aisles, of attractive architectural design, carrying the thrust of the central vault in the most effective manner directly against the large external buttresses, and at a moderate height from the ground, where a moderate projection of buttress would counteract

the thrust. These transverse arches of the aisles he ranged wholly below the spring of the aisle vaults; then poising the centre portions of the aisle vaults on the crown of the transverse arches, he not only caused a great part of the weight of the elevated aisle vaults to act through the transverse arches as a counter thrust to the great central vault at its lower part, but he carried the outward thrust of the aisle vaults in a great measure down to the foot of the transverse arch, at which point he directed it safely downwards (as those who herein recognise a beautiful problem of the composition and resolution of forces will readily admit), not only by the great additional weight of the wall, which he had obtained by carrying the outward thrust to a low point in it, instead of a higher, but by having still secured a part of the weight of the aisle vaults to act downward directly on the inner and outer walls.

The south aisle was next visited by the party, with Mr. Hills for their guide. That gentleman said they would notice the one drawback of the peculiar construction of the aisle-vaults, that the eastern aisle-window was somewhat dwarfed; but, nevertheless, he could not diminish his admiration at the construction and appearance of the work. The Berkeley Chapel, which was made for two altars, was then examined in detail. The origin of the tomb in it, at the north end, he showed to be complex; the cusped and foliated work at the top being suitable in age to the time of Robert de Berkeley, buried in the church in 1220, whilst the coats of arms beneath had been the authority for assigning it to Thomas, Lord Berkeley, buried in the church in 1321. There is no effigy on the tomb. In the antechapel, the vaulting-ribs, forming a sort of skeleton work, not filled in with vaulting, behind and above which, the upright walls and flat stone ceiling appears, attracted attention from the peculiarity of the construction.

Mr. Hills then led the party into the north aisle of the choir, pointing out some small remains of Norman work in a narrow stair in the thickness of the north wall, and thence proceeded into an outer aisle, which he described as a work of the first half of the thirteenth century, and thought could with certainty be attributed to the time of Abbot David (1216 to 1234). It was built for the altar of "Our Lady", and at the time indicated, the addition to monastic churches of an important structure for a Lady Chapel was common. He thought this a bold and good example of the then prevalent style; no doubt it was the first important addition to the Norman church; a hundred years later and this Lady Chapel was deemed insufficient, so that the new Lady Chapel at the east end of the church, which they had already viewed, was undertaken by Abbot Knowle, and in 1311 was newly begun. In this abbot's time the old (Norman) church is described as in a state of great decay, "ruined by age to the very foundation in the

greater part, and in the rest with ruin portending." He, therefore, planned a renewal of the building, and perhaps laid the foundations of the new Lady Chapel, and the work of the choir which they had seen.

Mr. J. R. Planché here intervened with some observations upon the male effigy on the fine tomb placed between the old Lady Chapel and the north choir aisle, and attributed, as he thought rightly, to Maurice, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1368; the female effigy being that of Margaret, his mother, who was buried in the church in 1337; then crossing over to the south choir aisle he made an examination of two recessed tombs in the south wall of that aisle, each with a warrior effigy, but which from the appearance and variations in their armour he thought might properly be assigned to Thomas de Berkeley, a very able and distinguished man, who died in 1321 (the western tomb), whose arms on the tomb in the Berkeley Chapel have already been mentioned, and to Maurice de Berkeley, who died in 1336, was first buried in Wallingford Church, and afterwards his remains are known to have been removed to this church.

Mr. Hills resumed his description by pointing out remains of Norman work at both the extremities of the transepts, and evidence of the original width of the Norman choir, which he showed to be distinctly marked both north and south. He also pointed out the mode of entrance of the canons from their dormitory into the south transept in Norman times, and the alteration this had undergone, the present staircase and doorway of the dormitory being of the fifteenth century or later, though the steps were evidently well worn with their walking to and fro before the dissolution came. Then leading the way into the offices or dwellings of the monastery, the superb Norman Chapter House was first considered. The rebuilding of the east end in the present century was described, and Mr. Hills showed that although this reconstruction was no doubt in accordance with the original dimensions, yet there are plain evidences that the Norman structure had in subsequent times been enlarged eastwards, an enlargement now wholly lost; calling attention to the greater altitude of the Chapter House, and the lowness of the vestibule at its west end, Mr. Hills explained why in this and the numerous similar examples of a lofty chapter house and low vestibule this arrangement became necessary, viz., because the altitude of the chapter house, if continued out westward to the cloister, would have completely severed the dormitory from the church, whereas the formation of a low vestibule allowed a passage to be formed over it direct from the dormitory to the door and stair they had seen in the transept of the church. Alluding then to the destruction of the east wing of the monastic buildings in the political riots of 1831, Mr. Hills pointed out, on a model of the buildings preserved in the chapter house and made after the riots, the nature of the buildings which pro-

jected southward from the chapter house, having the canons' dormitory in the upper part. The remains themselves, very much reduced since 1831, were then examined. The fury of the rioters was directed against the bishop, to whose use as a residence the buildings had been converted after the Reformation. A considerable part of the ruin, possessing, as Mr. Hills showed, some highly interesting and almost unobserved Norman work, is now a neglected private property, and the hope was earnestly expressed that means might be found to annex it permanently again to the cathedral. The court of the great cloister occupying, as Mr. Hills showed, its proper position on the south side of the nave, and evidently rebuilt at a late date, showed he conceived that the nave of the church had existed down to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. How the cloister was bounded by the east wing just examined, by the west wing where the abbot dwelt, and of which very little remains near the church, although it can be clearly ascertained how it joined to the church, and where the west end of the nave stood, and how the refectory, now a school house, was on the south side of the cloister, was minutely considered. Then passing through the ancient entrance of the refectory the visitors were led to a lower cloister court on the south of the last and its connection with the infirmary was described. Then moving westwards the Norman substructure of the west wing was noted, and in passing through the vaulted passages, now used for the school entrance, various additions down to the time of Abbot Nailheart were observed. The party then passed from the inner precinct of the monastery by the interesting Norman gate tower of its western side into the outer precinct; thence proceeding to the north side of the outer court and through the grand Norman gateway. Mr. Hills demurred to the opinion expressed that this Norman work had been rebuilt. Notwithstanding the perfect preservation of so great a part of its enriched detail he thought it original. The late superstructure and its modernizations were then remarked upon, also the construction of the late central tower of the church. Mr. Hills then assembled the party within the nave of the church now in course of construction, and made a last stand in it close to the south transept. He pointed out some still visible Norman foundations evidencing that they belonged to the nave aisle of the Norman church. From these remains, and from some marks of the way in which Norman work had abutted on the side of the transept, he said he had formed the conclusion that the nave had to the last of its existence retained its Norman form and features, although in 1311 the whole church had been described as in great decay. Its altitude must have been moderate, and the traces showed that its aisles had low transverse barrel vanlts; such, he said, was the nave, and this evidently the building which William of Worcester described in the last part of the

fifteenth century, after giving details of other parts of the church, as the "*antiqua ecclesia*", eighty paces long and sixty-four paces wide.

The Rev. Canon Norris expressed to Mr. Hills the thanks of the meeting for his elucidation of the history of the cathedral.

Whilst the visit to the Cathedral was in progress, a considerable party, as previously arranged, availed themselves of the invitation of the Mayor and Corporation, and visited the Council House in order to examine the civic curiosities. The Town Clerk (Mr. D. Burges), the City Solicitor (Mr. W. Brice), and the Treasurer (Mr. J. Harford), kindly pointed out several objects that had a particular local interest; and Mr. J. F. Nicholls called particular attention to the silver-gilt salver presented by Alderman Kitchen in 1573. It was stolen in 1831, during the riots, and the thief cut it into one hundred and sixty-seven pieces, offering some of the bits for sale to Messrs. Williams, goldsmiths. He was apprehended. The pieces, with the exception of three very minute chippings, were recovered, and skilfully put together by the firm, so that its beauty is unimpaired.

The charters of the city were described by Mr. Birch, and one or two are highly interesting. One granted by Edward III gives "power to the mayor to erect a place of confinement for the punishment of evil doers, and to inflict on bakers who break the assize of bread the same punishment as ordered by the magistrates of London." At the time this was granted the King was besieging Calais. Another fine charter, dated 1373, was illuminated, and the style of the illumination enabled one to judge of the period of other MSS. not so dated. There was also a charter given by Charles I, who was glad to rescind charters and reconfirm them.

Amongst the pictures, Mr. Nicholls pointed to that, by Vandyck, of the Earl of Pembroke. There was likewise Kneller's portrait of James II, which was discovered in a singular way. One of the pictures being dirty was sent to be cleaned, when Mr. James Curnock, the artist, perceived another face underneath, and obtaining leave, he carefully removed the later painting, and discovered a valuable portrait of James. Other striking portraits were Vandyck's Charles I, also Charles II, George I, and George II, and Lawrence's portrait of the Duke of Portland.

In the afternoon the members of the Association were invited by Mr. W. A. F. Powell, Master, and the Society of Merchant Venturers, to a luncheon in the fine hall of the guild. The charter of the Merchants, and other documents possessed by them, were exhibited and explained by Mr. Birch to the visitors, who, exceeding two hundred in number, then sat down to a sumptuous entertainment. Mr. Powell, the Master, presided, and was supported by the Right Worshipful the Mayor (Alderman Barnes), the High Sheriff (Mr. T. T. Walton), and Mr. K. D. Hodgson, M.P., President of the Association.

After the banquet the Master gave "Church and Queen", and "The Prince and Princess of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family".

Mr. M. King, Senior Warden, proposed "The Mayor, High Sheriff, Aldermen, and Town Council, of the ancient City of Bristol." He remarked that the citizens of Bristol were waking up to their situation. At one time they were the second city in the kingdom, and many, like himself, believed the position could be regained. Their Corporation had lately merited their approbation by their fearless advancements.

The Mayor, the High Sheriff, and Alderman Barrow, responded.

The Master next gave, in cordial terms, the health of the President of the Association, Mr. K. D. Hodgson, M.P., and "Success to the Archæological Association".

Mr. Hodgson, M.P., acknowledged the honour conferred on the Association. The position in which they were placed by the hospitable kindness of their hosts reminded him of the craft of the jeweller in the bridal necklace. They would find in it a series of precious stones all bright, yet he reserved for the middle and bottom of the necklace the brightest and best; and it appeared to him, among the kindnesses they had received from the citizens of Bristol, they had arrived now, in that magnificent hospitality, at the middle stone of the necklace. He felt a conviction that this was the crowning day, the large stone of the necklace; and he begged to offer, on the part of the Association, their most grateful thanks for the Merchants' kindness.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills next proposed "The Health of the Society of Merchant Venturers and the Master".

Mr. Powell, in responding, said if the Association had any gratification, the gratification to the Merchants was double. In proposing the health of the Wardens he spoke of the able assistance they had afforded him.

The members heartily joined in the acknowledgment of the active aid afforded to the meeting by Mr. King and Mr. A. Baker, the Wardens, whose conspicuous kindness and cordial exertions had here and elsewhere done so much for them.

In responding, occasion was made for these gentlemen to honour between them the toast of "The Ladies", Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., being also called upon to join in the reply.

Leaving the Merchants' Hall, the party visited the Norman church of the Benedictine Priory of St. James, which Mr. Hills and Mr. Taylor described, Mr. J. R. Bramble giving some particulars relative to an ancient tomb on the south side of the church, long supposed to have been that of Robert Earl of Gloucester, founder of the Priory. Mr. Bramble pointed out how the examinations of Mr. Planché and Mr. Taylor had conclusively demonstrated that it could not be Robert Earl of Gloucester, obiit 1144; and with very little room for doubt left, it was shown to be the effigy of Richard Grenville, obiit 1240.

The Dominican Friary in Merchant Street was next inspected, Mr. Hills giving some particulars of the building, which is now called Quakers' Friars. The long schoolroom on an upper floor, in which they assembled, he believed to have been the Dominican refectory, and the kitchen to have been below it. The roof was as old as the fourteenth century. The south side has been newly rebuilt, but the north wall is of the original work. This building forms the north side of a quadrangle. On the south side of the quadrangle are some remains of a cloister and of other ancient work of the Friary. Mr. Hills expressed the opinion that the church of the Friary, whose dimensions are given by William of Worcester, formed the north side of another cloistered quadrangle, of which the existing refectory and kitchen formed the south side. Mr. Hills then gave some particulars of the distinctive character of the orders of friars established in Bristol. The neighbourhood of the Augustinian friars, in the south-east of the city, was visited, he said, on the first day of the Congress, far away from their present line of progress. He had only now to show them, on the north side of the city, where the Franciscan Friary had stood, of which, although the remains were considerable, the intricacy of the streets made them fragmentary and difficult of identification; and lastly, to conduct them to the Carmelite Friary.

St. Bartholomew's Gateway, a remnant of a structure of the thirteenth century, in Christmas Street, was visited on the way from the Franciscan Friary to the Carmelites. It is at the foot of a bridge and causeway over the river Frome, leading to St. John's Gate in the city walls. The Gateway now examined belonged to a Hospital of St. Bartholomew, the patron saint of bridges.

The Red Lodge, Park Row, was the last place inspected on this occasion; and here Mr. Hills read Mr. J. Taylor's interesting account of the Carmelite friars who formerly lived on the spot, and of the Red Lodge, dating from 1590, built on the site of the Friary. Votes of thanks to Miss Carpenter for her kind invitation to the Society to visit the house, and to Mr. Hills, were passed before the party left the building.

The meeting at the Fine Arts' Academy, in the evening, was well attended, and was under the presidency of Mr. K. D. Hodgson, M.P.

Mr. S. I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*, read a paper on "The See of Bristol and its Bishops", which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. John Taylor read a paper on "The Earliest Appearances of Bristol in History", which has been already printed, *ante*, p. 62-68.

Mr. T. Kerslake read a paper on "St. Ewen, Bristol and the Welsh Border", which will be found at pp. 153-179.

Votes of thanks were passed to the readers, and the proceedings terminated.

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ON THE

REMAINS OF THE SAXON OR EARLY NORMAN WORK IN THE CHURCH OF STONE JUXTA FAVERSHAM.

BY JAMES T. IRVINE, ESQ.

HAVING been told that there was, in the neighbourhood of Faversham, the ruin of a "Roman church", at first I placed no credence in the report; but the account having been corroborated by the Rev. C. E. Donne, the vicar of Faversham, who said that it had been visited and excavated by the Kent Archæological Society, and considered by them to be actually of Roman date, I was induced to visit it. About one and a half miles westward from Faversham, and a few hundred yards to the north of the great Roman road (here termed "the Key Street"), lying in the lower end of the Syndall Valley, between Judde and Beacon Hills, is found this ruin, now all that remains of the chapel or church of the parish of "Stone juxta Faversham". On the above mentioned Judde Hill, to the south of the Roman road, are situated the earth-mounds said to mark the course of the walls of Roman Durolevum, part of whose name seems still to live in that of the parish of Levaland, not far away.

The approach from the Key Street was round the end of a hop-field, and through part of a field then richly clad with wheat in the ear, and led to the clump of old trees now shading the ruins, which can be seen from the Dover Railway. On reaching the low mound which the western side of the churchyard presents, and whose level everywhere is raised above the outside, within a few feet lay part of

the west wall of the church, exposed by excavation to its base, and farther on a comparatively lofty portion of the south-east angle of the nave-wall (in Hasted mistakenly described as part of a tower). In both fragments, with the exception of pieces of Roman brick used among the flint-work of which they were constructed, not anything remained that could be termed Roman. Advancing to, and looking down over, a wooden fence which shut off the chancel, into its east, south, and west sides, laid open by excavation, I almost was tempted to think that here, at last, that long looked for thing, a church of the age of Roman Christianity in Britain had turned up; or, on second thoughts, rather that a Roman bath had been utilised by the early Roman Christians into the chancel of a church. In the centre of the west wall, below where I stood, lay a large slab sunk out in a very Roman fashion, as if intended to be the steps down into the bath. The walls exposed were built of regular courses of Roman bricks, with stone alternately, in a manner more Roman than anything I had ever before seen. The fence-gate being locked, I passed round to the east end, where all was changed, the walls being, like those of the nave, built of rough flints with here and there a broken fragment of Roman tile. The large boulders used both as foundation-stones and rough plinth here lay on the level of the ordinary external ground, and the east wall of chancel was in line with boundary of yard. Getting over the south-east angle, where the wall still stood some space higher than the inside floor-line, it at once became evident that the chancel had been of two buildings separated in erection by a long period of time; the western half only being of very ancient work, and the eastern extension in date probably Early English, as in its north wall one splay of a window remained. I may dismiss this part by saying that for its erection the whole of the interior of the first chancel had been filled in to the height of 1 foot 6 ins., and its east wall lowered sufficiently to be used as the lowest and west step of three in front of the new altar. The solid block of masonry of this last (without its slab) remained, but robbed of most of its angle quoin-stones. It was distinctly built separate from the east wall; but whether coeval in date or no, I am, therefore, unable to say. The south wall of this extended Early English choir retains



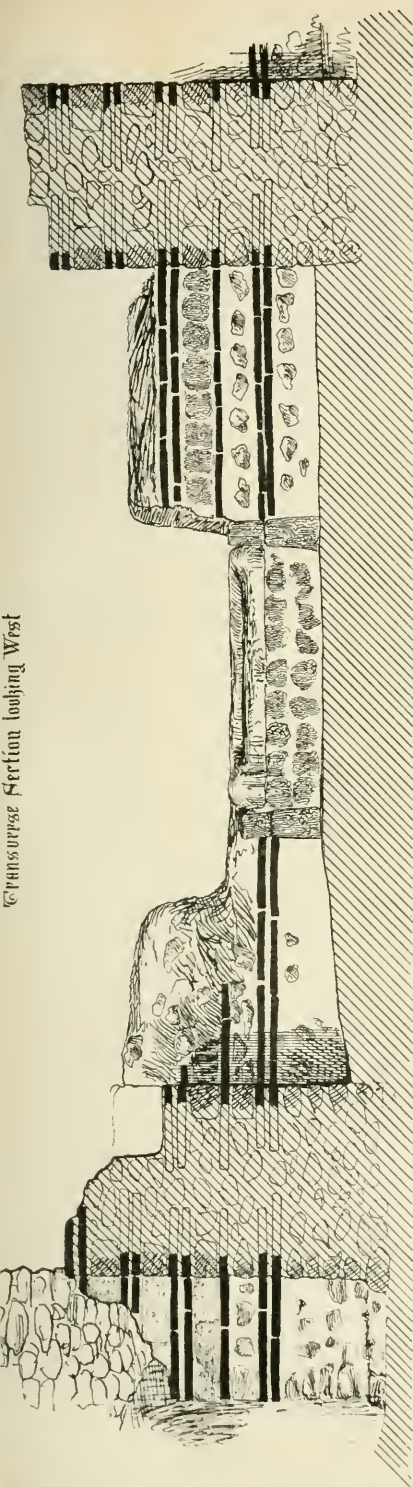
marks of a sedilia of two spaces slightly differenced in levels. When the western ends of the walls of this new work were erected on those of the first choir, they were thinned so as to leave stall-seats on both sides, whose bottom ends and back, as in the case of the sedilia, had been of plaster. On its north wall could be distinctly traced, from the face of west step upward, the line where the angle of the plaster of first chancel terminated, and where the new Early English plaster commenced; also some slight traces of the last painted decorations in red colour. (These are shown on one of my small drawings.) The floor of this new work, as of the old, had been formed of plaster only. No tiles had ever been used; and the steps had also been formed of plaster and Roman bricks obtained by the destruction of the old east wall.

The ancient portion was indeed so remarkable that I could not help at first being rather dazzled with the show of the abundant and carefully laid red tile courses. But I had not looked, however, for many minutes before an indescribable sort of feeling began to pervade me, that the mass, after all, did not possess that feeling of consistency which is immediately the result to a practised eye, when old work is said to be of any given age, *and truly* belongs to the same. A more careful inspection of the walls began to show that the construction did not quite harmonise with the abundant examples of Roman walling I had seen. The external surface of the north and south sides had been also laid open by the excavations made by the Kent Society. The base in each case was a footing of flint projecting $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 3 inches, on which was laid three or four courses in depth of flints in very abundant mortar. Then came two courses of Roman tiles, then a course of large flints slightly headed, then one course of Roman tile, then a course of coloured stone work, composed of squarish "bond" stones of blue Kentish rag and long "closers" of tufa (when new, of a cream tint), then two courses of Roman tiles, then a course of coloured stone as before, then two courses of tiles, then a course of coloured stone as above, but a good deal decayed in parts; then fragments of two more courses of tiles; above which slight evidence remained that at least another course of stones and one of brick existed when the east end extension took place.

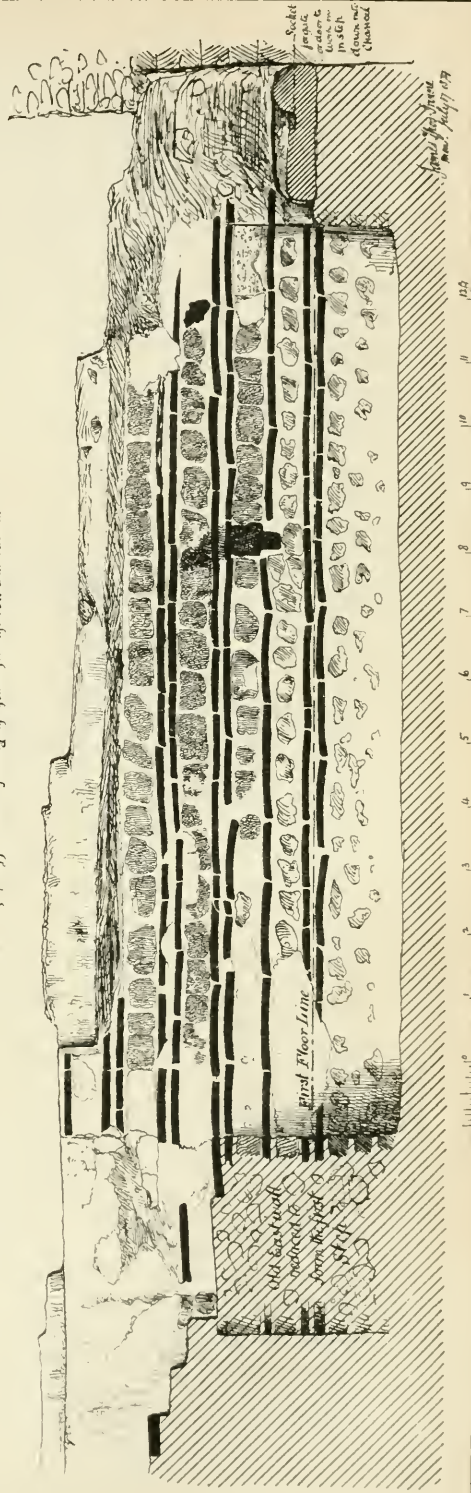
On each side remained distinct traces of central buttresses or pilasters, whose width could be still obtained from projecting fragments of their bonding tiles ; and similar marks could be seen of those at the angles of the east wall, but unfortunately all means of obtaining their projection was destroyed (I have no doubt, however, that one remains under the floor of the new part in the centre of the external face of the old east wall). The removal of these side pilasters had most likely taken place when the Early English walls were raised.

This arrangement is not unusual in Norman work, and is found in the chancel walls of the Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts. The remarkable shoulders here built to stop the ancient nave walls are fairly recoverable on both sides ; the southern excavation passing round westward so far that on that side we are able to discover it finished perfect on its west face, and in line with that plane of chancel arch wall ; no similar wall whatever existing to the ancient nave beyond, which must, therefore, have been constructed of wood alone ; thus agreeing with the evidence of the excavations under the present west wall of nave and that made inside the fragment of south-east angle, where the footings are exposed, without presenting the slightest trace of broken bricks, such as would have been found had ever the destruction of it taken place. Most likely this wooden nave had considerably outlived the Early English rebuilding of the chancel, for the threshold of its south door is formed of a marble moulded cross slab of the Decorated age reversed, and a fragment of another, slightly earlier in date, is used as a quoin stone in the angle. The Kentish rag "bond" stones in the exterior of chancel had not quite the *squarish* look of Roman ashlar wall stones, and generally were narrower in width than in height. The mortar in the wide joints had a certain quantity of pounded tile used in it, but on the whole less than usually found in Roman mortar of that sort. Mortar is not, however, necessarily not Roman if entirely white, for much Roman mortar is quite free of tile ; nor is red pounded tile mortar always Roman, but is found in Norman works, as at Malvern Abbey.

From my own practical knowledge of the difficulty of obtaining good or even tolerable sand in this district I have little doubt that when the Roman buildings were taken



View inside of South Wall showing the hole where the rail was built in



Scale
1 inch =
10 feet
in situ
shown in
Chert



down for the sake of obtaining the bricks to re-use, this want of sand led them to save and make use of the refuse Roman mortar as an excellent substitute. Indeed, besides the ruins of the supposed Durolevum (so close at hand) on the hill above, it is said that a Roman villa has been discovered in the fields, a very short distance to the north of the churchyard.

The tufa used in the walls is in long stones, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 inches in depth, and differs in no whit from what is used in Norman work at Canterbury, in Gundulph's crypt at Rochester Cathedral, or in the undoubtedly Roman lighthouse at Dover Castle.

The arrangement of the coloured stone decoration is interesting, and might have escaped me had I not drawn out each of the stones and tiles from measurement. It will be seen that on the north side the various rows of blue Kentish rag and light cream tufa are intended to form a dambrod pattern, whilst on the south it was so arranged as to form a rude sort of Mosaic arcading; all of which of course tended, as it seemed to me, to point *from* rather than *to* its construction being of Roman date. C. R. Smith, Esq., whose unrivalled experience in such things is of the greatest weight and value, has, however, since shown me something of a similar sort on one of those lofty tower-monuments of Roman date still left in France; and J. H. Parker, Esq., on his visit to Stone with me, thought that it was not unknown in Roman works. The Roman tiles used as bonders in the outside wall are evidently in many cases only parts of a tile, and by no means uniformly perfect. Where two rows are used, the upper and lower generally break bond slightly.

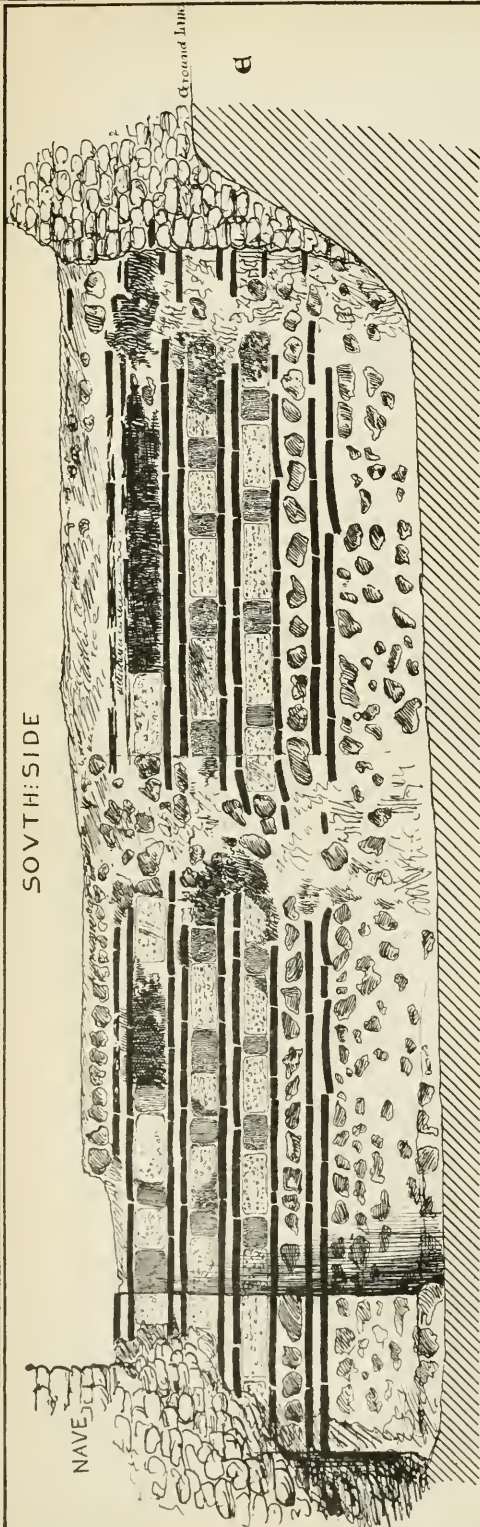
The whole of the exterior of walls had been at some time plastered over, of this there are considerable remains on the north side, that most sheltered from wet and frost. The drawings will give a tolerable idea of these two exterior sides. In the interior, the excavations of the Kent Society had laid open some most curious items, which I find had escaped the notice of their members. Of these, one was that the unmoved ground in the side of their excavation fronting the old east wall had preserved a section through the rough end walls of the early altar; this was about 3 ft. $11\frac{1}{4}$ in. long; and also what seems to have been the step of an altar pace, which, proceeding straight across from the north

wall in front of the altar, turned round it and ran back to the east end, leaving thus a space next the south wall (3 ft. 1 in.), the same level as the whole of the rest of the choir floor, no doubt for a wooden stool to be placed for the priest as a sedilia seat. To obtain this arrangement the altar was placed not exactly in the centre, but partly to the north of that line. The excavations gave sections through the first and Early English floors, both formed of plaster. In the plaster of the first, slight remains of pounded tile existed, precisely as in the mortar of walls, the same having been used. On the surface of this first floor lay streaks of black matter, seemingly the snuff of the torches or lights used during the services; so that, as at Bradford, this first chancel could scarcely have had any windows. The walls inside had the same tile layers as outside, but scarcely any tufa stones were seen, the stones being a rough sort of Kentish rag rudely squared (all what we might term bonders only). The whole interior had been plastered with a strong hard white mortar, remaining in parts; this again had been painted with red colour, masses of which remained, particularly in north-east angle, but no pattern could be discerned. In or about the centre of west wall, as before mentioned, remain the steps leading *down* into the chancel, sunk out of one solid stone of hard rag; the chancel floor being lower originally than that of the nave (perhaps for warmth), precisely as was found in the Saxon church in Dover Castle, by Sir Gilbert Scott, in his restoration of that building; and is also the case in the Saxon church at Bradford. At the ends of the step remain the first quoins of "short work" which formed the eastern angles of the narrow chancel arch, about 4 ft. 4 ins. wide.

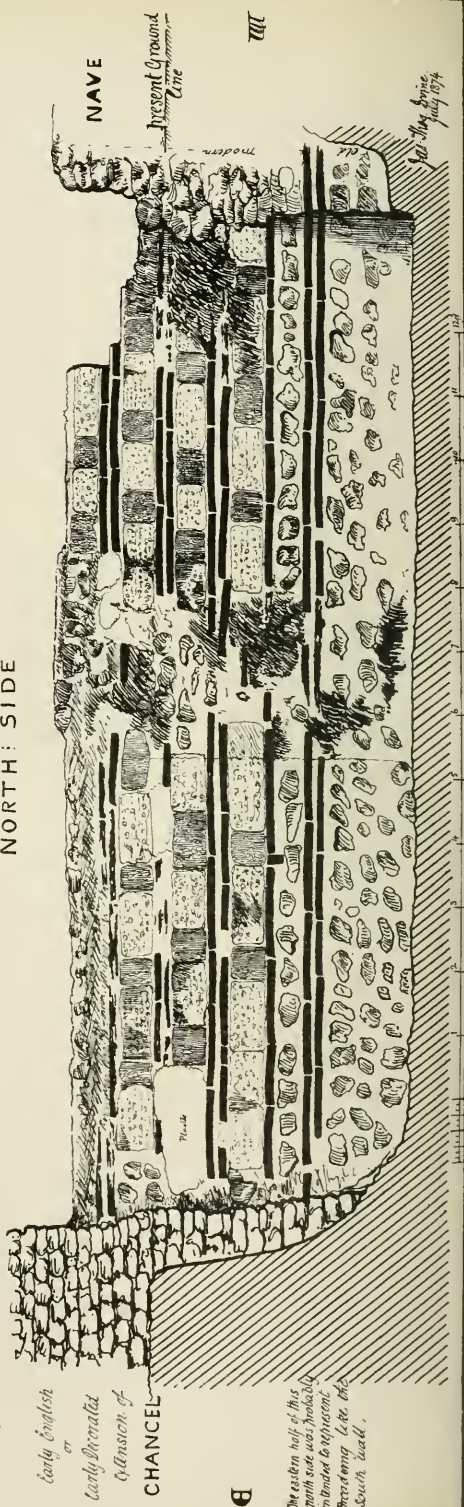
The most remarkable part to me was the discovery of the existence, and actually building in, of an oak altar-rail when the first erection of this ancient portion took place. That it was coeval with the *very* building of the stonework by the mason was evidenced by the cast of the section in the mortar of the wall, the arrangement of the stones to fit to that section; and where the course of tiles passed over it, the tile being raised to allow of it passing over the top of the rail. Never having dreamed that wooden altar-rails were older than the time of Queen Elizabeth, I could scarcely



SOUTH SIDE



NORTH SIDE



Early English
or
Early Perpendicular
Extension of
CHANCEL

The eastern half of this
north side was probably
intended to represent
the eastern half of the
South wall.

conceive it possible at first ; but at all events, if the church were Roman, there is no longer reason to doubt that the Romano-British Christians used rails of wood, as we do, only lower, this being from 1 foot 2 inches (to 3 ins.) above level of floor to top of rail. From traces above, I think this rail had been destroyed, or eventually considered too low ; it was, therefore, removed, and one slightly higher placed in its stead. This I discovered in passing through the excavation along the inside of the south wall ; and when carefully inspecting the old line of floor-section, I noticed that in the face of the wall, otherwise, with its red tile-courses, quite perfect, there was a large spatch full of what Hasted, in his account of this part of Kent, calls "the round tilt" earth, which renders it able to return at the present day sometimes more than two crops in the year. On excavating the place with my knife, to discover the reason of its being there, I emptied the hole, which displayed the section perfect, as it had remained from the time the filling in had taken place for the purpose of the Early English extension. The top of the rail, like those of the present day, had given fair space to rest on ; and in front it appeared to have had a projecting moulding, no doubt with interlacing work or flat carving running along it. I suspect it had been kept low to enable the priest to step in over it ; and do not think it, like ours, had any door or gate in it. I am not aware of any other example of such a thing having been found. The space between it and the west wall was about one-third of the whole length of chancel.

I have now given some idea of the most interesting part of a ruin of which I confess the character seems to me to be far too Roman to *be* Roman. I have carefully compared the work at Dover, of the church and lighthouse, with it. Differing very considerably from each other, they both agree in differing in the arrangement of the tile-courses from this ; and on visiting St. Martin's at Canterbury, and most carefully inspecting it with Mr. J. H. Parker, just before going over Stone, we found certainly no similarity there. Mr. Parker, however, believed it might be placed in the period between A.D. 400 and 500. Sir Gilbert Scott, who has since visited it, thought it might probably be Saxon. To this last opinion, ranging back to 900 at farthest, I think it has fair claims, although I should not be at all astonished

that it was Norman work of the date of 1072, which the treatment of the coloured stonework strongly hinted at. A most careful search was rewarded by *no* appearance of any tesserae among the floor-plaster. The Rev. W. A. Scott Robertson, the Honorary Secretary of the Kent Society, informs me that their search for any was equally vain; and that R. Hussey, Esq., a no mean authority on such matters, when he visited it with them, even then declined to assent to its being actually of Roman date. I give below some extracts from Hasted's *Kent*, which seem to me to possibly point to the date of about 1072, after its entire passage into the hands of the Archbishop; and I suspect the Early English extension to date about the commencement of its connection with the archdeaconry, which last has, sad to say, ended in the church being ruined down to the ground; and a parish now existing, not many miles from the Cathedral, without a clergyman or any place of worship.

The original chancel was about 14 ft. $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. long by about 13 ft. wide internally. The side-walls were unequal in width, varying from as low as 2 ft. 10 ins. to 3 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The chancel-arch wall, 2 ft. 6 ins. The side-pilasters had been 2 ft. 6 ins. or 2 ft. 7 ins. wide. The length of the interior of the chancel in Early English times was about 26 ft. The last altar was 3 ft. wide by 6 ft. 1 in., exclusive of what the slab projected.

“Tenham, called in Saxon Teynham, and now frequently written so, is the next parish south from Bapchild, and gives name to the hundred in which it is situated. The manor, which comprehends the hundred of Tenham, was given by Cenulph, King of Mercia, at the request of Archbishop Athelard (by the description of twelve plough-lands lying at Tenham), to the metropolitan church of our Saviour at Canterbury. He made the gift chiefly on account of the Archbishop having given to him in recompense twelve plough-lands lying at Cregesemelene, which King Offa formerly gave to one of his earls named Uffa; and the King granted the land to the Church of Christ, free from all secular service except the repairing of bridges and the building of castles.

“This manor continued part of the possessions of the church of Canterbury when Archbishop Lanfranc came to the see in the year 1070, being the fifth of the Conqueror's reign; and on the division which he soon afterwards made of the revenues of his church between himself and his convent, Tenham was allotted to the Archbishop and his successors for their provision and maintenance; after which the succeeding archbishops so far improved the buildings of this manor-house as to make it fit for their frequent residence. Archbishop Hubert Walter, a most magnificent prelate, the expense of whose housekeeping was esteemed nearly equal to that of the king, resided much at Tenham, where he died in

the year 1205, and was carried from thence, and buried in his Cathedral at Canterbury.”¹

“Archbishop Stephen Langton in 1227, on account of the slender income of the archdeaconry of Canterbury, and the affection he bore towards his brother, Simon Langton, then archdeacon, united it to the churches of Hackington (*alias* St. Stephen’s) and Tenham, with the *chapelries* of Doddington, Linstead, Stone, and Iwade, then belonging to it; which churches were then of the Archbishop’s patronage. And this was confirmed by the Chapter of the Priory of Christchurch directly afterwards, at which time this church was let to farm for one hundred marks. In which situation this church has continued to this time, the Archdeacon of Canterbury being the present patron and appropriator of it. The chapels above mentioned, which are all belonging to the archdeaconry, have long since, excepting the chapel of Stone, become independent parish churches, and as such not subject to any jurisdiction of the church of Tenham.”²

“Stone, called in ancient Latin deeds ‘Stanes’, and now usually ‘Stone near Faversham’, is but a small, obscure parish situated close to the north side of the London road, a little beyond the forty-fifth milestone, between Beacon and Judde Hills, whence it extends to the waters of the Swale, its northern boundary.”³

“Stone is within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the diocese of Canterbury and deanery of Ospringe. The church was always accounted as a chapel to that of Tenham, as appears by the *Black Book* of the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and was given and appropriated with that church, as an appendage to it, in 1227, by Archbishop Stephen Langton, to that archdeaconry. In which state it continues at this time, the Archdeacon being appropriator of it and the great and small tithes of it, excepting those of Elverton, included in the lease granted by him of the parsonage of Tenham, by the description of the chapelry of Stone belonging to it.

“The church or chapel of Stone has been for a long time desecrated. The foundations of it yet remain on the north side of the field on the north side of the high London road in the vale between Judde and Beacon Hills. The shire or bridle-road from Faversham to the top of the latter hill goes close by the north side of it. *The walls of it have several Roman bricks mixed among the flints.* The church seems to have been about 32 feet long; and the chancel 24, and about 12 feet broad. By the remains of a piece of wall, the tower seems to have stood between the church and chancel.”⁴

This last is evidently a mistake. On p. 502, describing Ospringe, and the remains of the supposed Durolevum, he says:

“At the bottom of the hill (Judde Hill), in the next field to this, are the ruins of Stone Chapel, in which numbers of Roman bricks are interspersed among the flints; and in the midst of the south wall of it there is a separate piece of a Roman building, about a rod in length and near 3 feet high, composed of two rows of Roman tiles of about 1-4 inches square each; and on them are laid small stones hewed, but of no regular size or shape, for about a foot high; and then tiles again, and so on alternately.”⁵

¹ Hasted, p. 284.
1875

² P. 294.

³ P. 293.

⁴ P. 395.

⁵ P. 503.
33



A most valuable notice as to the time when it fell into decay has been discovered by Canon Scott Robertson, and I here copy it from p. 79, vol. ix, of the *Archæologia Cantiana* :

"In the presentment made concerning Stone Church at Archbishop Warham's visitation in 1511, complaint was then made that there was neither matins nor evensong on the holy days, and that Sunday service was performed only once a fortnight; that the chancel was sore decayed, and the windows were not glazed."

The tiles, as far as my measurements went, seemed to give a length of 1 ft. $5\frac{1}{4}$ in., some seemed to have been the Roman foot before burning. The thickness of mortar between the course of stone and row of tiles above may give 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., and between bottom of stone and tile below, $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ in.

The upright mortar joint between rag stone and that of tufa, in some cases, $\frac{3}{4}$ in., but mostly $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Thickness of mortar between tiles, $1\frac{3}{8}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. The tiles most likely do not work through the whole thickness of wall, but merely to each face. There was no direct herring-bone work at bottom, as is usual in foundations of Roman walls underground. The dimensions did not work with the Roman foot (of $11\frac{5}{8}$ inches and a fraction) or its parts, as is common in Roman walls, but worked fairly with our present foot.

From the documentary evidence I confess it seemed strongly to me that it had been built, or rather the chancel rebuilt, about 1072, by Archbishop Lanfranc, after the property became separately vested in the archbishops distinct from the monastic chapter. The fact of the durable *reconstruction* (as I take it) of the chancel, to the older but less durable wooden nave, so far as I can see, points distinctly to the then no doubt well fixed and understood responsibility of the archbishop to keep his chancel in repair, and equally understood responsibility of the parishioners of Stone to support the nave; on which they, therefore, expended no funds till they were legally obliged; and I cannot believe that such responsibilities were known or understood between the years 400 and 500, nor did Mr. J. H. Parker consider it possible after all. The building is the most remarkable of its sort I have ever seen, and well deserving of being brought to the notice of our Association.

Note.—Bingham, in the *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, xv, 5, § 1, says that in the twelfth century the cup ceased to be given to the laity in some dioceses. I think light is thrown on the date of erection by that fact and the existence of an original rail here.

OLD DEEDS OF ALL HALLOW CHURCH, BRISTOL.

BY J. F. NICHOLLS, ESQ., LIBRARIAN TO THE CORPORATION
OF BRISTOL.

ALL HOWEN (or All Saints') Church is of very early date, Wm. Wyreestre says earlier than the Norman era. Certainly the pillars at the west end, the vicar's chamber in the church, and some other parts of the building may claim to be at latest of the twelfth century. It was assigned to the use of the Guild of Kalendars in A.D. 1216, and contains many old deeds of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as well as a parish minute book of the fourteenth and fifteenth, which is full of much valuable matter. The oldest deeds bear no date, but are written in the character of the time of Henry III, and are generally witnessed by the Mayor of the year, some of whose seals are still attached.

At the commencement of the thirteenth century Bristol had a street just outside the city wall, close by the river From, called Skatepulle Street. In 1247 that part of our floating harbour over which the drawbridge is thrown was cut to receive the water of the above river. In 1248, 1264, 1267, 1277, etc., there are deeds conveying land thus severed by the "new trench" from different parties to William Selke, the rector, and others, in fee for ever, on payment of "a pair of gloves" or a silver obolus yearly, at the option of the grantor; in the later deeds the fee was increased to 2s. and half a pound of cummin. It may be that this pungent aromatic seed, then so commonly used, was intended to counteract the garlic and onions which formed so large an item in the daily food of the people.

In another deed, dated 1271, Margaret, daughter of William le Clerk, gives to Walter de Panes ground lying between that of Laurence the hangman and other land belonging to the Dean of Bristol (strange juxtaposition), on the tenure of one rose on the day of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and 3³/₄d. on Hockday, on which day it was the custom for women of all classes to sally out into

the streets, seize upon and bind with cords the men, until they paid a small sum as ransom or Hock money. Madge here made sure of her money and the right man.

There was, however, an additional burden imposed on this land,—the tenant was to pay 2d. sterling or a pound of cummin, at their option, to the heirs of John Pittrain. This land extended backwards from Worshypeleepe Street to the churchyard of St. Mary-le-port, and the deed utterly explodes a Bristol myth, viz., that Oliver Cromwell used to moor his barge to a post in St. Mary-le-port churchyard, which post was well known to many now living. It is in vain we show people that the church is on a hill sixty feet above the river at high tide, and eighty yards from it; the credulous will have a “pill” (creek) in the rock, or a rope long enough to hang a frigate, rather than give up “Noll and his barge”; but here, unfortunately for the tradition, the deed shows that four centuries before the Protector became Lord High Steward of Bristol there were a street and gardens between the river and the said church. In fact, the hangman’s land lay there. Forty years after the above date, or in A.D. 1311, John Whish, a burgess of Bristol, grants to Humfrey Wen, of Cirencester, 10s. a year out of a teneement in Worship Street. Wen is the family name of the hangman, and he is said to be a co-burgess of the city. What city? Bristol was not a city. Did Cirencester at that age retain its Roman appellation? Again, to this day ignorant and superstitious people here in the west seek a rope with which a man has been hanged, in order to strike therewith and cure wens on the neck. Query, has this absurd practice arisen from a pun upon the Bristol hangman’s name and occupation? His name occurs on several deeds of about that date. These deeds throw also considerable light upon the origin of names. Thus Richard de Welles came from that city and settled in Bristol; here he grew to be wealthy; he had, we find, five halls, six shops, and two cellars in Worshypeleepe Street, besides other property mentioned in St. Peter’s parish; when his daughter grants this land, we find that he had become ere his death Richard Richman, in which name she signed. This is confirmed by deeds still extant in Wells, in which we also see that he began as “de Wells”, but ended by founding the influential family named Richman, in Somerset.

Many of the names are evidently from birth towns, de Kardeff, de Frampton, le Derby, Northfolk, etc.; others from occupations, Langboard, Shumakre, Spyce, Cokys, Webber, Taker, Weaver, John le Taverner, Hosteler, Blanket (the family that first introduced the manufacture of the Blancquette). Then, again, we find Moneypenny, Finepenny, Beaupenny, Testoon, etc., names that ring like old gold, and tell their own tale. Wellshot, Springam, Belleyeater, Snake, Pickrage, Freebody, Winfield, etc., plainly show their origin, whilst Wil-son, Tom-son, Jack-son, come evidently by descent.

From these deeds I next give you a curious legacy of a curse. In 1254 Peter de Worcester sought to evade that clause in Magna Charta which forbade any one to give land by will to a religious house. When he died his widow braved the law which her husband had feared, and, giving the land, devised that if her heirs at any future time sought to reclaim it, then, on the sole statement of the vicar in possession, the Dean of Bristol should, with candles lighted and bells ringing in all the churches of Bristol, publicly excommunicate the said heirs, until they desisted, and before the ban was removed they were to pay all costs, which were to be adjudged by their opponent, the vicar. That the curse was deemed valid is shown by the fact that this land is held by the church to this hour.

There are several deeds that convey land for a chantry chapel, or a lamp to burn for ever in the said church for the benefit of the departed souls of ancestors, notably one by the vicar, Wm. Selke, for his father, mother, all his predecessors, and (liberal soul) all his successors in the said church for ever. The charge for this eternal bequest of a lamp was 2s. per annum on the land.

In a deed, without date, but between 1340-70, Cecilia de la Warr conveys a house and land to William de Novo Burgo with this strange condition attached, that he may give, sell, or exchange the same to any "save religious men and Jews". Again, after her marriage with Howell, son of Worgan, Archdeacon of Llandaff, she and her husband attach the same condition to a second deed. One of our Bristol historians, in treating on this fact, fills seven pages with rambling statements, and supposes that she did this in revenge, because the vicar remonstrated with her when

she was about to become an archdeacon's bride, or, in other words, the leman of a celibate priest. But it was the archdeacon's son, a layman, whom she married. This seems to be the explanation:—Wickeliffe was then in the height of his crusade against the "religious", *i. e.*, the mendicant, friars. Purney, his favourite disciple, was daily preaching in the streets of Bristol against them. These were the men whom Catherine de la Warr classes with the accursed Jews.

These "religious" had got from her father a site in St. Ann's Wood, and another on the bank of the From. She, probably a Wickliffite, hated them, even as they did the secular clergy and the Kalendars. Besides, strange to say, this same William Newbury (no longer de Novo Burgo) left a bequest in 1414, out of this very property, of 20s. to the said church of All Saints, and a further annual charge of 6s. 1d., that he might be prayed for, and have his name recited in "Ye General Mynde".

An eminent local architect read a paper before the Archæological Institute in 1853, during its sederunt in Bristol, in which he contended that St. Andrew's Church was one of four at the intersecting angles of the main streets of this city. The spot is now occupied by a wooden building that was brought from Holland. He mentions the crypt as giving existing evidence of the church's site. Now, the ribs therein spring from quadrangular corbels, and the bosses are of the Perpendicular date, being, at the earliest, fourteenth century work. There are similar cellars in the street, and the work is too slight to be ecclesiastical. Besides, Wm. Wyreestre, who gives the measurement of this street and of the other churches, never mentions St. Andrew's; he lived from 1415 to 1473; it is clear, then, that these cellars had been built for fifty years in his day. In fact, they were merchants' cellars for stowage. But where, then, was St. Andrew's? A deed bearing date A.D. 1520, but based on a will dated A.D. 1477, informs us that the church now known as St. Peter's was the church of SS. Peter, Paul, and Andrew.

We have records showing that the Church of St. Giles was A.D. 1301 consolidated with St. Leonard's, and St. Lawrence's Church was in 1580 absorbed into St. John's, etc.; but of any parish or church of St. Andrew we have no note, save in this single deed, which proves it to be identical with

St. Peter's. The preceding are some of the extracts from these interesting documents.

We turn now to the valuable parish minute book. The first we note is an agreement to rebuild a house in High Street (where the china shop now stands) for £6 : 13 : 4. Stephen Morgan is to make well, workmanly, and surely, of good timber and boards, a house in Goldsmith Street (High Street), with floors, windows, doors, partitions, joists, laths, lattices, between the Bull and John de Cork, Cow-esor. The area is 19 by 10 ft. by 10 by 4 ft. of assize, there is to be a shop, a hall above, with an oriel (small dining room), and a chamber above; if Morgan was forward in his work he was at Christmas next to be paid £3, at the flooring he was to draw 33s. 4d., and at the finish he was to have the balance, together with all old material. The agreement was witnessed by the Mayor, his seal was attached, and it is dated 17th November, 12 Ed. IV, 1472.

We now briefly touch upon "The General Mynde", or a record of the good and bad deeds of the parishioners. In this parish, from A.D. 1407, it was the custom for the priests to "urge ye hole paryshe to ye general mynde, and if any man absent hymself he be fyned 4d."; if a counsellman, 1s. 4d. The costs of the gathering, at first only 2s., grew in time to be 14s. In 1472 we find the following curious bill for the feast:

	s.	d.
Imprimis—For lofe brede, cakys, an otr spyceries	3	2
" a deson ale	0	12
" bekyng ye seyd cakys	0	2
" redde wyne—swete wyne	4	4
" vi prestes an ye clerke	0	22
" ryngyng of ye belle	0	10
Sum of costys	11	4

When the people were gathered the priests read from the book—

"These beyn ye names of ye good doers.

"Roger le Gurdeler gave unto ye sayd church, unto ye worschyppe of ye pcious and glorious sacramento, to be bor in a coope of selyyr gulde wryn and wtowte, wt a keyver, and a crucefexe on ye hed, wt preouse stonys worscepyfly endewed, and a littel cuppe, and a spoone both yn gulde weyinge 45 oz. 7 dwts. And that this coope, cuppe, and spoone be not alienyd, solde, nother brokeyn, under peyn of cursyng, as yt aparyeth by wrytyng under the Dene ys sele." Then all the people cried "God ha m'ey on his sowle."

Two and thirty pages follow, the items being marvellously

curious, and greatly differing in value, the most striking being the "dance of Powllys", which Rogers reads the dance of souls, Lucas, the dance of Pauls, but which was, we have no doubt, a puppet dance, the dance of polls, or heads. When the list of good doers was read, and the refrain had ceased to echo through the ancient aisle, then followed the names of the evil doers, *i. e.*, as far as their actions had affected the church; for instance, in 1472—

"Note yt Jno Schypward wtheld and wtdrew rent of assyze of ye house yn Skadpulle St. now Marsthe St. in wch dwellyd Nycoll Stocke maryner wt tyme ot of mynd had peyd 2s." Then the people cried, "God amende hym."

This continued yearly until,

"Jno Schypward the younger, in order to deliver ye sowles of his fader and moder of p'g'tory and to have his own sowle prayd for among ye good doers, he in 1484 delyvered to us our old possesscion of yt ageyn."

Strange to say, amongst the evil doers appears the name of our great citizen, Wm. Canynges. In 1472, four years after Canynges became a priest, and again in 1473, when he was Dean of Westbury College, there is this entry—

"Item. For a rent of assize for a place in St. Peter's parish the which Syr William Canynges wrangfully wtholds from us, 6d. God amend hym."

This rent had been paid by him from 1443 to 1468; why he withheld it does not appear; but from 1479 it was again regularly handed over to the church. The church also possessed a duplicate skull of St. Thomas à Becket, but that entry some conscientious Kalendar scored out. The books of devotion, handsome, costly, and valuable, were chained to pillars, or enclosed in grydlys (gratings). One of these was stolen by pilgrims, and taken as an offering for sin to St. James's Shrine, Compostella, in Galicia. It cost two brethren a journey to Spain to recover their lost treasure. The library of the Kalendars, containing eight hundred precious record volumes, was burnt in 1466, through the carelessness of a drunken poynt maker. It was said to have been over the Jesus aisle, which evidently meant over against (like the priest's house was, and still is, on the south), and not over above, for we find all the items for rebuilding it, the loss of rental debited, etc.; but there is not one penny extra charge for repairing the church, which, indeed,

must have been burned to the ground if this great fire had been, as our historians have supposed, *over the roof of the north aisle*.

In 1464 this library was open free to all comers from 7 A.M. until 11 A.M., the prior of the Kalendaries being at hand to explain obscure passages; he also gave a free lecture once a week. We think that this was the first free library in England, as the present city library, which dates from A.D. 1613, was also the first for printed books.

Curious entries of the cost of watching the sepulchre at Easter, the price of four knights, a Magdalen, etc., are given; a "longe dethe" cost 9s.; and "for mendyng dethe" (a job we should all like) the charge is 2d. Angels range from 8s. to 10s., but Judas, the mean traitor, is priced at 1s. Judas bells, that made night hideous by their discord on Good Friday, were regularly annually under repair at 2d. to 6d. a clapper,—in 1464 they were all re-clappered; the entries as to these bells are a hundred years earlier than in *Brand*, or in *Notes and Queries*.

The vestments were magnificent in 1454, when the church had twelve sets, such as the following: "Item, one pair black vestments with stars of gold and with orfres of white powdered with sylver"; they sent a man specially to London to bring home a new suit of robes, which cost them £100, equivalent to at least £1,600 of our money. And on "St. Catherine her Eve", they bought also "a peyr of organs weh cost £6 6s. 8d." Want of time and space forbid our continuing; many items of value to the archæologist, the historian, and the general public, must remain unrecorded.

The vicar and churchwardens of All Saints' deserve the best thanks of the community for conserving these treasures. But the careless laxity of those who suffer similar records to be lost or stolen, as is too frequently the case, extorts from us the cry over the evil doer, "God amend them."

WORLEBURY, OR CAMP ON THE WORLE HILL, IMMEDIATELY OVER THE TOWN OF WESTON-SUPER-MARE.

BY THE REV. H. M. SCARTH, M.A., VICAR OF WRINGTON
AND PREBENDARY OF WELLS.

THIS camp, visited by the Association during the meeting in Bristol in August, 1874, is one of the most curious and interesting pre-historic remains in this kingdom, and was at the commencement of the present century one of the most perfect. Since the growth of the town of Weston-super-Mare under its height, its defences have been gradually encroached upon, and its outworks destroyed, and it has lost some of its characteristic features, nevertheless much remains to instruct the antiquary and to entitle it to rank among the most curious of our Celtic remains.

It had attracted very little notice in the early part of the present century. Collinson, in his *History of Somerset* (1791), briefly notices the position,¹ and Rutter, in 1829, gave a brief description of the leading features, and calls it "a fortress of an extraordinary kind". It was not until the Rev. F. Warre undertook a careful examination of it, and commenced an investigation of the rampart and the cavities within the enclosure, that any correct idea was formed as to its real structure and contents. The results of his researches are given in the proceedings of the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society for 1851, pp. 64 and 125, and for 1853, p. 125. He obtained a carefully drawn plan and measurement, and spent much time in investigating and recording whatever he discovered, having at successive times resided at Weston for the benefit of his health.

In the spring of 1856, having myself spent some weeks at Weston, and residing immediately under the hill in which the camp is placed, I was enabled to verify the truth and

¹ Collinson, in his *History of Somerset* (introduction, p. xii), says: "Northward from Uphill is a flat, sandy strand, two miles in length, to Anchor Head, at the west end of Worle Hill, which is another vast, rocky eminence, and a remarkable object by sea and land. Here formerly the sea enlarged its bounds, and flowed to Banwell, Churchill, and other adjacent places, evident vestiges thereof being left behind in marine plants, shells, and petrifications."



CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

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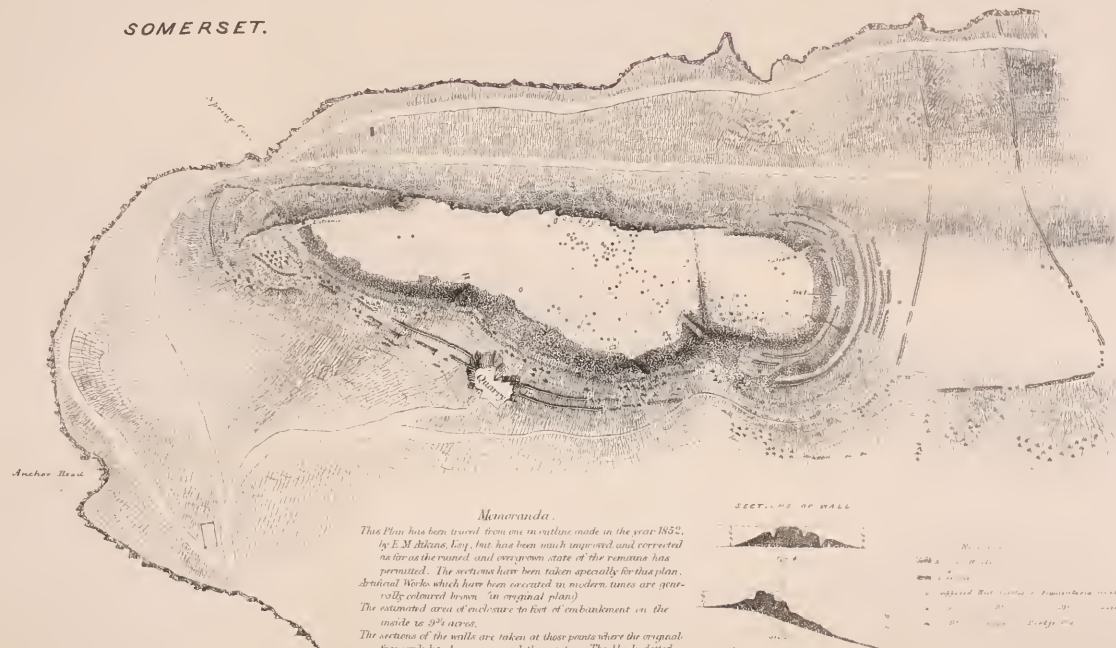
W., 1,000—3/11/1900.

CAMPS.

WORLEBURY,
NEAR
WESTON SUPER MARE.
SOMERSET.

BRISTOL

CHANNEL.



Memoranda.

This Plan has been traced from one in outline made in the year 1852, by E. M. Atkins, Esq., but has been much improved and corrected as far as the ruined and overgrown state of the remains has permitted. The sections have been taken specially for this plan.

Artificial Works which have been erected in modern times are generally coloured brown. (in original plan.)

The estimated area of enclosure is 100 acres.

The sections of the walls are taken at those points where the original line-work has been uncovered the most. The black dotted lines show the probable stone slope before these were exposed.

SECTION OF WALL



Scale 1/2 inch = 100 feet
 1. original plan
 2. modern times
 3. supposed that existing remains were erected
 4. 1/2 inch = 100 feet
 5. 1/2 inch = 100 feet

accuracy of his statements, and also had the advantage of his personal explanation of its structure. I spent much time in exploring the different parts, being deeply interested in such remains, and feeling certain that the rapid progress of building in the immediate neighbourhood must soon destroy many interesting features. Since then others have taken an equal interest, and a small work has lately been put forth under the editorship of the Rev. William Jackson, M.A., F.S.A., which is stated to be only preliminary to a larger and more detailed account. It fell to me last autumn to guide the Association over it in a somewhat hurried manner, but the leading features were pointed out, and the party visiting the camp was conducted from near the landing place on the channel at Kew-Stoke up the ancient steps, through the cattle enclosures, and into the camp at the north-east extremity, where it is fortified by no less than seven lines of entrenchment. The circular enclosures within the first division were then noticed, and the party passed out through the main entrance of the fortress, noting as they passed the huge dimensions of the ramparts and the lesser works in advance of them. The following account is put together that those who then saw it may be more fully informed of the nature of the structure, and those who have not may have a clear notion of the magnitude and extent of the works. I believe there is no fortress in this kingdom constructed on exactly the same principles. There are many larger, but not so elaborate, and their walls are of a simpler construction. The fortress most resembling the Worle Hill is one on the coast of Brittany, called Ar Chastel Coz, or the Old Castle, Finisterre.¹

Description of the Worle Hill Encampment.—The form is irregular, crowning an eminence overlooking the Bristol Channel, ascent precipitous to the north, difficult on the west and south, but accessible on the east. The whole is defended by a very strong rampart of piled stones, in places 100 feet thick on the south side, on the north 10 feet; a second and lower rampart surrounds the south side, but this is increased to four times the thickness on the east side, and also between the two large ramparts on this side is a lesser one; at the east end are seven distinct ramparts with piled stone; two lesser ramparts run round the face of the south

¹ See *Arch. Journ.*, No. 116, vol. xxix, 1872.

slope at a lower level ; behind and in front of these are platforms for slingers. The entrances are one on the north-east, two on the south side, one at the west. On the east side of the camp may be observed cattle enclosures, and beyond, on the north, is a landing place from the channel, commanded by platforms for slingers. These platforms are observable all around the south, east and west portions. A correct plan is given in the Somerset Archæological Society proceedings, by Mr. Martin Atkins, 1852. The space enclosed by the inner rampart is about a quarter of a mile, with a medium breadth of 80 yards, and the area $9\frac{3}{4}$ acres. The shapeless masses of stone which now appear were once *dry walls* built above the ditches, and much higher than at present. The area is divided into two unequal portions. The eastern trenches have no appearance of walls. There was a stony flanking outwork at the western entrance. The area is full of hut circles from 28 to 30 feet in diameter. These are common in all ancient British settlements, as those on Dartmoor and on the Mendips, near the fortified camps. Some of these circles were lined with *dry stone masonry*, a drawing of one is given by Mr. Warre. The area would accommodate a considerable population, but the population seems also to have resided in the vicinity, as at St. Kew's steps. This is a flight of steps leading from the village of Kew-Stoke to the top of the hill, numbering about two hundred, and probably extending formerly to the channel, and appears to have been the landing place of the settlement on the north-east side of the camp. On the south-west side an ancient causeway, which led to the camp, has been almost entirely obliterated by the houses and gardens of the south road. This originally communicated with the sea, and, according to Mr. Jackson's statement, in his interesting lecture on this camp (October, 1871), "One of the most aged fishermen remembered its turning off from Birnbeck Road, opposite Sutton House, before the south road was made. It branched upwards as late as 1857, at a point still marked by a thorn tree on the lawn of Rock House, about twenty-five paces to the east of Trinity Church. It ascended the hill slantingly, its lower edge fringed at intervals by platforms, and penetrated the outer line of defence opposite the great gate. There are yet traces of it in and outside several gardens. The ancient

causeway went on until it pierced the south-west angle of a trench and rubble dyke enclosure, lying behind the wall of Holland Lodge, and penetrated by the wall at its further or south-east angle." This causeway led to a large penfold intended to receive cattle; such folds are commonly found in or near ancient British settlements.

The camp is divided into two unequal portions by a stone rampart and ditch. At the north-west angle there was an old trackway close to the edge of the cliff and near to Spring Cove, where we find the *well*. Down the rocks on the side were remains of old walling and platforms for slingers, which protected a pathway leading to the dripping well, and other paths can be traced leading to the well, and these also are protected, but the defences are now a confused heap of stones and rubbish; special care seems to have been taken to protect the approaches of the well.

There is a *fishing ground* at Birnbeck, but no landing place on the shore opposite to which these pathways point; the landing place was at Kew-Stoke further to the east. The entrance at the north-west angle is small, and kept open communication with the outworks on the west, and with Spring Cove. The eastern portion of the camp is entered by a gate to the north-east, and this entrance is covered by stone ramparts and ditches, and allows of ingress and egress towards Kew-Stoke, where is the long flight of steps to the landing place. These are the principal entrances, but there are also traces of a south entrance through the main wall, but much narrower than the other entrances.

Mr. Warre caused excavations to be made in various places, and superintended them himself. He found skeletons in the hut circles. The skull of one showed marks of violence, and also the bones of others. Fragments of coarse black pottery were found in others. The deposits in all are nearly the same. 1, earth washed from the surface; 2, rubble and pieces of rock, to the depth of 5 feet; 3, black earth, fragments of wood; 4, broken stones; 5, destroyed thatch, apparently burnt, and *firwood roofing* (*middle strata*); 6, sling stones; 7, arrow-heads formed from spar; 8, coarse pottery; 9, plates of thin lias; 10, several kinds of poor grain, bones of birds, and remains of small Celtic cattle (*lowest remains found*).

Metallic and bone remains found in the circular pits consist of—1, a few pieces of bronze; 2, two rings of iron (below the roofs which had fallen into the pits), apparently hid away (query, ring money); 3, a bead of blue glass.

The triangular platforms have now nearly all disappeared, but what remain are worthy of observation, particularly those flanking the hollows on the sides of the hill. It is supposed that they were for slingers, who could thus cover the retreat of friends, or oppose an advancing foe. Some of them on the north side seem to cover the landing place. There seem to have been places for shelter under the rampart, probably for sentries. There are also small circular sinkings in the main walls, as if to admit timber uprights, and support a wooden structure. All assailable points were covered by triangular platforms. The points of these are in the hill side, the base looks towards the open country below, but the increase of building and the formation of roads have nearly obliterated these. The walling of masonry in front of the platform was about breast high, and strengthened by a ditch. This masonry may have been crowned by a palisade. It is doubtful if the fortifications at Worle Hill are all of the same date; they have probably been added to in course of a long occupation.

Structural Masonry of the Ramparts.—The confused masses of stone are the remains of dry walls built perpendicularly. The original structure is shown in places where the loose stones have been removed. The Rev. Mr. Jackson notices particularly the facing of the wall, which frequently consists of a large stone surrounded by smaller ones, forming a rough circle. This peculiarity had escaped Mr. Warre. The core of the wall is of dry rubble, “no dressing or tool work is discernible in the ramparts, but there are some few spots on the hill where either well-selected or tooled stones were employed”, no real bonding is found. The walls appear to have been built entirely of the loose stones lying about, which are found in such quantities on the sides of the hills and in the combes; no earth has been employed in the main defences of the camp. The walls are now about 35 feet high from the bottom of the ditch to the crown of the rampart, and wooden defences seem once to have been added and made to rest upon the stone rampart, and timber or wicker defences appear to have been carried along the top of the rampart.

Half-moon Structures.—Between the north rampart and the ridge are the appearances of hollows, like half-moons, banked up on the north side. These may have had protections of wicker work, or been covered with skins, thatch, or sail cloth supported on uprights. The earthen banks now alone remain, and each enclosure would contain thirty or forty persons.

Hut Circles.—These are very numerous, especially near the dividing ditch, and on the east side of it. They have pits dugged within them, which, according to the account given of them by the Rev. W. Jackson, were excavated along the line of limestone shakes, wherever the rock was found to be easily removed. Some are left unfinished, all were intended to be round, but some, owing to the imperfection of the tools used, are very imperfect circles. He supposes them to have been excavated by means of fir poles hardened by fire, as no traces of a metallic instrument can be found in this excavation. “The habitable fabrics over the excavations are traced above ground by low rubble banks and drainage channels.”

Mr. Warre supposes the camp to have been first destroyed in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, by the Roman General Ostorius, and deserted during the Roman period. The black earth and burnt wood usually found a few inches above the solid rock in most of the hut circles, are considered by him to be the remains of the roofs destroyed at this time, and the burnt corn and other objects found below the layer of black earth are the leavings of the inhabitants of this early period. The pottery is almost all of British manufacture. The position was probably occupied again after the Roman period, and attacked and overcome by the Saxons, about A.D. 577 or somewhat later, and the skeletons and iron weapons found within the cavity would belong to this period. Besides pottery Mr. Warre found many skeletons, “several bearing the marks of great violence, two very good iron spear-heads, several flint flakes, prepared for arrow heads, a quantity of bones of animals and water-fowl, corn more completely burnt at the top than below, showing that the fire came from above, a piece of horn of some animal, fashioned apparently into the mouth-piece of a musical instrument, and ornamented with a rude pattern; a piece of burnt wood with holes drilled through it, iron spikes,

similar to the one found piercing one of the skeletons, which were probably the heads of very rude javelins ; fragments of bronze and wooden ornaments ; three kinds of burnt grain, wheat, barley, and some kind of pulse, and parts of two concentric iron circles, lying one within the other.¹

The results of excavations made in the hut circles and other portions of the camp by the late Mr. Warre are now lodged in the Taunton Museum ; but since that time another collection has been made, which is smaller, but of interest, and is lodged in the Albert Memorial Museum, at Weston-super-Mare. The collections consist of human bones, skulls, fragments of coarse pottery, grain of different kinds, iron weapons, and iron rings.

Roman remains have also been found, pottery, "enough to fill several baskets, upwards of two hundred coins of the later empire, a great many glass beads, and fragments of bronze ornaments."

In the appendix to his papers Mr. Warre observes (Somerset Society proceedings, 1853, p. 126), "I discovered a peculiarity in the construction of the wall; instead of being a plain battering wall of dry masonry, I find the whole face of the rampart is composed of a series of platforms, about 3 feet in depth, and about 4 feet above each other, not placed regularly one over the other, but almost like scales, the whole finishing with a parapet, which acts as a breast-work to an internal platform. The outer face of the rampart is of piled masonry, sloping inwards very considerably, so that in fact the very steep side of the natural hill and that of the artificial rampart, which is not very much steeper, are fortified on nearly the same plan." An immense number of pebbles well calculated for sling-stones have been found immediately within the rampart.

Cattle Enclosures.—Beyond the camp on the north-east side, in the direction of Kew-Stoke village, at about 100 ft. after the last entrenchment is passed, we come upon the marks of an ancient enclosure running from south to north, and reaching from the rocky ground just outside the camp to the shore of the channel ; a similar parallel enclosure is found further still to the east, also reaching to the channel, and these are united by an enclosure to the south, running

¹ See figs. in *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society*, p. 12, 1852.

along the face of the hill, and beyond this are platforms for slingers to the south. This seems to have formed a protection for cattle.¹ Beyond these enclosures, still further to the east, where the hill terminates, we arrive at the flight of steps called *St. Kew's Steps*. A particular account of them, as well as a drawing, is given in *Somerset Archaeological Society Proceedings* for 1851, p. 77, and described as "one of the most remarkable features of the Worle Hill". It consists of a flight of two hundred steps leading from the top of the hill to the village of Kew-Stoke, and probably extended formerly beyond it to the sea, which in former ages seems to have encroached more on the land at this point. This seems to have been the *landing place* of the fortress. At the head of this pass appears to have been a military work intended to command the approach. On the left hand as you descend these steps is an excavation of an oblong form lined with masonry. This, when excavated, is said to have shown a succession of deposits and tokens of Celtic remains.² It was not investigated by Mr. Warre.

The name Kew-Stoke is supposed to be derived from a Celtic word, *kewch*, which signifies a boat, and that this was the *boat station* of the old Keltic population. It seems most probable that this fortress was held by a maritime population, who were occupied on the water, either by trading or predatory warfare; that they fortified themselves against attacks from the land side; and that outside their fortress a considerable population existed with their herds of cattle and other rural possessions.

CONTENTS OF PIT-DWELLINGS, WORLE HILL.

1. Surface debris, earth and stones, 3 to 4 feet.
2. Mouldering skeletons, mixed with teeth of horses, rough remains of iron weapons, skulls and bones, cut and bruised; javelin, or spear-head; ferule of a spear, dagger-knife, two rings, which may have been parts of a shield.

¹ See diagram in Rutter, p. 53, where this enclosure is very clearly defined.

² "Excavating downwards there was found, first, a Caroline sword-handle; next, a spur of the fifteenth century; then some mediæval pottery, much like Devonshire ware; next, a Saxon dagger-knife; and under all, coarse Celtic pottery, the same as that found under the roofs at Worlebury." See Rev. W. Jackson's Lecture.

The cuts upon the femur, humerus, and skull of skeletons were made with cutting instruments, as swords or the like, but none have been found entire.

Between the pits and a point where the walls have been broken through, for a space of twenty feet, was found much dark soil, many fragments of bone, but no arms, also the lumbar vertebræ of a young person with ossified cartilages, apparently produced by excess of labour. The skull of a young man or of a woman, with axis and atlas ossified to each other, is preserved in the Albert Museum, Weston-super-Mare.

The human remains found betoken men of large stature, as may be judged from the shoulder bone and blade of one, probably a man seven feet high; one skeleton was found in a hole, near the part where the rampart had been broken through, lying above two others. The thigh bone of the larger had been cut. A crumbling skeleton was found lying in a hole with the spear-head that had killed him. The spear had been stuck through the back.

These were the first contents of the pits.

3. Another layer of loose stones and rubble, and below this blackened fragments of roof tree and thatch. The holes are thus divided into upper and lower divisions. These decayed roofs had sheltered the more primitive inhabitants of Worlebury. No human remains have been found under them, except one ball and socket joint pierced apparently for stringing, no arms of any kind of metal; sling stones in abundance. These are now found at Sand-point, and may have been obtained anciently nearer the camp, as at the landing place near Kew-Stoke. In two holes were found pieces of spar rubbed down, apparently for arrow heads, heaps of wheat, barley or oats, mixed together, pulse, bones of pigs, oxen, and birds. In one hole a pig's skull very neatly separated, and fitted with the cut side against the rock, as if placed there in a severed state. Remains of *bos longifrons*, now in the Taunton Museum, the skull, one whole foot, and part of another. Boards seem to have been placed under and between the different sorts of grain. Plates of lias for baking stones, part of a sedge mat or basket, a piece of wood hardened by fire, with a hole drilled in it, pieces of coarse pottery; these have been put together, and are now in the Museum at Taunton. A short length of horn, shaped like

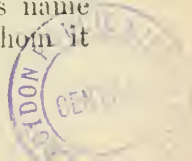
the mouth-piece of a musical instrument, with shallow ornamentation, apparently Celtic. Lumps of red ochreous earth, rubbed down, in one case, into the form of an egg. Stones rounded and pierced, apparently for spindles or weights. Bone necklace and beads, a bone pin, a comb of white horn, and a bronze torque, with a few other fragments in bronze. Two iron rings, each under two inches in outside diameter ; thick, and of small aperture. These have been placed under a ledge of projecting rock, as if of value. A blue glass bead marked with minute ridges or grooves, and hard enough to scratch good modern glass, the colour blue, transparent. This, with other articles, is in the Taunton Museum.

A fuller description of these articles is given in an interesting lecture delivered by the Rev. W. Jackson, M.A., F.S.A., Oxford, at Weston-super-Mare, September 28th, 1871, and printed in the *Somersetshire Herald*, 7th Oct., same year.

THE CHURCH OF HOLY CROSS, TEMPLE, BRISTOL.

BY JOHN TAYLOR, ESQ., LIBRARIAN OF THE BRISTOL MUSEUM
AND LIBRARY.

THE order of the "Poor Fellow Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon" was founded A.D. 1118. Armed with steel, and urged by zeal, they were to the legions of the cross living towers and bastions of defence, and to the Paynim foe slings and arrows of vengeance ; but no grand old bulwark of their own romantic days has been more utterly ruined and desolated than was five hundred years since their splendid and martial brotherhood. In some instances even the sites of their preceptories are a matter of question, and of these instances their house at Bristol is one. Whether, indeed, the Knights Templars had an establishment at Bristol has been doubted, and this doubt has been expressed in spite of tradition, prescriptive evidence, and the existence of the present so-called church of the Temple. Thus, in Pryce's *Popular History of Bristol* it is remarked, "The Church of Temple or Holy Cross derived its name from the military order of Knights Templars, by whom it



is believed to have been founded about the year 1145. *This, however, is questionable*, as churches known to have been erected by them are circular." They were, indeed, of all forms, but in the course of the late restorations the interesting discovery of the foundation of an earlier building revealed the fact that a church which formerly stood on the site of the present was circular, or rather of an oval outline, the dimensions being 43 feet by 23 feet. That such a structure had existed might have been inferred from an inventory of the time of Edward III (A.D. 1338) of the estates of the Knights Hospitallers in England, to whom the manors of the Templars had been granted upon confiscation. In that document, which details the extent of the lands and other properties of this rival order to the Templars, and is the report made to the grand master by Philip de Thame, prior of the English section of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, we find comprehended within the manor of Temple Combe, under the head "Bristole", that the successors to the Temple estates had here appropriated, besides certain rentals, a small church (*parva ecclesia*) of the value of four marks per annum. Within the Temple Combe district many other places are mentioned where property derived from the Templars was held, of which an account is given, but Bristol is the only place where a church is said to exist. This fact, of course, shows that the Redcross Knights not only here held property, but that they had in Bristol a religious settlement; and the small church of Prior Thame's report was doubtless the superstructure of the one whose foundation was recently disclosed.

In the year of the consecration of the Temple Church, London, the superior of the order in England caused an inquisition to be made of the lands of the Templars in this country, and the names of donors of these lands. The larger territorial divisions were in the register of their estates then obtained called bailiwicks, among the principal of which were London, Warwick, Guting, Lincolnshire, etc. Upon the great manors of the order prioral houses or commanderies were established, presided over by the procurators or stewards charged with the collection of the rents, and with the oversight of the farms and other estates in their neighbourhood. These priories became regular monastic establishments, inhabited chiefly by decayed knights, who had

fought beneath an eastern sun, and who, wearied with chasing the Pagans in the Holy Fields, retired to these retreats to spend the remainder of their days in the services of religion—vigils, penances, and fastings; hereafter perchance to lie

“in cross-legged effigy,
Devoutly stretched upon their chancel floors.”

The provincial houses were cells to the Temple in London. That south of the Avon, at Bristol, on the present spot, was in the district of “Gutinge”, and the land on which it was built had been granted to the soldier-monks by Robert Earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I, and the most powerful of the mailed barons who fought against King Stephen, and whose feats of arms included the capture and imprisonment of that sovereign in Bristol Castle. The cartulary of 1185 states that part of the Templar lands at Bristol had been built upon by the brethren themselves, and part by one Ralph of Kent and others.¹ The year after the date (A.D. 1338) of Prior Thame’s inventory already referred to, a return was made by Bishop Ralph de Salop, to the king, of the possessions of the order of St. John of Jerusalem in the diocese of Bath and Wells, where it is stated that the order had appropriated (besides other estates) the Temple Church in Bristol, from which 100s. a year is paid by the vicar of that church for the time being.²

Preserved in the church vestry is a charter of the twelfth year of Edward II, in which Richard Amory, knight (probably a quondam Templar) grants to the prior and fraternity of St. Augustine an acre of land adjacent to their own close, and contiguous to land which he himself held, that formerly belonged to the Templars.³ The Augustinian hermits had their abode against Temple Gate,⁴ which stood near

¹ “Apud Bristol, ex dono Comititis Roberti, quedam terra cujus pars ædificata est ab ipsis fratribus, et alia pars per hos homines, Radulphus de Kent pro uno masuagio xxd.”, etc. “Hæ sunt pertinentiæ de Bristol; apud Crukes, ex dono Baldwini Comititis, una marca, quam Hugo de Tulecumbe reddit. Apud Merieth, ex dono Henrici de Merieth, una virgata quam Walterus de Merieth tenet pro iiii. Apud Clohangre, ex dono Huberti de Peripont, quam tenet Galfridus de Sancto Mauro pro lxxv. Apud Pulesduue, ex dono Savari de Pulesdune, una virgata quæ reddit iiii. Apud Piritonam, ex dono Philippi de Columbariis, dimidia virgata, quam una domina tenet pro iiv.”—Dugd., *Mon.*, vi, 824.

² Hugo’s *Nunneries of Somerset* (Mynchin, Buckland), 56.

³ “*Quæ quondam fuit terra Templariorum.*”

⁴ “*Juxta portam vocatam Temple gate.*”

the entrance to the railway terminus at the south end of Temple Street. The date of this document (A.D. 1318), being only seven years after the dissolution of the order of the Templars, clearly identifies the present district with that formerly held by this fraternity. If further evidence were wanted, it would be found in the continuation to the Knights of St. John of privileges and immunities that had belonged to the ill-fated soldier-monks. By special grant from the kings of England these were empowered to hold courts, to judge their villeins and vassals, and to try thieves and malefactors; they were relieved from toll in all markets and fairs, and at all bridges, and upon all highways throughout the kingdom.¹ The privilege of sanctuary was thrown around their dwellings, and by various papal bulls it was solemnly enjoined that no persons should lay violent hands either upon the persons or the property of those flying for refuge to the Temple houses.

Not only on behalf of the master and brethren in the town of Bristol were these large prerogatives in actual force, but it appears even the tenants of lands and houses on the Templar estates made claim to the same privilege. These borrowed rights were, however, too much for the patience of the civic dignitaries and honest burghers. Accordingly, in the thirty-third year of Edward I, a petition of the mayor and burgesses of Bristol, that the tenants of the master and brethren in that town might be required to make contribution to the king's tollage with the other townsmen, for that they used all the liberties and franchises of the town, was decided by a writ of Chancery that the subjects of the Templars should be distrained for taxes and made amenable in the same courts as the other townsmen.²

The extraordinary powers and privileges proper to the order lingered here till the time of Henry VIII. In 1534 there was a controversy between the Lord Prior of St. John

¹ Dugdale, viii, 444; Addison's *Templars*, 59.

² Vide *Brady on Boroughs*, 106: "Ad petitionem Majoris et Burgensium Bristol, petentium quod Homines qui tenent Terras et Redditus Magistri et fratrum Templi, in Villa Bristol, Tallicentur et Contributionem faciant ad Tallagium Regis ejusdem Villæ cum Burgensibus ejusdem, sicut ipsi Mercantur, et omnibus aliis Libertatibus et Asiamentis usi sunt que ad dictam Villam pertinent, etc. Ita Responsum est. Distringantur pro Contributionibus et Tallagiis faciendis, et fiat justitia Conquerentibus et super hoc habeatur Breve Cancellariæ Majori et Ballivis Bristol."

of Jerusalem in England on behalf of his order (the heirs of the Templars) and the mayor and commonalty of Bristol, relating to the continued right of sanctuary in Temple Street, and of having a law day to hold court¹ with the usual privilege. These articles were denied by the mayor, and therefore the matter was referred to the Chief Justice and Chief Baron, who ordered that the liberty of sanctuary should be served in Temple Street without disturbance from the Lord Prior. What has been advanced will be sufficient to prove a religious establishment of the Temple knights to have existed on the present site.

Edward II at first stood up in defence of the Templars, refusing to believe in the absurd and abominable charges made against them, but he finally yielded eager compliance to the commands from the Vatican against the order. The king's writs were issued on the 20th December, 1307, to the sheriffs of the different counties for the apprehension of the accused knights. Among them was the Preceptor of Gutinge in Gloucestershire, within which Bristol was comprised. In due time he was apprehended and committed to the Tower. The excruciating tortures these chivalrous soldiers of the Cross were made to undergo, which wrung from them confessions of guilt where it is believed innocence would have been their true plea, is matter of common history. About twenty years subsequent to their terrible fate, the not less ill-fated Edward II was at Bristol Castle, from whose towers he might have gazed across the Avon upon the green meadows and monastery of the Temple; and if his own miserable circumstances could have afforded a time for reflection, he might have felt a touch of conscience for the mortal sufferings he had been instrumental in inflicting upon the illustrious brotherhood to whose consistory these men belonged. His own impending death of unutterable agony, a death which in the dying must have rivalled all the horrors that Dante has imagined, might well serve as a terrible Nemesis for the cruel evil he had wrought upon the proud but gallant red cross knights, men who on to the last kept the attribute assigned them by St. Bernard of being fierce as lions, but who had unhappily lost the second quality he also gave them of being meek as lambs. Their

¹ In Prior Thomas' report the value of the places perquisites of their court is ten marks. (*Hospitallers in England*, p. 184. Camd. Soc.)

pride, indeed, was their ruin, their "pride, rank pride, and haughtiness of soul". So true is it that "pride goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall."

In an inquisition made in the second year of Edward II, concerning the debts due to the Templars, consequent upon the confiscation of their estates, with all the circumstances of these debts being incurred, there is a rate dated from Bristol, Wednesday, March 26, 1309; and on the oath of William de Chilton, Gilbert Pokerel, senr., Gilbert Pokerel, junior, and nine others, it was declared that nothing was owing to the order.¹ There is an original deed² in existence of this Gilbert Pokerel the elder, who lived in Tucker Street, in which he grants (A.D. 1339) to his son Gilbert a tenement in the parish of Holy Cross of Temple, Bristol, on condition that 2s. shall be paid yearly, after the death of himself and his wife, to the said church for masses for their souls at the festivals of St. Simon and St. Jude.

The oldest portion of the present church is of the fourteenth century. To this period belongs St. Catherine, or the Weavers' Chapel, at the east end of the north aisle. Licence was given for this chantry by Richard II, A.D. 1392.³ A modern inscription attached (or that lately attached) to the south wall denotes that the "chappell and a piece of ground thereunto belonging (was) granted in the reign of Edward I to the Company of Weavers for their use for ever, 1299." As the church property had not at this period lapsed from the Templars, the donation referred to, if authentic, to the guild of weavers must have come from the knights themselves. I have not, however, been able to find prescriptive authority for the statement. In the east wall of this chapel is a four-light, trefoiled window of "bold and good character of the Decorated style."⁴ The other windows of the same chapel are square headed, with good tracery, also Decorated. The east window of the chancel is of five cinquefoil headed lights, with a drop arch. The north and south walls of the chancel contain each a square headed traceried window, similar to those in the Weavers' Chapel, and likewise of the fourteenth century. The remainder of

¹ *Gent. Mag.*, 1858, ii, 370.

² In the Bristol Museum and Library.

³ 16 Ric. II. "Pro cantaria in capella S. Katherinæ Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Crucis de Templo in suburbio villæ Bristoll." (Cal. Rot. Pat., 224B.)

⁴ Burder, Hine, and Godwin's *Architect. Antig. of Bristol*, p. 9.

the church, including the pillars of the nave and the north and south ranges of windows of the side aisles are of the fifteenth century or Perpendicular period. The "west window is a good specimen of five lights, with well moulded jambs."¹ The roof of the nave is vaulted, and divided into squares by oak ribs with carved bosses at the intersections. The tower consists of three stories with buttresses at three of the angles, and at the south-east an octagonal staircase, with buttresses. Above the west window, on each side of a two-light window now blocked up, is a canopied niche. The tower as far as the trefoil band, which terminates the first two stages, may be referred to soon after the year 1397, at which date Reginald Taylor, a hermit residing at the chapel of St. Brendon, on the highest point of Brandon Hill, bequeathed money towards its erection. According to William Worcester the tower was built anew in A.D. 1460, but this assertion can apply to only the upper stage, or that above the ornamental fillet. The interval occurring between these distinct erections is fairly attributable to the foundation of the earlier stories having sunk while the work was in progress, thus causing the alarming inclination for which the tower is so remarkable. The parapet overhangs the base as much as 5 feet.² The inclination is far from uniform, the foundation having gradually yielded as the work proceeded, "making the outline more of an arc than a straight line."³ An inspection of the interior of the tower shows an attempt was made to prevent an increase of inclination by a species of columnar buttress, relieved on the north side by a corbel.

It was enjoined by an ordinance of the time of Edward IV, contained in Ricart's *Calendar* "that on Seynt Kateryn's even (Nov. 4) the maire and sherif and their brethern (are) to walke to Seynt Katheryn's Chapell within Temple Church, there to heare theire evensong, and from evensong to walke unto the Kateryn halle, there to be worshipfully received of the wardeyns and brethern of the same; and in the halle theire to have theire fires, and their drynkyngs,

¹ Burder, Hine, and Godwin's *Architectural Antiquities of Bristol*, p. 11.

² "The perpendicular height of the tower, from the summit on the western side to the pavement below, is about 113 feet. By a recent measurement of our own we have ascertained that the top overhangs the base to the extent of 5 feet."—Burder, Hine, and Godwin.

³ Burder, etc., p. 10.

with spysid cake-brede, and sondry wyne; the cuppes merelly filled aboute the house, and then to depart every man home; the maire, sherif, and the worshipfull men redy to receyve at their dores Seynt Kateryn's players, making them to drynk at their dores, and rewardyng theym for their playes. And on the morowe, Seynt Kateryn's day, the maire, sherif, and their brethern to be at the Temple Church, and fro thence to walke with the procession aboute the towne, and retorne to the saide Temple Church, there to hire masse, and offere. And then every man retray home", p. 80. St. Catherine was the patroness of the weavers, whose guildhall has been recently destroyed.

Preserved in the vestry is the original royal licence for the foundation of a chauntry in this church by John Fraunceys, junr. The deed is attested by Edward III himself at Hertford, 28th January, 1331. A second deed, four years later, confirms to God, to the most glorious Virgin Mary, and to the procurators of this church, a certain messuage in Temple Street, together with nine shops, and four new shops, whose premises extended to the river Avon behind. This endowment was to secure a chaplain of honest and blameless life to celebrate all the offices of the church every day for ever; that is to say masses every day at the altar of the blessed Virgin Mary, together with the other services with the priests and clerks in the choir of the church, for the donor's soul, the soul of Agnes his living, and Mary his departed wife, his father and mother and children, and of all the faithful departed. The mention of four new shops seems to point to the time when Temple Street was being built.

ON AN ANELACE IN THE BAILY COLLECTION.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

Good old Geoffrey Chaucer, in the prologue of his immortal and world-renowned *Canterbury Tales*, when speaking of the Franklin or country gentleman, says that

“ At sessions ther was he lord and sire;
 Ful often time he was knight of the shire.
 An *anelace*, and a gipeiere all of silk,
 Heng at his girdel, white as morwe milk.”

These few lines of the poet laureate have done more to perpetuate the memory of the anelace, and render its name familiar to English ears, than all the examples of the weapon put together which are to be found in public and private collections. But familiar as the word anelace must be to every one of ordinary education, it is doubtful if many of the readers of Chaucer have ever seen an actual specimen of the antique implement, or have any very clear conception of its form and character. And yet that form may be tracked back to the palmy days of Egyptian and Assyrian history; and some writers consider the anelace as nothing more nor less than the mediæval equivalent of the classic *Parazonium*, which was carried by both Greeks and Romans suspended on the left side by a belt.

The anelace may be roughly described as a formidable dagger or short sword, the blade of which varied from 14 to 20 inches in length, very broad next the haft, and gradually tapering to a sharp point, and hence sometimes called *langue-de-bœuf*, from its fancied resemblance to the tongue of the ox, and this *sobriquet* is also occasionally applied to the *voulge*, on account of the shape of its long pointed blade.

The anelace, anelas, or analasse, for the spelling is thus varied, is believed to have received its title from having been worn at the girdle fastened by a ring or *annulus*. It was also called *pistos*, and seems to be the weapon known in France under the various designations of *braquemart*, *coustil à croc*, *épée de passot*, and *malchus*.

Matthew Paris, who wrote in the time of Henry III, makes mention of the anelace when speaking of Petrus de Rivallis, and appears to hint that it was an unbecoming thing for a priest to display, *gestans anelacium ad lumbare quod clericum non decebat*.

The old romance writers were wont to arm their sovereigns with the anelace. Thus in *Parthenopex of Blois*, originally composed in French about the thirteenth century, we are told that King Sornegur was provided not only with the weapon in question, but had also with him the narrow-bladed *misericorde* to deal the mercy stroke.

“ His misericorde at his girdle,
But lately prepared for its purpose,
And an *anelas* sharp-pointed;
Much could he do with these.”

And in *Morte d'Arthur* it is related that

“ Arthur with ane *anlace* egerly smyttes
And hittez ever in the hulke up to the hiltez.”

Sir Walter Scott in his *Rokeby* (Canto v, s. 15) assigns an anelace to Edmund of Winston, when arrayed as a harper “in mode of olden time”.

“ His garb was fashioned to express
The ancient English minstrel's dress,
A seemly gown of Kendal green,
With gorget closed of silver sheen,
His harp in silken scarf was slung,
And by his side an *anlace* hung.”

The anelace is represented at the sides of several monumental effigies, and for the sake of citing a few well marked examples mention may be made of the following :

On the brass of John Corpe, 1361 (35 Ed. III), in Stoke Fleming Church, Devonshire, the anelace is shown depending by a ring in the hilt from a broad decorated baldrick passing over the right shoulder and under the left arm. The weapon, if seen disconnected from the figure, might well pass for a delineation of an ancient Egyptian sword. The grip has concave sides and flat top, and the guard is somewhat lunate shaped, with the points directed from the blade. The scabbard seems to be mounted with metal locket, chape, etc.

The brass of Ralph de Knevyngton, 1370 (44 Ed. III), in Aveley Church, Essex, exhibits an anelace with the guard

or *quillons* deflected towards the blade, and with the flat top of the grip secured to the end of a long square-linked chain descending from the right *mameliere*, so that the weapon could not be lost during the confusion of battle.

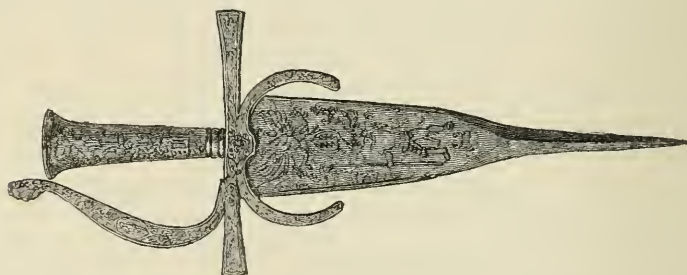
The anelace hangs from the waist girdle of a Franklin of the time of Edward III (*circa* 1370) in a brass in Shottesbrook Church, Berkshire; and the same mode of carriage is observed in the brass of Nicholas Cauteys in Margate Church, 1431 (9 Henry VI).

A fine brass in Gunby Church, Lincolnshire, to the memory of Sir William de Lodington (Attorney-General at the accession of Henry IV, and subsequently a judge) represents the anelace beneath the official robes. But we need not quit London to find a sepulchral effigy with the anelace, for it may be seen at the side of Sir John de Oteswich, lately in the Church of St. Martin's Outwich, Threadneedle Street, and now in that of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate Street.

Having shown the antiquity of the anelace, the origin of its title, its general contour, its attribution by old writers to different orders of society, and pointed out a few of the monuments whereon it is represented, we must proceed to the actual weapon which has evoked these recollections and remarks; a warlike relic which I will venture to affirm would be difficult to match in any English collection, and which, if I am rightly informed, is a type of exceeding rarity on the continent. The late Mr. J. W. Baily considered this anelace as one of the choicest items in his valuable assemblage of arms, and of which the following is a brief description. The whole weapon is of steel, its extreme length being about $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and it consists of three pieces, viz., the haft, guard, and blade. The pomel is flat topped and graven with what looks like four spiked crowns arranged to form a cross. The entire surface of the grip is engraved with arabesques. The flat-sided finger guard¹ has a satyric mask sculptured on either side at top, and some half way down is a cartouche with a little figure of a man in armour holding a spear in his right hand, and the rest of this portion of the hilt is enriched with arabesques, as are also the *quillons*. The cross-guard measures from end to end full $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and in its centre on one side is a quatrefoil, and on the other what may possibly be intended for an escarbuncle. The

¹ For a notice of sword-hilts with finger-guards, see *Journal*, xxi, p. 321.

blade is 14 ins. in length and $3\frac{1}{4}$ in width next the guard. On one side is engraved a double-headed eagle displayed, and lower down a warrior in armour with a lance in his right hand, in the manner of the figure on the finger-guard. On the upper part of the opposite side of the blade is a combat between two warriors, and both sides of the blade are enriched with bold and elaborate arabesques. Though the broader part of this blade is nearly flat, or only slightly convex, the lower portion is quadrangular, so that a transverse section would present a rhombic figure.



Both hilt and blade of this anelace are most peculiar in design. Demmin in his *Weapons of War*, p. 378, does indeed delineate an Italian anelace of the fifteenth century with a finger bar rising up and standing out in a somewhat similar fashion, but the hilt has no cross guard, nor deflected *quillons*, like the specimen before us, which may be assigned to the commencement of the sixteenth century.

The blades of anelaces are generally either plain, or treated with broad channels, but when engraving is added it is mostly of a very rich and elaborate character, as may be judged by the specimen now submitted and the few examples about to be cited. The collection of our first President, the late Lord Londesborough, contained a fine anelace, the blade of which, 17 ins. in length by 3 ins. wide next the deflected *quillons*, being slightly fluted, and graven on one side with a man with a drawn sword, habited in a jerkin and tight hose, and inscribed *INJURIA LACESSITUS*; and on the opposite side is a man sheathing his sword, and the words *IRAM COMPRIME*.

In the Loan collection at South Kensington in 1862 was an Italian anelace wrought *circa* 1500, on one side of the blade of which is graven an equestrian knight attended by

his esquire, in Roman armour, and other figures on foot carrying standards, moving towards a round temple containing the statue of a goddess with a shield, a lion at her feet, and a vase and sphinx above; the opposite side of the blade displaying an allegorical subject. And this portion of the weapon bears the armourer's mark of a castle. The quillons curve towards the blade, and the grip is thus inscribed, NVN-QUAM POTEST NON VIRTVTI LOCOS (*sic*). A sixteenth century Italian anelace in the same collection had a blade fluted or channeled in three bands of four, three, and two towards the point, the centre engraved and damascened with guilloche pattern and amorini, and exhibiting the armourer's mark of a crescent. Another anelace of the same date and country has its slightly channeled blade engraved with horsemen, dogs, and nude figures; and on one side the words GENTIL' HOR' ADALTO; and on the other, VIRTV CONDVCE (*sic*). On the horn grip is a further legend, NECESSITVDO + HOMINES + TIMIDOS + FORTES FACIT.¹

Though the five examples of the anelace delineated in Skelton's *Meyrick* (pl. 62) exhibit no high degree of embellishment, yet as a good series in an eminent collection, and extending as they do in date from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, a short notice of them here may not be considered altogether beside the motive of this communication. The earliest is of the time of Edward IV (1461-83) and has a swelling reeded grip, hemispherical pomel, and straight cross guard. The blade, 18 ins. long and full $4\frac{1}{2}$ wide at top, is wrought with broad channels. The two next weapons in point of date are assigned to the reign of Henry VII (1485-1509). The ivory hilt of the first has a little knob projecting out on the two opposite edges of the grip in a most inconvenient manner, and the points of the semi-circular *quillons* are directed towards the channeled blade, which latter is 20 ins. in length and covered with elegantly designed etchings. The second anelace of the time of Henry VII bears a close resemblance in outline to the preceding, but is of less ornate character. An anelace of the time of Henry VIII (1509-47) differs much from either of the above. The pomel is a compressed spheroid, the grip

¹ Weapons with inscribed hilts are far rarer than those with lettered blades. I have an octangular bone grip of the seventeenth century, on which is written, with nitrate of silver, the following declaration in Low German, "*Alles met Liefde niet met Geweldt*" (all with love, not with violence).

carved in alternate bands of rings and ribs ; and the small slight *quillons* terminate in knobs bending pointwards. The latest anelace in the Meyrick collection has much the aspect of a spontoon. It is of Prussian fabric, graven with the initials F. W. R. in cipher, surmounted by a crown, and accompanied by the words REGENT : PRINTZ CARL : and POTSDAM. The grip is annulated, and the ends of the straight *quillon* turn in inverse directions.

As yet but one allusion has been made to the scabbard of the anelace, namely to that represented on the brass of John Corpe, 1361, but it is an article of too much importance in connection with our subject to be passed by in silence. Like the scabbards of other mediæval weapons of the sword and dagger class it was most generally of *cuir bouilli*, more or less richly embossed, and accoutred with metal, and was not unfrequently provided at back with one or two little sheaths for the reception of a small knife, or pair of knives as the case might be, employed in cutting the thongs of armour, piercing holes and for various purposes during a campaign. This little knife-dagger, so remindful of the *skein dhu*, which forms the frequent companion to the Highland dirk, and the pair of knives carried on the outside of the sheath of the Goorkha *Kookery*, was termed *bastardean*, and Verona was long and greatly famed for its manufacture.

As the ostensible purpose of this communication was a description of the anelace in the Baily collection it may seem to some that I have diverged somewhat far from the starting point, and been too diffuse on extraneous matters, but my aim has been to surround the chief and central weapon with notices of allied implements, which though bearing certain general family resemblances to it, differ so much from it in detail that its novel points of interest are thus rendered more clear and conspicuous, and the assertion of its rarity placed beyond the reach of doubt and question.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO BRISTOL AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.R.S.L., HON. SECRETARY.

A VERY interesting collection of charters relating to the religious houses and to the burgesses of Bristol is preserved in the Bristol library, of which the authorities kindly have permitted the Association to make use, for illustrating the ancient and mediæval state of the city and suburbs. From this collection I have made extracts of all that appears to me of importance, and I trust the perusal of the following notes and texts, which I have arranged in chronological order, will afford some new matter to the future historian of the city. To the series I have added a short account of the records of the corporation and some notes of deeds in the British Museum, and of others kindly lent by Mr. Bowman of Bristol.

[The Arabic numerals correspond with the arrangement of the charters in the Bristol library.]

No. 172. Confirmation by Simon, Bishop of Worcester (A.D. 1125-1150), to the Abbey of Tewkesbury, of various grants, including the Church of St. Peter, Bristol. Among the witnesses are Robert, Abbot of Winchelcunbe (A.D. 1138-1152); Thomas, Abbot of Pershore (A.D. 1138-1162); Gervase, the Archdeacon of Worcester (*circa* A.D. 1134), or of Gloucester in 1148 and 1155. This is a very important deed.

"S. dei gratia Wigorniensis episcopus Abbatibus prioribus Archidiaconis Decanis Clero et populo per episcopatum Wigorniensem constitutis: Salutem in Christo et benedictionem. Universitati vestre notificamus, in honore domini nostri Ihesu Christi et Sanctæ Genetricis ejus MARIE nos concessisse et Episcopali Auctoritate confirmasse Abbatibus et Monachis Sanctæ Mariæ Theokesberiæ ecclesias et decimas et alia ecclesiastica beneficia quæ ad victum et necessaria fratrum eidem venerabili loco Nobilis viri Roberti filii haimonis vel aliorum fidelium Christi largitione sunt collata. Ecclesiam parochialem Sanctæ Mariæ de Theokesberia cum capellis adjacentibus et cum omni jure parochiali in toto feudo ejusdem manerii. Capellam videlicet de fortelintona et de Bisselega cum pertinentiis suis preter duas partes decimæ domini, Capellam de Estehireh, Capellam de hoxenduna, Capellam de Wasseburna cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, Ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Bristol cum pertinentiis suis intra burgum et extra, et cum decimis

dominicorum reddituum de Brsto (*sic*), Ecclesiam de Tornebiri cum pertinentiis suis, Ecclesiam de Sopebri cum pertinentiis suis, Ecclesiam de Meresfeld cum pertinentiis suis, Ecclesiam de Feireford cum pertinentiis suis, Ecclesiam de Cheddeslega cum pertinentiis suis, Ecclesiam de Leche cum pertinentiis suis, Ecclesiam de Seneduna cum pertinentiis suis, Ecclesia de Stanweia cum pertinentiis suis, et capellam de Leomentona, Capellam de Stanlega cum pertinentiis suis preter sepulturam, Decimam Frederici de Botintona, Decimam domini de Kenemertona, Decimam dimidiam Drogonis Pohor de Wictfeld, Decimam Nicolai de Cheteslega, Decimam Iupelli de hursta, Decimam Willelmi de hersefeld, Decimam de Pulla, Decimam domini de Swella, Decimam de Bichamareis, Duas partes decimæ domini de Grenhamsteda et de Seineburia, Duas partes decimæ domini de Aldrintona et de dikalesdona, Decimas de Dudicota, Ecclesiam de Amenel, quæ fuit Winchbaldi de Baalun, cum pertinentiis suis, Insuper in die qua Cimiterium Ecclesiæ Sancti Jacobi edificandæ apud Bristo dedicatum est: quoniam assertione communi recognitum est Ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Bristo quæ est Theokesberiensis cenobii possessio: primitivam et principalem esse omnium ecclesiarum de Bristo: episcopali auctoritate statuimus, ut nullus ejusdem burgi absque nostra licentia alibi sepeliendum efferatur, nisi ad Theokesberiam, vel Wigornensem ecclesiam. Statuimus etiam ut eadem ecclesia Sancti Jacobi cum pertinentiis suis jure perpetuo sit ecclesiæ Theokesberię subjecta. Omnes vero predictas ecclesias cum terris decimis et obventionibus supradicto monasterio Theokesberię auctoritate qua deo volente fungimur: tenendas quiete et pacifice concedimus et confirmamus. Salva nostra canonica justitia. Testibus Roberto Abbate Winchele', Thoma Abbate persore, Gervasio Archidiacono, Os[er]to capellano Episcopi, Theodelino, Willelmo Capellano de Theokesberia, Willelmo Cancellario, Ingelbaldo Decano, Thomæ [patre] Turstani¹ Arch'. Samsone de Sautemareis."

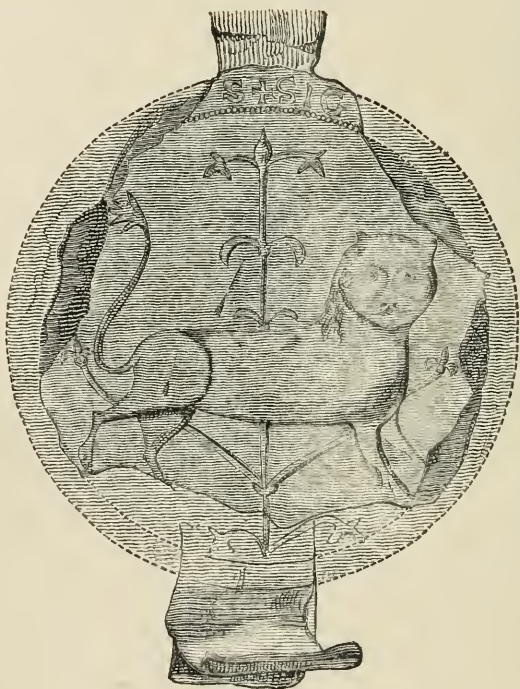
Induction by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury [A.D. 1138-1160], of Turstin, Priest of Bristol, to the Church of St. Owen, given to him by Robert Earl of Gloucester [ob. A.D. 1147], and confirmed by Simon, Bishop of Worcester [A.D. 1125-1150]. The date is about A.D. 1150-1160.

"T. dei gratia Cant' Archiep'e' et Anglor' primas. Omnibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ fidelibus salutem. Sciatis nos Turstino sacerdoti de Bristold' ecclesiam S'e'i Audoeni de Bristold' cum omnibus appendiciis ejus quam R. Comes Gloec' ei in elemosinam dederat concessisse et presentis scripti nostri munimine confirmasse sicut venerabilis frater noster Simon Wigorniensis epe' ei illam concessit et carta sua confirmavit precipientes ut bene et libere et quiete teneat hoc addentes et omnimodis interdicientes ne aliquis decetero ecclesiam predictam inquietare aut ejus bona quæ canonice possidet minuere, aut aliqua vexatione temere infestare presumat. Quod ei quis presumpserit anathematis vinculo innodatus donec condigne satisfecerit: firmiter teneatur. Val't'."

No. 174. Grant by Adam de Heli, clerk of the Earl of Gloucester, to Robert, son of Swein, of various lands and

¹ Thurstin was Archdeacon of Gloucester in A.D. 1122.





SEAL OF WILLIAM, EARL OF GLOUCESTER.

A.D. 1147—1173.

houses held by Blakeman, Lewinus Lari, and Hugo Margan, from the market of Bristol, and a long house and land next to the house of William Traine in the market, etc. The text is much mutilated, but I am enabled to restore it from parallel passages in the next deed.

[....."Adam de Heli], Clericus Comitatus Glocestriae, omnibus hominibus suis de Brist..... salutem. Notum vobis sit me dedisse et concessisse Roberto filio Sweini et] uxori ejus, et eorum heredibus terram et domum quas Blakeman [tenet de] feria de Brist', et terram et domum quas lewinus lari tenet [de fe]ria de Brist', et terram et domum quas Hugo Margan tenet de [eade]m feria de Brist', et illam longam domum et terram que est iuxta domum W[illelmi tra]ine in feria de Brist', et servitium Willelmi de Hereford de terra quam de me tenet in saepe dicta feria, scilicet unam libram Cumini per annum. Testibus Magistro Moise Nepote meo, Waltero Clerico, Willelmo Capellano, Roberto filio Osb[erni], Elia de Hinetuna, Roberto de Paris, Roberto de Pened[ote?], Waltero Hachat, Petro Camerario."

To this early charter, of the twelfth century, is appended a fine oval gem seal, bearing a figure of Fortune holding a Victory and branch. The legend is SIGILLVM ADAM DE HEL'.

No. 175. A confirmation by William Earl of Gloucester [A.D. 1147-1173] of the foregoing charter. The text is very imperfect, but the intelligent reader will have no difficulty in filling up some of the lacunæ from the parallel passages in the previous document.

[.....] "suis de Feria de Brist' et Omnibus Fidelibus suis : salutem. Sciatis me [... ? confirmasse illud donum quod Adam de Heli] clericus meus dedit Roberto filio Sweini de domo et terra Blakeman de domo et terra Hugonis Morgan in eadem feria, et de domo et terra lewini [lari] in ipsa [feria] longa cum terra que est iuxta domum Willelmi traine : quam et ipse Adam fecit fieri de suo consta[b..... servi]tio Willelmi [de Here]ford de terra sua in feria de Bristo', scilicet de una libra Cumini per annum Roberto filio Sweini tenenda ipsi et heredibus suis ita libere et quiete sicut predictus Adam illa tenere solebat [et sicut] Carta ipsius Adam quam Robertus habet : testatur et distinguit. Testibus. H. Comitissa Roberto filio meo. Rob. f. Ric. de de Cardi et Sim' fr'e suo, Ham' de Valonis, Widone de Rocca, Heru' clerico, Rog' de Sumeri, Reginaldo de [.....], Rob. f. Greg, et Drug' fr'e suo, Ric. f. Alani, Nic. clerico, Willelmo Dalmeri, Radulpho de Constan....."

To this charter is appended a fine large seal, bearing a lion passant guardant beneath a tree of symmetrical design. Of the legend only the letters sig.....is remain. On the reverse an impression of the gemmed ring of the earl is preserved, oval, bearing a bust and an eagle. (See Plate.)

Grant by William Earl of Gloucester, to the Priory of Farley, of freedom of the market of Bristol. British Museum, Harley charter, 43, c. 16.

"Willelmus comes Gloucestræ, Dapifero suo, et hominibus suis omnibus francis et Anglis, et preposito de Bristou, et ministris salutem. Sciatis me concessisse pro salute mea, et meæ uxoris, et antecessorum meorum, ut Prior et monachi de ferlega emant sibi necessaria apud Bristou, sine theloneo et omni consuetudine quam ulli inde dent. Testibus Gregorio de turri, Adam de eli, Henrico tusardo. Apud Briston."

To this deed is a seal of the earl, in green wax, of the same type as that in the Bristol library. Among the witnesses occurs Adam de Eli, who is the same as Adam de Heli, the "clericus comitis" of the former deeds.

No. 177. Grant by William, Earl of Gloucester, to the monks of St. James, Bristol, of the tenth penny of his mill at Rumia. (See plate.)

"W. Com' Gloec', Dapifero suo, et constab', Novi Burgi, et omnibus Baronibus suis, et hominibus francis, et anglis atque Walensibus: salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse deo et *Ecclesie sc'i Jacobi de Brist'* pro salute mei et meorum, et pro anima patris mei, *cujus corpus ibi sepultum est*, Ad vietum monachorum ibi degentium, in perpetuam Elemosinam: decimum denarium de Redditu meo Molendini mei de Rumia. Testibus, H. Comitissa, Rog' fr'e meo, Rob' filio meo, Ric' abbate de s'co Augustino, Rog' de Guiz, Roberto dalmeri tunc dapifero, Rogero dapifero, Ric' de Cardi, Johanne de Lond', W. filio Nicholai Marescalli."

No. 178. Precipe of the same to Bristol, that the monks of Tewkesbury have their accustomed tithes of the town and market.

"Will's Comes Gloec': Baillivis et prepositis suis de Bristoll': Salutem. Mando uobis et precipio quod faciatis habere Monachis de Theokesbir' per singulos terminos suas decimas de uilla de Bristoll' et de feiria mea ad festum Sancti Michaelis sicut melius habuerunt tempore Comitis Rodberti patris mei. Et inde non disturbentur set sine dilatione et occasione solvantur. Testibus, Comi'a Haw'ia, Ham'. de Valon', Odon' de Tich's, Osberto clerico."

No. 176. Grant by Hawisia, the Countess of Gloucester, of a burgage, to St. James's Church, Bristol.

"Sciunt tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Ha. Comitissa Gloucestræ dedi deo et ecclesie Sancti Jacobi de Brist' in perpetuam elemosinam unum burgagium in novo burgo prati, ultimum scilicet à parte orientali liberum et quietum ab omni servicio et consuetudine, sicut Comes dominus mens illud michi dederat. Teste Ipso domino meo et ejus assensu, testibus, Roberto de Maisi, Roberto dameri, Ricardo de Cardi, Symone fratre suo, Hercu' clerico, Ailward inuene."

No. 115. In this charter the name of John, chaplain of St. James's, occurs as a witness. *Temp.* Hen. III.

W. Com. etoc. Deo suo. et statu hominibus
frun. et ad. acq. (unus). fite. Scit. me dedisse et concessisse de et ead. sci
Jacobi de Buss. p. salu. mei et meos. et p. anima. pat. mei. cui. corp. ibi. sepulta
est. Ad. uicu. monachos ibi. degent. i. ppetua. elemosina. decim. denariu. de
reditu. meo. voluim. mei. de. Dama. i. H. Comitis. Rog. fr. meo.
Sci. fit. meo. Deo. Abbe. de. sci. Augustino. Rog. de. Guinz. Rog. dum. te. dapo.
Rog. dapo. Ric. de. cupen. Sci. de. Lond. W. fit. Ric. Marg. 2

CHARTER OF WILLIAM. EARL OF GLOUCESTER.

A.D. 1147 — 1173.



No. 51. Grant by "Ysolda, relicta Johannis Selarii" to the Church of St. James, of a messuage in the suburbs, "juxta novam portam Frome". Witnessed by "Domino Stephano, tunc decano [.....]; D. Johanne, tunc persona ecclesiæ Sanctæ Trinitatis; D. Johanne de Echamstude, tunc capellano Sancti Jacobi Bristollie." *Temp.* Hen. III.

No. 55. In this charter occurs Richard the moneyer, and among the witnesses is Roger, the chaplain of St. Nicholas. *Temp.* Hen. III.

No. 158. Grant by Richard "Venator", or Hunter, and Ydonea his wife, to the monks of St. James's, of land in Kadebrok, and of John, son of Ailwin, with all his suit. Thirteenth century.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus Venator et ego Ydonea uxor ejusdem Ricardi dedimus et concessimus deo et ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ et sancti Jacobi de Bristoll', et monachis ibidem deo servientibus in perpetuam et puram elemosinam septem acras terræ lucrabilis in marisco sub Kadebrok in cultura quæ vocatur Scaldemere pro animabus nostris et pro anima Roberti filii nostri et heredis, et pro animabus patrum et matrum et antecessorum nostrorum tenendas et habendas de nobis et heredibus nostris in perpetuum plene et integre sine omni exactione seculari ad nos vel ad heredes nostros pertinente. Preterea dedimus et concessimus deo et monachis predictis Johannem filium Ailwin cum tota sequela sua. Nos autem et heredes nostri warantizare debemus predictas septem acras predictis monachis contra omnes homines et feminas. Quod ut in posterum firmum sit et stabile, nos sigilla nostra huic scripto apposuimus. Hiis testibus, Nicholao Poinz, Petro Crok, Radulfo de Stoke, Petro tunc senescallo Nicholai Poinz, Willelmo le Oiselur, Willelmo Peissun, Radulfo Trussedame et multis aliis."

No. 91. Grant of land opposite St. James's churchyard. Among the witnesses is Thomas, vicar of the Church of St. Werburgh. [*Circ.* A.D. 1220.]

No. 40. Grant by the "Fratres Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomæi de Ponte Frome" to Hugh de Wytteney, of land "super montem Sancti Michaelis." [*Circ.* A.D. 1260.]

Nos. 24, 79. Two duplicate deeds in which occurs mention of William Selke, rector of All Saints, Bristol [A.D. 1267]. William of Malmesbury, a witness to these charters, bears the same name as the celebrated monk and historian.

No. 160. Grant by William Selke, chaplain, of 2s. yearly rent to All Saints' Church, for a lamp at night in church.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus Selk' Capellanus dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi, in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro anima mea et animabus Johannis Selk'

patris mei et Isabellæ matris meæ necnon et omnium antecessorum meorum ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum Bristoll' ad Lampadem per noctem in eadem ecclesia ardentem Illos duos solidos argenti redditus assisi quos emi de Roberto de Kerdif de terra illa cum edificiis et pertinentiis suis in Scadepulle in suburbio Bristoll' in parochia Sancti Stephani quæ jacet inter terras duas quæ fuerunt Thomæ Longi tannatoris ex parte orientis et occidentis, et extendit se a vico antierius usque ad Laghedich posterius sicut aliæ terræ collaterales percipiendos ad duos anni terminos, scilicet, ad pascha duodecim denarios et ad festum Sancti Michaelis duodecim denarios. Habendum et tenendum dictos duos solidos argenti redditus assisi cum pertinentiis suis dictæ ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum de me et heredibus vel assignatis meis libere et quiete pacifice et integre inperpetuum. Ego vero dictus Willelmus Selk' et heredes et assignati mei predictos duos solidos argenti redditus assisi cum pertinentiis suis memoratæ ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum Bristolli contra omnes mortales warantizabimus defendemus et acquietabimus inperpetuum. Et ut hæc mea donatio, concessio, et presentis cartæ meæ confirmatio perpetuæ firmitatis robur optineat, prefatæ ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum presentem cartam confeci, et eandem sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus, Johanne de Lydiard tunc Maiore Bristoll', Sanekyno Reneward et Waltero de Bereham tunc ejusdem villæ prepositis, Paulo de Corderia, Roberto Turtle, Reginaldo Golde, Ricardo Osmond, Ricardo Flanchand, Henrico de Reyns, Waltero de Monte, Philippo de Cork', Willelmo de Malmesbur', Roberto de Clifton', Johanne de Yate, Willelmo Scissore, Johanne de Templo clerico, et aliis."

No. 152. Grant by John de Tokyntonne, and John Cook of an annual rent of 3s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to St. James's, Bristol, for incense for the altar.

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Johannes de Tokyntonne et Johannes Cocus eternam in domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos dedisse et concessisse et hoc presenti scripto confirmasse pro salute animarum nostrarum ac pro animabus parentum et successorum nostrorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et altari Sanctæ Mariæ Sanctique Jacobi de Bristoll' ad inveniendum incensum dicto altari ubi Missa de domina celebratur cotidiana videlicet tres solidos et quinque denarios obolum quadrantem de annuali Redditu de domo que fuit Nicholai Cappellani quæ sita est juxta domum Willelmi Selverloc in la redelonde ex parte orientali. Habendum et tenendum predictum annuale[m] Redditum de nobis et successoribus nostris sive assignatis libere quiete bene et in pace integre et honorifice in perpetuum. Nos vero predicti Johannes de Tokynton' et Johannes Cocus predictum Redditum predicto altari contra omnes mortales warantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus inperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium sigilla nostra apposuimus. Hiis testibus, Willelmo Ievare, Willelmo Beanmont, Willelmo Bocelin, Hugone de Mulles, Petro de Camera, et aliis."

No. 147. Grant by Thomas le Blount to John Cook [parson?] of St. James's, of a yearly rent of a pair of gloves out of land in the suburbs [*circ.* A.D. 1270].

“Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Thomas le Blount dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Johanni coco [.....] Sancti Jacobi Bristoll’ pro servicio suo et pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam mihi præ manibus dedit unum par cirotecarum annui redditus quem quidem redditum de Johanne Welissote et heredibus suis seu suis assignatis percipere consuevi, De quadam terra quam eidem vendidi quæ quidem terra jacet inter terram quæ fuit Baldeuini cordeuanarii ex una parte, et terram quæ fuit Philippi cementarii ex altera in suburbio Bristoll’. Et extendit se a vico antierius usque cimiterium monachorum Beati Jacobi posterius. Concedo etiam predicto Johanni coco totum jus et clamium quod ego et heredes seu mei assignati ad dictam terram habuimus seu habere potuimus inperpetuum. Vt hæc mea donatio concessio et presentis cartæ meæ confirmacio firmitatem inposterum optineat presentem cartam sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus Johanne de Lideyard tunc Maiore Bristoll’, Waltero de Beream et Sanekyn tunc prepositis ejusdem villæ, Roberto de Cantoc, Wilhelmo rocelin, Hugone de Melles, Waltero Veys, Waltero Blondo, Johanne le grey, et aliis.”

No. 54. Among the witnesses to this deed is Peter de la Mares, constable of the Castle, dated on St. George the Martyr’s day, A.D. 1279.

No. 59. Grant of land in “Rubea Terra” (Redlands) in the suburbs. Witnessed by Nicholas Ferimbaud, constable of the castle, whose name is placed before that of the mayor. Between A.D. 1292 and 1305.

No. 42. In this deed the name of Henry de Camme occurs (see No. 15), Bristol, 19th May, 23rd Edw. I [A.D. 1295].

No. 22. Indenture from Thomas, Abbot of Tewkesbury. *In capitulo nostro*, 5 Non. Oct., 23rd Edw. I [A.D. 1295].

No. 28. A deed relating to land in “Parrochia de Temple,” “versus pontem Comitissæ”, abutting on the “Aqua Abonæ” (Avon water) [A.D. 1307].

No. 36. A deed of Frater Henricus, Prior of St. James, leasing land in Bristol, fourth year of Edw. II [A.D. 1311].

No. 15. Indenture between Walter Camme,¹ chaplain, son of Henry Camme, late burgess of Bristol, and Richard Estmer, burgess, concerning a messuage in Bristol at a yearly rent of 5s. *Bristol*, 14th Edw. II [A.D. 1320].

No. 61. Indenture between John, Abbot of Tewkesbury, and Roger and Alice Pluf of Bristol. Dated Monday before the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 4th Edw. III [A.D. 1330].

No. 96. Particulars of building a shop, in an agreement

¹ This may, perhaps, be the father of Walter de Cam, who was Abbot of Malmesbury from A.D. 1361-1396.

between Gilbert Pokerel and Nicholas de Frompton, burgesses of Bristol, A.D. 1337. This deed is interesting, because it affords a glimpse into the art of building in the fourteenth century.

“Die Martis in festo Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste anno domini millesimo trecentesimo tricesimo septimo et anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum undecimo apud Bristoll’ sic convenit inter nos Gilbertum Pokerel Burgensem Bristoll’ ex parte una : et Nicholaum de Frompton’ Burgensem ejusdem ville ex parte altera : scilicet quod cum predictus Nicholaus adquisierit de me predicto Gilberto quandam schopam cum pertinentiis situatam in suburbio Bristoll’ in vico vocato Toukarnestret inter mesuagium meum quod die confeccionis presencium inhabitavi ex parte una : et novum tenementum Roberti de Wryngton’ ex parte altera : quam quidem schopam dictus Nicholaus extollere proponit et melius edificare : ego predictus Gilbertus pro me et heredibus meis concedo predicto Nicholao quod quodocunque voluerit predictam schopam extollere et edificare habeat in Muro predicti Mesuagii mei aisiammentum tale ponere possit in Muro dicti Mesuagii mei corbalia ad merennium de opere suo portandum et recipiendum sufficienter sicut pro opere suo decet et oportet. Ita quod idem Nicholaus et heredes sui super eisdem corbaliis et super merennio suo sumptibus suis propriis ponant et sustineant quoddam stillicidium quod aquam descendentem tam super dicto Mesuagio meo quam super dicta schopa dicti Nicholai relevata recipiat et ad utrumque caput ad debitum exitum comode perducatur : Et quia predictus Nicholaus quamdam placeam terræ inferiorem de me adquisivit imperpetuum tenendam sicut in carta mea sibi inde confecta plenius continetur juxta quam placeam terræ quamdam aliam terram michi et heredibus reservavi concessi eidem Nicholao quod de predicta terra mihi reservata nunquam aliquid alieni alteri alienabo nisi ipsi Nicholao dum tamen idem Nicholaus pro parte quam optaverit mihi tantum donare voluerit quantum alius in vera fide mihi pro eadem parte solve et conferre voluerit : et ad istam conventionem ex utraque parte fideliter tenendam nos predicti Gilbertus et Nicholaus obligamus nos heredes et executores nostros omnes terras nostras et omnia tenementa nostra necnon et omnia bona et catalla nostra mobilia et immobilia ad quorumcumque manus devenerint : In cujus rei testimonium sigilla nostra presentibus litteris partitis alternatim apposuimus : Hiis testibus Johanne ffraunceys junr., Willelmo le Haukar’, Alano de Wryngton’, Henrico Babbecary, Waltero Prentiz, Willelmo Hany et aliis.”

No. 83. Deed relating to a tenement “in Toukerestret in suburbio Bristolliaë, in parochia Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Crucis Templi Bristolliaë”. Dated 14th September, 13th Edw. III [A.D. 1339].

No. 100. Lease by “Dompnus Henricus, Abbas de Margan” to John Hugges of land in “Le Redeland” (Redlands) for seventy years. Dated Easter, A.D. 1344.

No. 78. Proceedings against the Abbot of Tewkesbury, on the 27th September, 18th Edw. III [A.D. 1344], at a

county court held in Wenthlök, co. Monmouth, wherein the abbot produces the following deeds : 1, a charter from Robert, son of Haymo; witnessed by "Astione, constabulario" of the castle; 2, a charter from William, Earl of Gloucester; 3, a charter of King Henry [III?]; 4, a charter of King Edward [I?].

No. 131. A deed of Thomas Le Whyte, parson of the Church of Cold-Ashton, with an interesting seal having a sacred subject on it, 20th Edw. III [A.D. 1346].

Permission by Simon, the rector, and the parishioners of St. Owen to Walter Frompton to dig between the church and the "Tolse" for arches and a gutter. Bristol, 30th Edw. III [A.D. 1356]. To this deed are appended the seal of the mayor and of the grantee. Lent by Mr. Bowman.

"Noverint universi quod nos Symon rector ecclesiæ sancti Audoeni Bristoll', Johannes Gardynner, Walterus Hunte, et Willelmus Godmerston' et ceteri ejusdem ecclesiæ parochiani unanimi assensu et consensu nostro concessimus et licenciam dedimus dilecto nobis in Christo Waltero Frompton' quod ipse licite fodere possit in solum nostrum inter ecclesiam predictam et domum vocatum Tols[e] villæ predictæ pro quibusdam arcubus et una gutta et aliis necessariis ibidem faciendis. Habendum et tenendum predictos arcus et guttam ac aisiamenta et alia necessaria predicto Waltero heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim procuratoribus ecclesiæ predictæ qui pro tempore fuerint ad festum Purificationis beatæ Mariæ unam libram ceræ pro quodam cereo ad arndum coram ymaginem beatæ virginis Mariæ ante altare suum in eadem ecclesia imperpetuum. Et si predicta libra ceræ per octo dies post predictum festum aretro fuerit predictus Walterus vult et concedit quod bene liceat rectori seu procuratoribus ecclesiæ predictæ qui pro tempore fuerint tenementum suum juxta predictam ecclesiam ingredi distringere et districiones retinere quousque de arreragio predicti redditus eis plenarie fuerit satisfactum. Et quocienscunque et quandocunque predicti arcus et gutta reparacione seu emendacione indigerint bene liceat predicto Waltero, et heredibus seu assignatis suis in predictum solum fodere et predictos arcus et guttam reparare et emendare et nos predicti Symon rector et Johannes, Walterus Hunte et Willelmus Godmerston' parochiani et successores predictos arcus et guttam et aisiamenta predicta predicto Waltero Frompton' et heredibus seu assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus acquiescimus et defendemus imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium tam nos predicti Symon rector et Johannes Gardynner Walterus Hunte et Willelmus Godmerston' sigilla nostra, quam prefatus Walterus sigillum suum hiis indenturis alternatim apposimus. Et quia sigilla nostra pluribus sunt incognita nos partes predictæ utrique parti hujus indenturæ sigillum Maioris Bristoll' apponi procuravimus. Datum Bristoll' die lunæ proximo post festum sanctæ Margaretæ Virginis anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum tricesimo. Hiis testibus Thoma Babbecary tunc Maiore villæ Bristoll' Ricardo Jutyne et Johanne Co-

lynton' tunc ejusdem villæ Ballivis Johanne Blanket et Johanne Hakston' seniore, Johanne Sampson, Hugone Frompton et aliis."

No. 41. Indenture between Thomas, Abbot of Tewkesbury, and Simon Halewey, burgess of Bristol, Joan his wife, and Thomas their son, of a tenement "in alto vico" (the high street) of Bristol for three lives, paying to the Prior of St. James 64s. per annum. Tewkesbury, 33rd Edw. III [A.D. 1359]. Seal of the abbey appended.

No. 116. Deed of Walter Taunton and John Lange de Coubrigge, "Procuratores Capellæ Assumptionis B. Mariæ super Pontem Abbon' Bristoll". 8th July, 34th Edw. III [A.D. 1360].

No. 29. Grant from Robert Cheddre, mayor, and the community of Bristol to the Carthusians of Witham of two messuages in the suburb of Bristol "super pontem Abonæ". Dated "in Gihalda nostra Bristollia", 20th May, 36th Edw. III [A.D. 1362]. To this deed is appended the "Sigillum Commune Burgensium", on the obverse a tower and ship, on the reverse a towered castle. (See Plate 12, fig. 1, p. 181.)

No. 10. An indenture between Thomas, Abbot of Tewkesbury, and Roger Diare and Agnes his wife, concerning a tenement, etc., in Wynchestret, paying to the Prior of St. James 10s. per annum. Dated Tewkesbury, Monday before the Nativity of St. Mary, 38th year of Edward III [A.D. 1364].

No. 21. Indenture of lease from Thomas, Abbot of Tewkesbury, to John Heyward of a tenement in Temple Street for sixty years, or for life. Tewkesbury, transl. of St. Thomas Martyr, 45th. Edw. III [A.D. 1371].

No. 93. Licence from the mayor, etc., of Bristol to the Priory of Witham to hold eight messuages in Toukerestret, 48th Edw. III [A.D. 1374].

No. 126. A deed in which occurs the name of Thomas, Abbot of Tewkesbury, 5th October, A.D. 1377.

No. 99. A deed of Thomas, Abbot of Tewkesbury, St. Luke's day, 1st Rich. II [A.D. 1377].

No. 12. Letters patent of Richard II to the Abbot and Convent of Tewkesbury :

"Quod ipsi ecclesiam de Tarente Monachorum, cum capella eidem ecclesiæ annexa, Sar. dioc., valoris triginta et sex marearum dumtaxat per annum, cujus quidem ecclesiæ cum capella advocacio de nobis non tenetur, ut dicitur; et ecclesiam Sancti Philippi Bristollia, Wigorn.

dioc., valoris duodecim marcarum dumtaxat per annum, cujus quidem ecclesiæ advocacio de nobis tenetur, ut de castro Bristollia quod carissima consors nostra Anna Regina Angliæ tenet ad vitam suam de dono nostro, ... appropriare . . . possint . . . imperpetuum." *Westminster*, 1 Aug. 8th year [A.D. 1384.]

No. 94. Fine in full court of Bristol between John Langerische, Prior of Witham, and others. Morrow of Ascension day, 8th Rich. II [A.D. 1385],

I give here an extract from a roll in the British Museum (called L. F. C., xxi, 4), containing matters relating to Thornton Abbey, in Lincolnshire, but applied here to show the date of foundation of the Carthusian Priory of Witham or Witenham.

"1148. Robertus fundavit domum de Mirival'.

"1152. Abbacia de Tileteya fundatur.

"1172. Abbacia de Stanlawe fundatur.

"1176. Bertram de Verduu fundavit abbaciam de Crokesden'.

"1181. *Apud Witenham in Somersethe fundatur Cenobium Carthusiense.*

"1198. Restituti sunt monachi Coventrenses.

"1273. Willelmus de Lincolnia, abbas noster (*i. e.*, de Thornton) decimus obiit die Sancti Ambrosii qui in bonis operibus non mediocriter claruit, cui successit Walterus de Hotoft.

"1290. Walterus de Hotoft cessit regimini abaciæ de Thorneton' in vigilia sancti Rufi Martyris, cui successit Thomas de Ponte.

"1291. Obiit W. de Hotoft quondam abbas noster videlicet iiij kal. Julii.

"1295. Thomas de Ponte occurs in a long passage under this date.

"1298. Abbatia de Westmonasterio combusta est.

"1303. Dominus Thomas Abbas de Thorenton' fecit finem cum domino H. Comite Lincolnia pro turbifodina in Fukelmore. Constructio Abbatiarum xxi i."

No. 87. A deed containing the name of Jehan, Prior of the Carthusian House at Witham; and his seal, a representation of the Crucifixion: dated 15th September 16th Rich. II [A.D. 1392].

No. 49. Award by William Daventre, Esq., Feodary of the Great Court of the Honour of Gloucester, of Lady Elizabeth Despencer, and Robert Grene, sub-feodary, exonerating the Abbey of Tewkesbury and the Priory of St. James from entertaining the steward of the said Lady Elizabeth on occasions of holding his court. Bristol, Monday after Michaelmas, 16th Rich. II [A.D. 1392]. There are two seals appended to this deed.

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presentes litteræ pervenerint Willelmus Daventre, armiger, ac feodarius Magnæ Curiaë Honoris Glou-

cestriae d'ne Elizabet le Despenser, tentae apud ecclesiam prioratus S. Jacobi Bristolliae, et Robertus Grene, subfeodarius ejusdem curiae, salutem in domino Sempiternam: Noverit universitas vestra, quod orta nuper discordia inter Thomam Brugge, senescallum dictae dominae Elizabet curiae suae predictae, ac abbatem et conventum monasterii Tewkesbur', et priorem prioratus S. Jacobi predicti a dicto monasterio dependentis, de et super quadam prava onerosa ac inhonesta consuetudine, ut asseruit idem prior, quae ex curialitate dicti prioris et quorundam antecessorum suorum aliquando inolevit; quam consuetudinem idem senescallus, modo dictis Abbate et conventu ac priore invitis per extorsionem intit' (sic) observare et custodire, videlicet quod quocienscunque contingeret dictum senescallum curiam predictam Bristoll' tenere: vellet ad Prioratum predictum cum ballivis suis ac aliis ministris et eorum equis venire, et ibidem sumptibus dicti prioris cenare prima nocte adventus eorum et fenum ac prebendam pro eorum equis eadem nocte ac die sequente percipere et habere: in grave dampnum dicti prioratus et quasi destruxionem ejusdem et animae dictae dominae Elizabet magnum periculum. Pro qua quidem discordia idem senescallus misit unum preceptum nobis predictis Willelmo Davenport armigero ac feodario, et Roberto Grene subfeodario, ad distringendum dictos Abbatem et conventum ac priorem prioratus predicti, ut venirent et ostenderent qualiter tenuerunt eorum terras et tenementa pertinentia ad dictum prioratum coram nobis feodario et subfeodario predicto, certo die et loco ad hoc de consensu partium deputatis. Super qua discordia dicta domina Elizabet' domina le despencer, sufficienter et ad plenum informata, attornavit et deputavit nos predictos Willelmum Davenport feodarium, et Robertum Grene subfeodarium, ad inspicendum et videndum carfas et munimenta dictorum abbatis et conventus ac prioris prioratus predicti et dictam litem seu discordiam, si videretur nobis fine debito terminandam: et eosdem abbatem et conventum ac priorem et prioratum suum hujusmodi de ipsa consuetudine imperpetuum exonerandos. Quibus die et loco idem prior nomine procuratorio dictorum abbatis et conventus ac prioratus sui predicti et nomine suo cum munimentis suis coram nobis attornatis seu deputatis predictis personaliter comparens, clare docuit, exhibuit, ac probavit, per eadem: ac alia documenta quod ita libere, ita pacifice, sine aliqua seculari demanda, seu exactione, terras et tenementa ac prioratum predictum tenere debuit, et deberet, sicut Robertus comes Gloucestriae ejusdem domus fundator ea tenuit aliquo tempore dum vixerit: et ea nobis dedit in puram et perpetuam elemosinam: prout per inspexionem munimentorum dicti prioratus poterit in eventum luculenter apparere: Vnde, quia nos Willelmus Davenport feodarius, et Robertus Grene subfeodarius, ac attornati dictae dominae Elizabet' in hac parte specialiter deputati, nomine dictae dominae nostrae Elizabet, ipsos abbatem et conventum ac priorem et prioratum predictum ab omni hujusmodi prava consuetudine exactione seu demanda sufficienter munitos et munitum comperimus: In remedium et salutem animae dictae dominae nostrae Elizabet ac animarumstrarum: ipsos abbatem et conventum priorem ac prioratum suum habemus pro dicta domina nostra ac senescallo suo, nobis ac suis et nostris successoribus, sic munitos, et munitum in pace dimisimus: Autoritate nobis commissa futuris temporibus permansuros: et ipsos ab hujusmodi prava consuetudine nomine dictae dominae nostrae Elizabet' et auctoritate ejusdem exoneramus imperpetuum. In cujus rei

testimonium nos predicti Willelmus Daventre feodarius, et Robertus Grene subfeodarius, sigilla officii nostri apposuimus; Hiis testibus, Henrico Calfe, tunc senescallo dicti prioris; Hugone Carlton', Johanne Floit, Ricardo Wasschbourne, clerico; Willelmo Panter, Johanne Cole, Ricardo Blundell', et aliis. Datum Bristollie in dicto Prioratu die lune proxima post festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum sexto decimo."

No. 77. Among the witnesses to this charter is the name of "Sir Richard Wirestre, tunc priore Sancti Jacobi." Bristol, Annunciation of the B. Virgin, 17th Rich. II [A.D. 1394].

No. 141. Revocation by Henry, Bishop of Worcester, of the consecration of the burying ground attached to the Church of St. John, Bristol. Bredon Manor, 10th October, A.D. 1394. The deed is unfortunately mutilated in places.

"Henricus, miseratione divina Wygornensis episcopus, dilectis in Christo filiis decano nostro Bristoll', necnon sanctarum Trinitatis et Warburgæ ecclesiarum rectoribus, et presbitero parochiali ecclesiæ sancti Jacobi villæ Bristoll', nostræ diocesis, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Nuper ad suggestionem indebitam quorundam licenciam ad consecrandam quamdam aream pro sepultura parochiali parochialis ecclesiæ sancti Johannis Bristoll' alicui Episcopo Catholico meminimus nos concess[iss]e; verum subsequenter in hac materia plenius et sufficientius informati, intelleximus ad plenum quod sepultura hujusmodi parochi[au]orum sepultura non electa decedentium apud cimiterium ecclesiæ parochialis sancti Jacobi ejusdem villæ extitit ab antiquo, sic quod hoc nobis non expresso obtenta extitit licensia antedicta, Nos quia subsequenter hoc per...cognito justiciam, ut ad nos pertinet interesse precedentibus facere volentes in hac parte et precipue religiosi viris dilectis filiis abbati et conventui Monasterii Tenkisburie, ordinis sancti Benedicti, nostræ Wigornensis diocesis, quibus dicta ecclesia sancti Jacobi appropriata existit et in cujus cimiterio sepultura hujusmodi parochi[an]orum fu[it] ab antiquo, dictam licenciam, quatenus a nobis ex indebita informacione processit, revocamus et eam habere nolimus [et] ad [hoc] habere volumus pro nulla, et quamquam hujusmodi revocacio nostra rectoribus parochialibus ac presbiteris, et aliis vicinis ibidem inti[mat]a existit.....Quidam tamen, ut accepimus, ipsam aream sub colore licenciæ nostræ hujusmodi sic revocate benedicere consecrare, et eam sicut.....intuentur, et ad hoc se publice pararunt in nostrum contemptum manifestum, et si ultra procederetur scandalum ex hoc generaretur, et.....bra ostenderetur, et veritas non subjacet in effectu in periculum animarum diversarum. Quocirca vobis omnibus et singulis co[m]mittimus et mandamus firmiter injungentes quatenus omniibus et singulis, tam rectoribus quam parochi[anis] ac aliis quibuscumque presumptoribus adhuc iterato ex habundanti easdem literas nostras revocatorias super licentia predictæ intimetis et notificetis clare distincte et aperte, ac moneatis canonice omnes illos, tam in genere quam in specie, ac episcopos illac venientes quoscumque quod a consecracionibus, benedictionibus, procuracionibus, et instantiis in hac parte desistant, sileant, et se de eis ulterius non intermittant, sub pena excommunicacionis majoris, quam si monicionibus hujusmodi

non peruerint, vel eis aut alicui ipsorum contravenerint, dicta canonica monicione premissa, ipsorum culpa et manifesta offensa id exigentibus in personas ipsorum et cujuslibet eorundem, exnunc prout extunc et extunc prout exnunc, ferimus in hiis scriptis. Presens mandatum nostrum ac censuras latas in eodem per vos publicari volumus et mandamus, ac quoscumque in easdem censuras incidentes sic denunciare volumus et mandamus, et quid in premissis factum fuerit, et si quos contravenientes in premissis inveneritis nos de eorum nominibus et cognitionibus distincte clare et aperte cum per partem dictorum abbatis et conventus de Teukisburie fueritis requisiti vos decane Bristoll' nos certificetis literis vestris patentibus habentibus hunc tenorem sigillo officii vestri consignatis. Datum in manerio nostro de Bredon', decimo die Octobris, anno domini millesimo ccc. Nonagesimo quarto, et nostrae consecrationis decimo nono."

No. 132. A deed wherein occurs the name of Richard Wyrcester, Prior of the Church of St. James; and, among witnesses, that of William Wyrcester, who may, perhaps, be the father of William Botoner, *alias* Wyrcester, famous in the history of Bristol. Bristol, 14th of June, 1st Hen. IV [A.D. 1400].

No. 137. Confirmation by the Archbishop of Canterbury of the appropriation by the Abbey of Tewkesbury of the parish church of SS. Philip and James, Bristol, against Walter Blakeford, chaplain, unduly appointed to the same. Lambeth, 16 November, A.D. 1405.

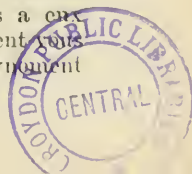
"Universis sanctae matris ecclesiae filiis ad quos nostrae presentes litterae pervenerint Thomas permissione divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Angliae primas et apostolicae sedis legatus, Salutem in omnium Salvatore. Oriente nuper lite, in audientia nostra, inter dilectos filios dominum Walterum Blakeford capellanum, cui ecclesiam parochialem Sanctorum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi Bristolliae, Wygorniensis diocesis, nostrae Cantuariensis provinciae, jure contulimus ut tunc credebatur legitime devoluto, parte ex una, et religiosos viros abbatem et conventum monasterii beatae Mariae de Teukesbury, dictae Wygorniensis diocesis, cui eadem ecclesia fuisse et esse dinoscitur appropriata, ex alia, prefatum dominum Walterum Capellanum, ad docendum de modo devolucionis ecclesiae antedictae ulteriusque procedendum et procedi videndum in negotio devolucionis hujusmodi, ad certos locum et diem competentes, fecimus legitime evocari, quibus die et loco, pars dictorum religiosorum legitime comparens, prefati presbyteri non comparentis contumaciam accusavit et in penam contumaciae suae hujusmodi certas literas apostolicas, ac venerabilis fratris nostri, bonae memoriae domini Henrici Wygorniensis episcopi, sub dato Wygorniae xxvii^o die Mensis Marcii anno domini millesimo ccc^{mo} octogesimo quarto et suae consecrationis decimo, ad probandum appropriationem unionem et annexacionem ecclesiae sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi antedictae, monasterio suo predicto canonice factas produxit. Nos quoque quia inspectis et diligenter examinatis juribus et munimentis predictis, invenimus prefatam ecclesiam Sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi Bristolliae dictis religiosis viris abbati et conventui Monasterii beatae

Mariæ de Teukesbury, Wygorniensis diocesis et eorum monachis, Salva porcione vicarii perpetui in eadem taxata et limitata, auctoritate ordinaria prefati venerabilis fratris nostri Wygorniensis episcopi de consensu et assensu capituli sui, rite et legitime fore et esse appropriatam, unitam, annexam, et incorporatam, auctoritateque apostolica, ac per nonnulla tempora possessionem eisdem confirmatam et pacifice assecutam prefato domino Waltero capellano jus suum pretensum prosequi non curanti, quoad ipsam ecclesiam silentium decrevimus imponendum, ipsasque literas prefati fratris nostri Wygorniensis episcopi et capituli ejusdem, una cum contentis in eisdem, auctoritate nostra metropolitana ratificavimus at approbavimus, prout harum literarum serie, ratificemus, approbamus, ac ecclesiam Sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi predictam, dictis Religiosis viris Abbati et Conventui beatæ Mariæ de Teukesbury et eorum Monachis, in suos proprios usus, perpetuo possidendam et habendam, melioribus modo et forma, quibus poterimus, pro nobis et successoribus nostris quatenus in nobis est, tenore presencium confirmamus. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum fecimus hiis opponi. Datum in Mauerio nostro de Lambeth' xvj^{to} die Mensis Novembris, anno Domini Millesimo cccc^{mo} quinto, et nostræ translacionis anno decimo.

Endorsed, "Confirmacio Archiepiscopi super appropriacionem ecclesiæ Sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi Bristoll'.

No. 125. Order from Johanna, Queen of England, for certain payments to the Abbey of Tewkesbury and Priory of St. James, Bristol. Westminster, 4th May, 2nd Hen. V [1414].

"Johanne par la grace de dieu Roynne Dengleterre et de ffrance et Dame Dirland As mair Baillifs et autres noz officers de notre Ville de Bristuyt gore seront ou quy pur le temps serront salut. Come nos chers en dieu labbe de Teukesbury et le Prior de seynt Jakes de notre dit ville de Bristuyt dancien temps ount este acenstumez destre paieiz de la ferme de notre dit ville par les mayns des mair et baillifs et autres noz officers illeoques pur le temps esteantz de xvij^{li}. xs., cestas-savoir a dit abbe xiiij^{li}. xs. pur les dismes des issues de mesme notre ville, et a dit Priour lxs. de le rent de noz molyns illeoques: Et soit ensy que mesmes les Abbe et Priour ne purront estre paieiz des ditz xvij^{li}. xs. come ils furent accustumez, mais ils fonnit graunt pursuyt de terme en terme chacun an a nostre Tresorer et Resceyuour generall pur avoir lour paiement a lour graund disservice, labour, et expenses, et retardation de divyne service illeoques a ce que nous ount enformez. Sy nous considerantz les premisses et que lez ditz xvij^{li}. xs. furent a eux donnez dancien temps apprendre de nostre dit ville come devaunt est dit, voillantz al reverence de dieu, et en augmentation de divyne service a eux purveier de gracios remedie celle partie, Surquoy vous mandons [? sure-]ment enchargeantz que vous de temps en temps paieiz as dit Abbe et Priour ce que lour est aderer des ditz xvij^{li}. xs. de le ffest de seynt Michell' darrein passe et de lors ennuant chacun an en manere [que au d]essus est dit selonc ce que lez ditz Abbe et Priour ount par vous estez accustumez devaunt ces heures estre paieiz Rescey-vantz devers vous de temps en temps lettres daequytance des ditz Abbe et [Priour] [tes]moignauntz chacunz paiementz queles a eue- nez ensy faitz, par les queles et cest nostre present maundement vous enserres a nostre Recceit a Westminster de temps en temps pleyment



desechargez envers [^p paie]ment de la ferme de nostre ville susdit non obstant que vous estes teignuz de nous paieiz chacun an vostre dit ferme a nostre Reccit avaunt dit. Donne a Westminster le quart jour de May lan du reigne mon [.....] seignour et filz le Roy Henry quynt puis le conquest seconde.

“Par mesme la Roynie et aduys de son conseil.”

No. 101. A deed wherein occurs Richard, Abbot of Tewkesbury, 1st May, 9th Hen. VII [A.D. 1494].

No. 143. A deed making mention of Elizabeth Went, Prioress of the House of the B. Mary Magdalene of Bristol, 15th June, A.D. 1499.

No. 72. Grant by Heliseus Jense, chaplain, and others to the Carthusians of Witham of two tenements in St. Nicholas Street, 25th March, 20th Hen. VII [A.D. 1505].

No. 106. “The Rentalle of Dame Kateryne Broune Prioress of the house of Mare Maudelen By Bristow made the monthe of January in the yere of oure lord god m^v^c vij & in the xxijth yere of the reigne of King Henry the vijth.

“Mighell’ Hille by yere.

In primis of A new tenement that Maistyr Croftes bild on the lyft hand as ye go up Mighell’ viijs.

Item of a tenement next the Churche style vjs. viij^d.

Item of A nother tenement next to the same viijs.

Item of iij tenements A boue the Churche Dore of the Mawdelens at iijs. a tenement by yere ix.

Item of a tenement that my lady morgan hild within the Maudelens by yere xs.

Item for a tenement & a litell kechyn’ that John holmys holdythe by yere xs.

Item of a nother tenement next holmys that oon’ blake holdythe by yere viijs.

Item of Nicholas lokyar for a tenement by yere xs.

Item for a tenement next to the same that shere holdith iijs. iiij^d.

Item a nother tenement that John walker holdythe vs.

Item of iij tenements next at iijs. a tenement by yere xjs.

Item of John ffreman for a pasture on Mighell hill iijs.

Item of harry harry (*sic*) hart maryner for a garden iijs.

Item of a tenement new bild A boue the mary at frogge lane ende that beldam bulle holdythe viijs.

Item of the grounde that forsters Almys house stondythe vpon by yere xs.

Item for a Close that M’ Cromer hild by yere xs.

Item of yong John Newman for a Close viijs.

Item of the lyme branner on seynt Austens bak for a Close iijs.

Item for ij acres of mede lyenge in filtons mede, ijs.

In the pereshe of seynt Stephyns.

Item of Huntess wif for a shop’ in ffisher lane xs.

Item of the maistir of the Tailloures for a tenement there by yere xs.

Item of John Vaghan for a shop’ by yere xs.

Item of Kateryn' flosse for a shop' by yere xs.

Item of the parsoun of the said church for rent assise of a tenement there vjs. viij*d*."

* * * * *

The roll ends here abruptly.

No. 154. In this deed Thomas Storton, Prior of St. James occurs, 6th November, 29th Hen. VII [A.D. 1508].

The records of the Corporation, which, by the kindness of the Mayor, were exhibited to the Association, comprise :

1. *The Great Orphan Book, and Book of Wills.* The first will was proved in A.D. 1392, the last in A.D. 1554. The book is a large paper folio of nearly six hundred pages.

2. *The Great White Book of Records*, containing entries ranging from A.D. 1496 to A.D. 1587. 531 folios.

3. *The Register or Mayors' Calendar*, printed as Robert Ricard's Calendar, by L. T. Smith, in the series of the Camden Society's publications. This volume is dated 18th of Edward I [A.D. 1289-90].

4. A collection of original charters to Bristol, from the time of John, Earl of Mortain, afterwards King of England, to the seventeenth century. A few appear to be wanting. They have been printed.

5. A book prepared by William Colford "Recordator" of Bristol in the 18th of Edward III [A.D. 1344] for the entry of the "ordinationes, consuetudines, ac libertates". It contains the following passage :

"1344: In honorem dei omnipotentis et pro tranquillitate pacis villam Bristollie inhabitancium, ad Rogatum Communitatis ejusdem villæ, Ego Willelmus de Colford', extunc ibidem recordator, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum decimo octavo ordinationes, consuetudines, ac libertates subscriptas pro communitate villæ prædictæ factas recordari feci, et in presente papiro una cum quibusdam legibus ac aliis memorandis et diversis necessariis ascribi ad perpetuam memoriam inviolabiliter observandas."

This book is called *The Little Red Book*, and contains the following note respecting the seal of the office of the mayoralty, for some account of which see p. 186 :

"Pro sigillo officii Majoris renovato die lunæ in crastino Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu xxij [A.D. 1349] finiente, Thoma Babbecary tunc Majore villæ Bristoll, quoddam sigillum vetus (Pl. 12, f. 2) officii majoratus villæ prædictæ defractum est pro eo quod arma domini Regis integra de novo ordinata non fuerunt in eodem sigillo sculpta seu formata. Et quoddam novum sigillum (Pl. 12, f. 3) loco prædicti sigilli in quo prædicta arma formata sunt ordinatum est imperpetuum duraturum," etc. (P. 17.)

OLIVER CROMWELL'S SCEPTRE.

BY HENRY WILLIAM HENFREY.

I HAVE the pleasure of bringing to the notice of the Association some extracts from the State Papers relating to the Protector Oliver's sceptre. Before, however, reading these documents I will briefly describe the occasion for which it was made and on which it was used.

You will recollect that upon Cromwell's refusal of the title of King, the Parliament, by their "Humble Petition and Advice", voted that he should be solemnly confirmed in his authority and title of Lord Protector. Oliver having given his assent, a second and more pompous inauguration took place in Westminster Hall, on Friday the 26th June, 1657. All things being prepared, his highness came from Whitehall about two in the afternoon, and entered the hall in procession, attended by the Judges, Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Commissioners of the Great Seal and Treasury, the Kings of Arms, Herald, etc., and the members of Parliament. The Protector standing up under a cloth of state, the Speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, made him a short speech, and then, in the name of the Parliament, presented him with several articles (ready laid upon the table): First, a robe of purple velvet, lined with ermines, which the Speaker, being assisted by the Earl of Warwick, Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, and others, put upon his highness, telling him that, "It was an emblem of magistracy, and imported righteousness and justice." Then he presented to him a Bible, "richly gilt and bossed", and told him, "It was a book that contained the Holy Scriptures, in which he had the happiness to be well versed; it was a book of books, and contained both precepts and examples of good government." Next, the Speaker girt him with a very rich sword, saying, "This is not a military, but a civil sword; it is a sword rather of defence than offence, not only to defend yourself, but also your people." Lastly, he put into Oliver's hand a sceptre of massy gold, saying,

"The next thing that I am to offer to your Highness is a Sceptre, not unlike a staff, for you are to be a staff to the weak and poor. It

is of ancient use in this kind: it is said in Scripture, in reference to Judah, the royal tribe, *that 'the sceptre shall not depart from Judah.'*¹ It was of like use in other Kingdoms and Governments: Homer, the Prince of the Greek Poets, calls Kings and Princes Sceptre-bearers."²

Then, his highness having taken the oath, Mr. Manton made a prayer. After which, "the people giving several great shouts and the trumpet sounding, his highness sat down in the chair of state, holding the sceptre in his hand." On his right and left stood the ambassadors of France and Holland, and round him stood the Earl of Warwick, bearing the sword, the Lord Mayor, with the City sword, Richard Cromwell, and many others. The ceremony ended with the proclamations of the heralds, and acclamations of "God save the Lord Protector".

The fullest account of this inauguration ceremony is contained on pp. 28 *et seq.* of a small quarto tract, printed about 1658, and entitled "A Further Narrative of the Passages of these times in the Common-Wealth of England," etc. "Printed by *M. S.* for *Thomas Jenner*, at the south entrance of the Royall Exchange." A copy is in the British Museum. The only ancient engraving of the ceremony is also to be found on p. 28 of this pamphlet. It is a small and roughly executed copper-plate print, size 4 by 2½ ins. It represents the Protector standing on the right of a heavily draped table, and looking towards the Speaker, who stands behind the table and offers the Bible and sceptre to Oliver. On the table lie the robe and sword. A blank wall (with one window in it) forms the background, and soldiers with halberds appear on the extreme right and left. Altogether this print does not appear to represent the actual scene very well, to judge by the descriptions, it being perhaps engraved by an inferior artist who was not an eye witness. The figure of Oliver is no portrait. Beneath the print is the following engraved inscription:

"Mr Speaker, in y^e name of y^e Par^{mt}: presented Severall things to his Highnes^s Viz: a Robe of Purple Velvet Lined wth Ermine: a Large Bible Richly Guilt & Bossed: Next a Sword & Lastly a Septer of Massie Gold: and then administered y^e Oath to his Highnesse: June 26: an: 1657."

The sceptre above mentioned is, without doubt, the one

¹ Genesis xlix, 10.

² P. 33 of *A further Narrative of the Passages of these Times in the Common-Wealth of England*, etc. Small 4to, 1658.

referred to in the following orders of the Protector's Council of State :

[No. 1.]—Tuesday, 28th July, 1657.—Ordered "That it be referred to Col. Sydenham, the Lord Strickland, Col. Jones, Genll. Disbrow, Mr. Secry., and Sr Gilb't Pickering, or any two of them, to consider of Mr. Edward Backwells note of Charges for a Scepter for his Highness, amounting to 650^l. 13^s. 6. and where the same may wth most conveniency be charged, and to make report therein to y^e Counsell."¹

Edward Backwell was the celebrated goldsmith of London (Alderman *temp.* Charles II, and some time partner in Child's bank), and, as it is known that he contracted to buy of the Government the prize bullion taken from the Spaniards in 1656, the suggestion of Waller, referring to the Protector—

. "let him hold
A royal sceptre, made of Spanish gold,"

may have been actually realised, since Backwell very likely used some of the Spanish gold he had lately bought. (See last lines of Edmund Waller's poem "On a War with Spain, and Fight at Sea," Sept. 1656.)

The subsequent orders of the Council are—

[No. 2.]—Wednesday, 23^d September 1657.—His Highness present. "On reading of M^r Edward Backwells bill for a Sceptre of Fyne gould, weighing in Standard gold, 168 oz. $\frac{1}{4}$ and 20^{ty} graynes, and amounting, at 3^l. 14. 0 p oz, with 28^l for the makeing and Wast of gould, to 650. 13. 6; and of a Report from S^r John Barkstead kn^t, Leiv^t of the Tower, made in pursuiance of a Reference from the Com^{ee} of the Counsell, to whom the Considerac'on of the said Bill was referred. Ordered That it be offered to his Highness as the advise of the Counsell, That his Highness will please to issue his Warr^t to the Com^{rs} of his Highness Thr'cy,² for empowering and requiring them, out of such moneys as are or shall come into the Receipt of his Highness Excheqo^r, to satisfy and pay to the said Edward Backwell, or his assignes, the said some of Six hundred and fifty pounds thirteene shill' and six pence, in full Satisfacc'on of the sayd Bill."³

[No. 3.]—Thursday, 24th September, 1657. His Highness present. Ordered "That the Privy Seale for paym^t of 650^l. 13^s. 6^d to Mr. Edward Backwell, for his Highness Scepter, doe pass, and the money thereupon due be paid gratis, without Fees."⁴

It is interesting to learn from these records the exact weight and cost of this sceptre. The standard of coined gold in Cromwell's time was the same as that now in use,

¹ P. 42, Council Entry Book No. 106, Interregnum State Papers in the Public Record Office.

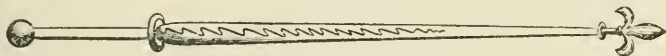
² Treasury.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

viz., 22 carats fine to 2 carats alloy. The price of the gold is stated in the extract to have been £3 14s. per ounce ; but the present Mint price of standard gold is above this, being £3 17s. 10½d. per ounce. The weight of the sceptre was 14 lbs. 5 dwts. 20 grs. troy ; and the charge for the workmanship and waste of material £28 ; making the total cost £650 13s. 6d.

As this sceptre no longer exists, and no very reliable drawing of it is known, it is rather difficult to describe its form. But, from a comparison of the print in the *Further Narrative, etc.* (previously described), with a miniature at the commencement of one of Oliver's patents of nobility¹, I conclude that the sceptre of Cromwell was nearly identical in design with that of Charles I, as shown on his great seal. The lower end is formed of a round knob or pommel, then there is a straight piece for the handle, terminated by a projecting ring. The shaft or principal part of the sceptre then follows, large at the lower part, but gradually tapering towards the top, where there is another projecting ring, after which comes the upper end, formed of a large fleur-de-lys (see illustration).



I have not been able to learn whether this sceptre was used on any occasion other than the inauguration of 1657, but I am inclined to think not. When Oliver's effigy lay in state at Somerset House after his death, a crown, sceptre, and sword of state were placed around it. But as it appears, from the funeral bills,² that the sword was a gilt imitation one, I suspect that neither the sceptre nor the crown were the genuine articles of the regalia.

I can add nothing further regarding the subsequent history of the Protector's sceptre. I suppose that it was melted down before or at the Restoration. The sword of state used at the inauguration has been more fortunate, and is still preserved by the representatives of the Cromwell family.

¹ Patent for Edmund Dunch to be Baron Burnell, 26 April, 1658, engraved in the Rev. Mark Noble's *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*, vol. i.

² P. 194 of Sir J. Prestwich's *Respublica*. 4to. London, 1787.

NOTES ON THE REGALIA OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

BY J. F. NICHOLLS, ESQ., CITY LIBRARIAN TO THE CORPORATION
OF BRISTOL.

ONE of the earliest articles of silver plate presented to the city (if, indeed, it be not the very first) that is still preserved, is a rose water ewer and salver, silver gilt, weighing 7 lbs. 6 oz. 10 dwts. It was the gift of Mr. Robert Kitchen, alderman of the city, and, though bequeathed as early as 1573, it only came into the possession of the corporation in 1595, from the hands of Mr. Kitchen's executors.

The ewer is urn-shaped and of graceful design, having a plain curved handle, which is surmounted by a demi-monster. Deeply engraved arabesques cover its surface, in front is a repoussée cherub head, sea monsters are on either side within oval medallions, separated by festoons of fruit. A boldly wrought Medusa head-mask supports the insertion of the handle, and within the lip is a projecting lion's head.

The salver, which is ornamented in the same style as the ewer with engraved and repoussée work, contains on a raised medallion an escutcheon, with the arms of the donor and the inscription,

“ THE GIFT OF ROBERT KITCHEN
LATE ALDERMAN OF THIS CIT.”

The plate mark is that of 1595. There are also within the escutcheon the initials I. B. above a rose (for John Barker, Kitchen's old servant and executor).

During the Bristol riots of 1831 this salver was stolen by one Ives, who cut it up with shears into 169 pieces. Some of these he offered for sale to Mr. Williams, goldsmith, telling him that it was a portion of some old family plate. That gentleman, suspecting his story, requested him to bring the remaining pieces the next day. Ives was then secured, the pieces, all but two tiny fragments, were recovered, and were by Mr. Williams ingeniously rivetted to a silver plate, which now forms the back of the salver. Its beauty is unimpaired and its value enhanced by the process. The late Sir Robert Peel offered its weight in gold for it in vain.

Ives was transported in 1832 for fourteen years, and on

his return he had the consummate impudence to call at the Council House, introduce himself, and ask for a sight of the salver. The height of the ewer is 12 ins.; the diameter of the salver is $19\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

In 1590 Alderman Bird presented an elegant double gilt silver grace cup, weighing 30 oz.

A.D. 1628 Captain Samuel Pitts, being on his voyage to Jamaica, in the ship Kirtlington Galley, was attacked by a Spanish rover of superior force; Pitts bravely defended himself, and after an arduous struggle beat off the enemy. For this gallant conduct, and for saving the ship with its valuable cargo, the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol gave to Captain Pitts a richly chased Monteith and collar of silver, with an appropriate inscription; its weight is 266 oz. 11 dwts. In 1821 this handsome ornament, being offered for sale at public auction by the descendants of the gallant Pitts, was purchased by the corporation for £148 16s.

In 1658 Mr. Recorder Dodridge made the city a present of a pair of massive silver gilt tankards, "richly decorated with repoussée and chased ornament in three bands, consisting of foliated arabesques, festoons of fruit and flowers, enclosing strapwork, cartouches, with which are sea monsters. The lids are similarly ornamented." The height of the tankards is $14\frac{3}{4}$ ins., the breadth in the base is $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins., the weight 152 oz. 8 dwts. Each bears around its drum the following inscription: "EX DONO JOHANNIS DODRIDGE, RECORDATORIS CIVITATIS BRISTOLL 1658." The shield of arms and crest of the worthy recorder are engraven on the front, being *argent*, two pales wavy *gules* between nine crosses crosslet *gules* three, three, and three; crest, a lion's head erased *gules*, murally gorged *or*. The plate mark is A.D. 1634.

In 1683 four silver badges and chains were purchased by the corporation to be worn by the city waits; these weigh 28 oz. 13 dwts.

In 1745 the water bailiff had an oar enriched with silver ornament bought for his badge of office; it is so loaded with metal that its weight cannot be correctly ascertained—probably the weight in silver is about 36 oz. At the same time a silver badge and chain were purchased for the deputy water bailiff.

The year 1709 was prolific in gifts. Mr. G. Smyther,

an alderman of London, presented to the city of Bristol a silver punch bowl, weighing 105 oz. 17 dwts. Mrs. Mary Boucher presented a silver tankard of the weight of 52 oz. 10 dwts. Mrs. Searchfield gave four handsome silver candlesticks, a snuffers and stand, of the weight of 100 oz. 10 dwts., and Mrs. James gave a silver salver of 35 oz. 9 dwts.

In 1722 eight maces of silver were purchased by the corporation for the use of the officers in civic processions; these are in the usual seventeenth century style of art, and weigh 208 oz. Alderman Peloquin, of London, gave, in 1770, a silver candlestick, with branches, that weighs 99 oz. 7 dwts.

The insignia of the City Exchange keeper and the city bellman are of wood, silver mounted, the weight of the metal being about 48 oz.; date 1715. There are also two silver trumpets of the same date, weighing 54 oz. 12 dwts. The following curious entry relating to these is found in the Council book for 1715:—"Several gentlemen of this city in the time of our late danger having, by the consent of the Earle of Barkeley, our Lord Lievetenant, formed themselves into two troops of horse, a thing both for the honour and security of the city; itt is ordered for their encouragement that two banners, *two trumpets*, and two standards, and two new coats for the two trumpeters belonging to the troops, be provided att the city charges, and that the said trumpeters be added to the city musick with salarys, all which is referred to the care and management of the mayor, the aldermen, and sherriivs.

"Henry Walter, Mayor. xi January 1715."

The gold chain of office worn by the mayor is elaborate in ornament and peculiarly handsome; it weighs 26 oz. 4 dwts., and was purchased by the corporation in 1828, at a cost of £285.

The small mace borne by the city treasurer as the insignia of his office is of seventeenth century work, and is copper gilt; it is about 18 inches in length, finishing in an imperial crown of four arches, surmounted by an orb and cross pattée; the head has in 4-shield raised the city purse and the city arms, both repeated; between these four angels, with extended wings, bear up a collar and the crown.

The sacramental service in use at the Mayor's Chapel is of modern date (1830); it consists of a paten, two chalices, and two dishes of silver, weighing 129 oz. 1 dwt. This

was the gift of Mr. Thomas Champion, mayor and alderman of the city.

In June, 1851, a magnificent silver dessert service was presented to Sir Jno. Kerle Haberfield, Knt., on the completion of the sixth year of his mayoralty. In 1871 his widow, Lady Haberfield, presented the service to the corporation. It consists of nine pieces—a centre ornament, with emblematic figures of Justice, Generosity, and Commerce; two high fruit stands for corner dishes; two fruit baskets, with sportive boy figures; four corner dishes, with figures emblematic of the seasons. On the tripod are the civic arms, the arms of Sir John, and the following inscription:—

“TO SIR JOHN KERLE HABERFIELD, KNT.

SIX TIMES

MAYOR OF BRISTOL.

FROM HIS FELLOW CITIZENS.

1851.”

The total cost of this beautiful service was £580.

A silver salver, the gift of Mr. J. M. Kempster, for many years councillor for the ward of Clifton, completes the tale of the plate.

In A.D. 1069 the Saxon custom (which our charters tell us had existed from time immemorial in Bristol) of electing their own Præpositor was overridden by the Conqueror, who made Harding its chief officer. In A.D. 1216 a charter was given at a grand council held in Bristol, by which young Henry III restored to the burgesses their right to choose their own chief officer and two bailiffs. Adam le Page was the first thus chosen, but there is a deed extant showing that sixteen years before this date the title of mayor was in use, William Fitz Nichol attesting the said parchment, and signing himself “mayor.” By the above charter the mayor is made the king’s escheator; he has thus the dignity of an earl, and a sword of state is borne before him in his official capacity.

These swords are four in number, the oldest being one given to this city in 1506 by the then Lord Mayor of London; it was originally in a scabbard richly embroidered with pearls—these by the lapse of time have all disappeared, but the inscription engraven on the hilt yet remains:—

“John Willis of London, grocer, Maior,
Gave to Bristol this sworde faire.”

The next in date is the "Lent Sword," so named because borne before the judges when the assize falls in that sacred season. It is a two-edged blade 3 ft. $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in length, 2 ins. in width, tapering to a point; it has a cross hilt engraved on each side with a honeysuckle, silver gilt; the handle is 9 ins. long, ending in a large round pommel of 9 ins. circumference, carrying the St. George's Cross, with a date, 1583, (1 Rich. III), and the shield of arms of the same monarch. The letter M within a T under a crown appears in a scroll of foliage, and around the pommel in Roman capitals is inscribed,

"This sworde we did repaier
Thomas Aldworth being Maior."

The scabbard of black velvet is richly bedight with symbols in silver gilt—stars preponderate, but on either side is a sun. The point itself ends in a crown of fleur-de-lis and crosses pattées, surmounted by depressed arches; over all, the orb and cross. Justice with sword and scales, Wisdom with a serpent, Temperance, Fortitude, the garter and motto with the arms of Richard III, the arms of the city of Bristol, St. George slaying the dragon, and an eagle on a tree stump, surrounded by rose bushes in bloom, are the principal mountings, which are linked together by the fetter-locks of the House of York.

The four first verses of Romans xiii, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," etc., are inscribed on one of the sides, with date "ANO 1594, ANO. EL. REG. 36. FRANCIS KNIGHT, MAIOR," all being in Roman caps.

The third sword is also straight and two-edged; the blade measures 3 ft. $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; the handle is gilt, $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length, and is covered with gilt wire; the cross hilt is of Gothic pattern and is 14 ins. across; the oval pommel has in a sunken panel the arms of the city, and on the reverse are two shields bearing, one the cross of St. George, the other France and England quarterly. The ornaments of the black velvet scabbard are of silver gilt, within Gothic scrolls and tracery. They consist of the figure of a king in his robes under an Italian canopy, holding the sceptre and orb; the royal arms of France and England quarterly, the dexter supporter being a lion, the sinister a dragon; a large five-leaved rose seeded; the letter T in a Gothic scroll, and a death's head with crossbones, and the inscription from Heb.

ix, 27, in Roman caps, "MEMENTO MORI STATUTUM EST OMNIBUS SEMEL MORI," and on the reverse, "JOHN KNIGHT, ESQ., MAIOR ANNO DOM. 1670." There are also remains of the velvet bands, fetter-locks, and suns of the House of York plainly to be traced.

The last of these handsome swords is also the largest; the blade is 3 ft. 5 ins. in length and 4 ins. in width, slightly tapering—it is of blued steel with gilt pattern; the hilt is 17 ins. long; the handle, including the pommel, is 15 ins. long, silver gilt, of Louis Quatorze style, elegant and massive in its scroll-work and its cabled spiral foldings, which merge into and form the pommel. The scabbard is of rich crimson velvet; it is edged with gimp lace, surmounted by an ermine cap, and over this an imperial crown.

The silver gilt mountings are the royal arms as described on No. 3 sword; also those of George II, with the inscription in Roman caps, "ANNO REGNI GEORGII SECUNDI VICESIMO QUINTO, ANNOQUE SALUTIS 1752." It bears also the figures of Religion, Faith, Peace, and Commerce. This sword was purchased by the corporation in A.D. 1753. The silver weighs 201 oz. 13 dwts.; its cost was £188 16s. 3d.

I cannot conclude this paper without acknowledging the readiness with which the city treasurer, J. Harford, Esq., has given me all the information in his power, and promising that if it be the wish of the Association I will at some early date finish appropriately this subject with an account of the ancient paintings, invaluable autograph letters of some of England's greatest heroes, MSS., and other curiosities belonging to the archives of this ancient city.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 26TH MAY, 1875.

R. N. PHILIPPS, D.C.L., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

R. WINN, M.P., Nostel Priory, near Wakefield, was elected an associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents :

To the Society, for the Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association, vol. iii, Fourth Series, No. 20. Dublin, 1874. 8vo.

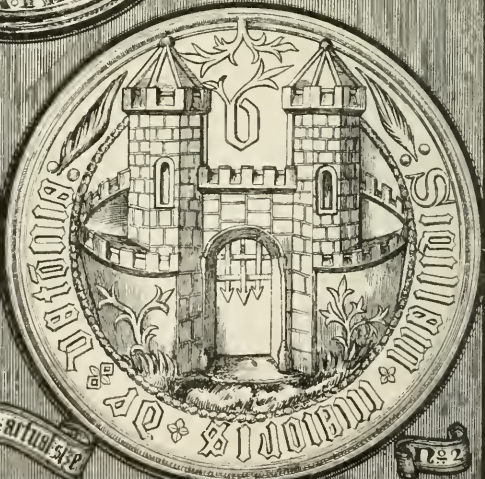
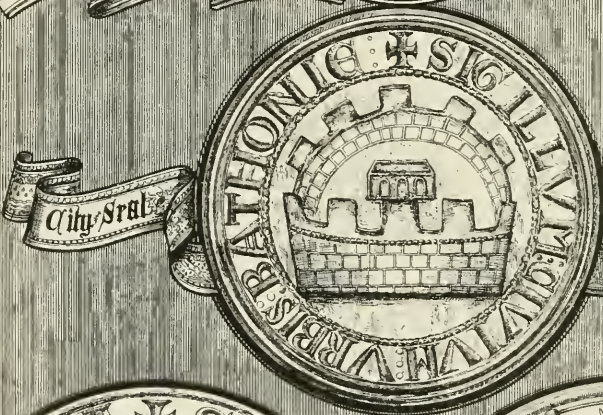
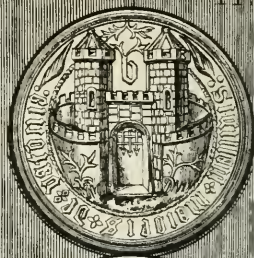
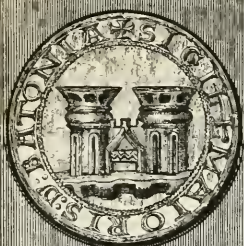
„ „ Archæologia Cambrensis, Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association, April 1875, 4th Series, No. 22. 8vo.

„ „ The Canadian Journal of Science, Literature, and History, vol. xiv, No. IV. 8vo. Toronto.

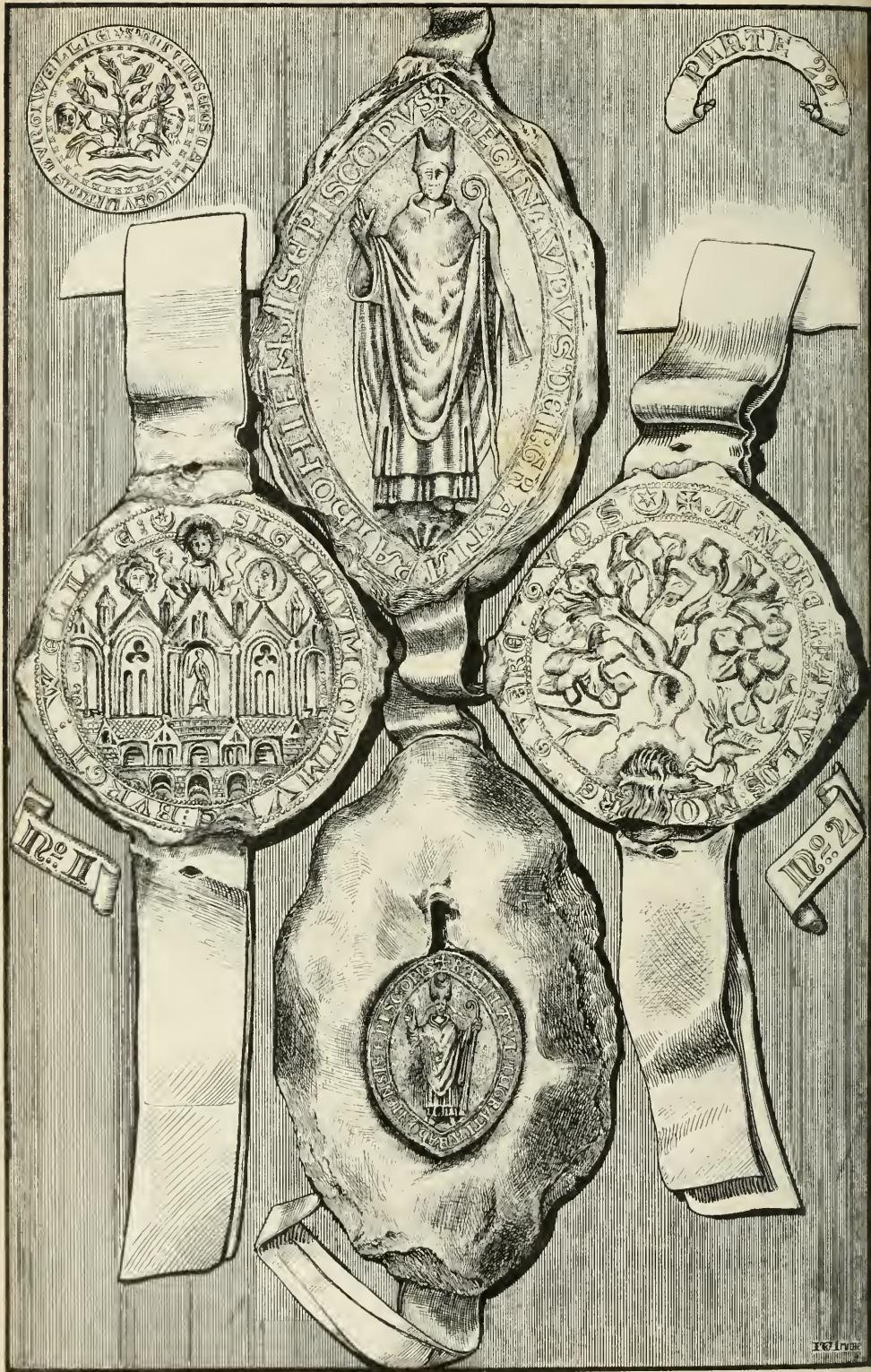
Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., Honorary Curator, announced that the Most Noble the Marquess of Hertford had been elected by the Council to, and was graciously pleased to accept, the office of President of the Association for the ensuing session, and for the Congress at Evesham. Mr. Wright stated that the exact date of the Congress was not yet finally determined, and proceeded to sketch out the main points of interest which he proposed to visit during the excursion week.

Mr. Loftus Brock exhibited—1. Two bronze spear-heads recently found in an excavation near Billingsgate. One is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, including the circular ferule at end. It is circular, and only three-eighths of an inch thick at its base. 2. The other is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, circular at the ferule, but square above it and up to the point. 3. A small leaden head, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch high, apparently of a negro. 4. A small cast leaden bottle, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and circular, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch across. It is shaped not unlike an antique elongated vase, with two small handles under the projecting lip. It has evidently been a love-token since it has the figure of an uncovered gallant leading a lady to a flaming altar, before which stands Juno crowned, and with her peacock. Two flying Cupids, the foremost of which is blowing a trumpet, hold a gigantic wreath above the happy pair. A large rose-tree springing from a vase divides the vase, and separates the continuity of the composition. The date of this relic is late in the seventeenth century. 5. From the excava-









tions in the neighbourhood of Liverpool Street, Bishopsgate, a small, circular, upright vessel of red earth, of very early English or Norman date, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, and 2 inches only at the base. 6. A bone relic, stained green, similar to several previously exhibited, with three notches worked on each of the four sides of the squared top. By some this class of objects is believed to be prehistoric; others maintain they are forgeries. 7. A Roman pear-shaped lamp of stone coloured texture, with circular boss beneath it for fixing into a rest. From Victoria Street. 8. Also a small knife with a silver handle ending in a duck's head, recently found at Shoreditch.

Mr. J. T. Irvine of Rochester forwarded for exhibition several finely executed drawings, in pencil, of ancient seals, with the following illustrative notes:

"Most of these seals I found in going through a quantity of the old documents of the city of Bath, in the possession of their Corporation, and now preserved at the Guild Hall. The first (Pl. 21, fig. 1) appears to be the original seal of the Mayor of Bath, and represents probably the North Gate. The long narrow windows represented on the sides of the towers closely resemble those seen on the very early seal of the Monastery. It had been in use as late at least as 1362 (*temp.* Edw. III), soon after which it was replaced by a finer one, of which I also send a drawing. This last was used as early as *temp.* Ric. II, about 1379-80. Its design had most likely some slight relation to their famous South Gate, which was rebuilt about this date. In the first seal the hot baths are seen through the open gate, and a zigzag line represents the hot water. In the second seal (fig. 2) a large **h** appears above the gate; and at the top of the seal a branch hung downwards is, perhaps, the emblem of the woods which on Lansdown and Beechen Cliff overhung the town, while on each side a palm-branch probably refers to the city being the seat of the see. Altogether it had been a very beautiful seal. This seal was again in late Perpendicular times replaced by another, of which a very poor copy is at present used. A third remarkable seal (fig. 3) was that of the deanery of Bath, a fine, pointed seal.¹ Until these turned up in this way I do not think they were generally known. There were several other interesting seals, two of which are given: one of John, the marshal of the Prior of Bath (I suppose the keeper of his horse); and one of Walter Cibbel or Cubbel (fig. 4), who had been mayor of Bath in 1332-3, 1343-4, 1345-6.

"Along with these I send a drawing of the very beautiful city seal of the Corporation of the town of Wells. Documents sealed with it are preserved as far back as 1316, and it is still in use at the present day." (Pl. 22, figs. 1, 2.) The seneschal's seal is fig. 3.

¹ This occurs in green wax, 20 Edward III, Alexander le Dyghar, mayor; and in red wax, 30 Edward III.

The following notices respecting these seals are from the city records :

“City of Bath.—Chamberlain’s account roll given in before John Pearce, Mayor, No. 110, 1666, under the head of payments: Paid to Mr. George Reeve for altering the ‘macies’, £13 : 12 : 0 ; paid for cases of the ‘macees’, 4s. 6d. ; paid for a SILVER SEAL, sugar-powder, and a shroud, and two spears, P’ Bill, £3 : 15 : 4.’ From roll No. 131, 1686, given in before John Stibbs, Mayor, under head of ‘Casual Receipts’: ‘Received of Mr. Reeves for the OLD SEALE, 4s.’”

Mr. Birch, after reading the notes, commented upon the great beauty of workmanship exhibited by the seals selected by Mr. Irvine for illustration, and offered a few remarks upon the importance of the study of these objects.

On Plate 22 is also given the seal and counterseal of Reginald Fitz-Josceline Bishop of Bath and Wells, A.D. 1174-1191, drawn from a fine impression appended to the charter granted by him to the city,—the earliest deed preserved among the muniments of the Corporation. This drawing, with that of Bishop Savaric’s seal attached to his confirmatory charter, was exhibited to the Association last session.

Mr. H. L. D. Ward, of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, was introduced by Mr. Birch, and read a very interesting paper entitled “The Vision of Thurkill”, from an unpublished MS. in our National Library, containing a fuller account of the adventures of Thurkill than is found in the chroniclers who have taken cognisance of the event. Mr. Ward was listened to for upwards of an hour with feelings of deep and increasing interest, and at the conclusion of the reading the members present unanimously desired to express their thanks to him for the pleasure he had afforded them.

In the discussion that ensued, Mr. Birch suggested that the allusion to the man who was suffering on account of unpaid tithes was important, because this form of taxation formed the principal revenue and sustenance of the monastic and ecclesiastical body. The weighing of souls, which formed also the subject of a graphic and interesting anecdote in the vision was in all probability suggested to the writer by the frequency of its occurrence on wall paintings in churches. Possibly, too, an explanation of one of the passages might be found in the probability of the ruins of a Roman amphitheatre, not far from the scene of the history. We know for example that in the thirteenth century, the date of the composition of the vision, the ruins of Roman Verulam were far more prominent than has been supposed, and it is within bounds of conjecture that similar remains may have existed in Essex, at Colchester, or at other places near the scene of the exploit, which is laid at Stisted in the same county. Again, monks would naturally be expected to lay that powerful stress upon the value of suffrages and masses which we may observe in the text of the narrative. The comic

element was curiously enough as strongly represented in this vision as in the mystery plays of the same and later date.

It was the general wish of the members that the paper and original text of the Vision should be inserted in the *Journal*, and that desire will be carried into effect at the earliest opportunity.

WEDNESDAY, 9TH JUNE, 1875.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A., SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

His Grace the Lord Bishop of Winchester was elected an associate.

A letter from Mr. S. I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*, was read, presenting to the Association a plaster cast of a bust of Mr. J. R. Planché, *Somerset Herald*, executed by Mr. A. V. Wart.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to Mr. Tucker, for his present; and for the following additions to the library,—

To the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities of Copenhagen, for Aarbüger for Nordiske Oldkyndighed og Historie udgivne af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab, 4 parts, 1866; 3 parts, 1867; Kjöbenhavn.

„ „ for Tillæg til Aarbüger, etc., 1866.

„ „ for Annales for Nordiske Oldkyndighed, etc., 1861, 1862, 1863.

„ for Clavis Poetica antiquæ Linguae Septentrionalis, quam e Lexico poetico Sveinbiornis Egilssonii collegit et in ordinem redegit Benedictus Gröndal (Egilsson); Edidit Societas Regia Antiquariorum Septentrionalium. Hafniæ, 1864.

„ „ Antikvarisk Tidsskrift udgivet af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab, 1860, 1861-63. Kjöbenhavn, Thieles Bogtrykkeri.

„ „ Memoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. Nouvelle Série, 1866, Copenhagen.

To the Rev. John Abbiss, M.A., Rector of St. Bartholomew's, for an account of St. Bartholomew's Priory Church at Smithfield; by the Rev. M. E. C. Walcott, B.D., F.S.A., Precentor of Chichester; and for a Lecture by J. H. Parker, C.B., on the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great." Printed by the Restoration Committee, 1867.

Mr. Wright announced the satisfactory progress of arrangements in connection with the Congress at Evesham.

Mr. Cope exhibited two fine specimens of East Indian jade, inlaid with silver, believed to be employed as spittoons. They were formerly in the collection of Colonel Guthrie. One of these objects was of spherical-shaped body, on a disk-shaped foot, with narrowed neck enlarged into a flat saucer-shaped lip; the other had the body of a trun-

cated cone and three small feet, but in other respects the general appearance was very similar.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew said that he had two vessels of exactly similar shape, but made of Venetian glass, among his collection of ancient glass; and mentioned specimens of Bristol glass of like appearance. The shape was frequently seen in Moorish pottery.

Mr. Previté drew attention to similar specimens which had come under his notice, and was of opinion that the vessels were used to contain perfumed waters, rather than for the convenience of the smoker.

Mr. Cumming, however, was of opinion that they were spittoons, and gave a short description of several specimens in his museum.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew laid upon the table some specimens of Roman glass. No. 1. A small bottle of green glass for perfume; found in Maze pond, Southwark, and four unguentaria of Egyptian and Roman glass from the Gwilt collection, and found, together with Roman urns, in Union Street, Southwark. No. 2 is pear shaped and long necked, of pale green glass, iridescent. No. 2 also iridescent, appears to have been coated upon a brilliant green ground with plates of glass extremely thin. No. 3 is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, of dense glass, made to resemble a Jasper. Mr. Mayhew showed, as illustrations, some Jasper glass fragments found in London. This vessel appears to have been attached to a tile of red earth by concrete, after the manner of the catacombs, the glass revealing many fragments of the tile or brick still adhering to the glass. No. 4 is of pale green glass, vase shaped, with a long and narrow neck. It should be observed that very many Roman urns, some containing the ashes of the dead, have been and still may be found in the district of the Borough, stretching southwards from St. Saviour's Church. The unguentaria are relics of Roman sepulture.

Mr. Mayhew exhibited also an early Christian lamp, bearing a rough representation of the dove, with double olive branch.

Attention was then directed to a recent London find of Roman, Celtic, and Anglo-Saxon remains, consisting of a bead of white glass, rough and heavy, pierced for suspension. A round amber heart, a finely carved scoop of bone, a small girdle knife, and, finally, a specimen of Roman work, assigned to the third century; a highly ornamented spoon of silver in combination with a knife of iron. This interesting relic is pronounced unique. It was recovered in company with an Upchurch vase and a rough unglazed vessel of clay, the knife before mentioned and other fragments. Length of the spoon $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and the combined knife 3 ins. Breadth of the spoon 1 inch. Specimens of the *lingula* in bronze and bone from Mr. Mayhew's collection were also presented for comparison and illustration. From the peculiar form of the

hawl, and attachment of a knife, it was imagined as intended for chrism or sacramental purposes. A minute examination, however, fails to discover monogram or sign in support of the theory, and we fall back on the supposition that its real use was as an egg-spoon at the table.

Mr. Cuming and Mr. Wright spoke in testimony of the great interest attaching to the objects exhibited.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited two fine photographs presented to him by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., and taken from drawings made by Sir Henry in 1842, representing the plaster-reliefs on the exterior walls of the George Inn, Fostersbooth, Cold Higham, Northamptonshire. These curious reliefs are of the year 1637, and display hunting subjects. That on the south-east side of the building comprises a hare pursued by a hound, whilst a sportsman stands holding in his left hand a chain which is secured to the collar of a fox-like dog. The costume of the figure is characteristic of the period. He wears a broad brimmed, conical crowned hat, tight fitting jerkin buttoned down the front, broad, falling collar, gauntlet-gloves, breeches descending below the knee, and high boots shaped to the leg. The scene on the north-west side of the inn includes a bare-headed man blowing a *corne de chasse* whilst standing beside a tree, a hound seizing a deer by the breast, and close by a second huntsman with the scabbard of his *couteau de chasse* depending from his waist-girdle. Both these figures are habited alike, and differ little in general appearance from the one first described. These hunts are placed between an upper and lower range of Romanesque arcades, and it must be added that their effect is somewhat marred by windows having been cut through the designs in a ruthless manner.

Mr. Cuming remarked that the species of mural decoration exhibited in the above photographs was formerly known as pargework, pargetting, pergetting, and pergening; and was so called from the material employed, "parge" or "parget" being the old name for plaster. In the English-Latin dictionary entitled *Promptorium Parvulorum*, compiled by Galfridus Grammaticus circa 1440, we read,—“Parget, or playster for wallys, gipsum, litura.” Pargework was in all probability a development of the classic *opus coronarium*. It was a favourite adornment for the half timber houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and many examples of it have survived to a late period. The designs varied considerably in character and elaboration. Sometimes only a few bold mouldings or geometric forms were wrought on the flat surface of the plaster; at others, heraldic devices, tasteful foliage, busts, and full and half-length figures, and divers beasts, birds, and fishes. An ancient dwelling in the Market Place at Newark is decorated in this way with small canopied effigies. Mr. Repton, in a paper on ancient timber-houses, printed in our *Journal* (vii, p. 102), alludes

to plaster embellishments at Bury and Ipswich, of the end of the seventeenth century.

Plate 99 of the Oxford *Glossary of Architecture* gives three examples of pargetting of the first half of the seventeenth century. The earliest is assigned to *circa* 1620, and is a panel from a house in the Corn Market, Oxford. It is a rather stiff design, much like the tooling on the book-covers of the time of Elizabeth and James I, consisting of scrollwork, etc. The second in age is of the year 1628, and is the upper part of the front of Bishop King's House, Oxford, the whole surface of which is covered with a geometric pattern formed of lozenges, circles, semicircles, etc., remindful of a Salisbury house engraved in our *Journal*, xv, p. 19. The latest is of 1642, a panel from a house in High Street, Oxford, pulled down in 1842. In this pargetting we see an oval shield charged with a chevron between three barrels, two and one, surrounded with stiff scrolls with foliage intermingled.

Our metropolis could once boast of some fine examples of pargetting, and a few still linger in our streets to testify to the taste and skill of our ancestors.

The old dwellings called "The Fish-Pond Houses" formerly standing on the Bankside, Southwark, were singularly rich in pargework, the spaces between the windows of the first and second floors being occupied by boldly wrought designs; among them Neptune in his car drawn by sea-horses, with suspended fish, and nude figures riding on dolphins; the royal arms with supporters holding a conspicuous place.

Sir Paul Pinder's Lodge in Half-Moon Alley, near his mansion in Bishopsgate Street, displayed some curious pargetting. On either side of the projecting windows were panels, the upper ones oval, the lower square with truncated angles, each enclosing a draped effigy, which are well shown in J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of London and its Environs*, 1791.

In the *European Magazine* for February 1796 (vol. 29) is a view of a mansion in Great St. Helen's, once the residence of Sir John Lawrence, Lord Mayor of London A.D. 1665, from which we may gather a good notion of the style of pargetting in vogue about the middle of the seventeenth century. Beneath the windows of the first floor are oval shields, one charged with the arms of Sir John Lawrence (*ermine*, a cross raguly *gules*, a canton *ermine*), the other with those of the City, both being supported by mermaids. Below the windows of the second floor are two oval cartouches encompassed with bold scrollwork, one inscribed with the letters $\frac{SIL}{KA}$, the other with the date $\frac{1}{6}\frac{6}{2}$. Outside these cartouches are panels with bearded busts. Further representations of pargework on London house-fronts may be seen in the volumes of the *European Magazine* for the years 1800 and 1802.

Though pargetting as a decoration to the exterior walls of houses

has long since ceased to be employed, it evidently gave birth to the embellishments so fashionable during the first half of the eighteenth century for the fronts of wooden mantelpieces, some of which were actually of parget or stucco, though the majority of such *appliqué* ornaments were formed of a composition in which putty constituted an important ingredient.

A valuable paper, by Mr. J. T. Irvine, of Rochester, entitled "Notes upon some Figures in the Western Towers of Wells Cathedral", was read by Mr. Birch, and the reading illustrated by a series of drawings of the fine carvings and effigies, executed by Mr. Irvine. The paper will be given in a future part of the *Journal*.

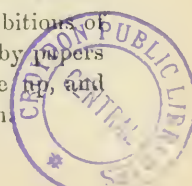
Mr. Tucker expressed a hope that means would be forthcoming to enable the Society to illustrate Mr. Irvine's paper with engravings from the very beautiful pencil drawings with which the communication had been embellished.

Mr. Birch read a paper bearing this title, "A Fasciculus of the Charters of the Empress Mathildis, Queen of England, with an Account of her Seal." In this paper the author gave a description of a large number of charters of the Empress, dated from Westminster, Oxford, Devizes, St. Alban's, Rouen, and other places, and explained his views tending to show that Mathildis was *de facto* the regnant sovereign in England during part of the year 1141, and therefore entitled to a place in the chronological lists of monarchs. Mr. Birch's paper was supported by accurate transcripts of the charters examined, and illustrated by the exhibition of an original charter of the Empress to the Cistercian Abbey of Bordesley in Warwickshire, kindly lent for the occasion by Mr. William Willes, of Goodrest, Reading. Mr. Birch also exhibited photographs of two original charters in the Record Office among the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster, obtained by permission of Mr. William Hardy, the keeper of the Duchy Records. In accordance with the desire of the Association, this paper will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

The Rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A., Prebendary of Wells, sent a paper "On Worlebury, or Camp on the Worle Hill, immediately over the Town of Weston-super-Mare", with a photograph of the plan of the camp. Owing to the lateness of the hour the paper was taken as read, and has since been printed in the current *Journal* at pp. 266-275.

Want of time also prevented the reading of a paper by Mr. Cumming "On Church Collecting-boxes", which was taken as read, and will be printed in a future place.

After a few words from the chairman, who, in reviewing the labours of the session, said the proceedings had been marked by exhibitions of several very valuable and unique objects of antiquity, and by papers on subjects of more than usual interest, the meeting broke up, and the session of 1874-5 was brought to a successful termination.



Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 248.)

FRIDAY, 7TH AUGUST, 1874.

THE Archæological Association made this day an excursion into the counties of Somerset and Wilts, and were well satisfied with the result of their visit to some objects of antiquarian interest in those counties. Starting at an early hour in the morning from the Great Western station, Temple Meads, the party proceeded, in the first instance, to Keynsham, where a fine field of research had been opened up to them by the enterprise of Mr. Cox, who, in erecting some houses on land of his own, had disclosed the hidden remains of the Abbey. Much of what was found in excavating was peculiarly fine, and the members of the Association were delighted with more than one relic submitted to their critical notice.

Mr. G. R. Wright gave some interesting particulars of the Abbey, strengthening his own remarks by reference to statements of Prebendary Searth who had made an especial study of the remains. The party, in the course of their research, had to pass over land in the occupation of Mr. J. H. Clifton and Mr. Cox, and both these gentlemen accorded the utmost freedom to the Association in tracing the remains of the old building. In a corner of Mr. Cox's garden Mr. Wright pointed out some tiles that were now exposed to view, and he remarked that this portion of the structure was presumed to belong to a side-chapel, though some thought it was part of the Abbey itself. The greater portion of what remained of the old structure was uncovered about eight or ten years ago, but the corner where they now stood had only recently been disclosed. There were some slabs with carving and inscriptions of the thirteenth century, two of which had been removed to the Literary Institution at Bath. Portions of the tabernacle-work of the fifteenth century, which composed the canopy of a shrine, were very well carved. The remains came into the possession of Mr. Cox at the time he was excavating for building, and it was supposed that the pavement would soon be covered up. An account of the Abbey had been printed in the *Transactions* of the Bath Field Club, and Prebendary Searth had written a paper on the

Abbey for the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries. Within the last year some Saxon work had been found, and no doubt the Abbey ruins contributed much to the building of the great house of Chandos in Keynsham.

There must probably have been an older foundation at Keynsham, as on the defeat of Jestyn at Gwrgant, the lord of Morganwg or Glamorganshire, by Einion ab Cadifor ab Colwyn, his nephew, and the Norman barons, at the Heath, Cardiff, in 1091 or 1092 (probably the latter year, as Jestyn, by his nephew Einion, fought and defeated Rhys ab Tewdr in 1091), he fled to the Abbey of Keynsham, where he lived several years. As his age at his defeat was about eighty, and having lived till nearly a hundred years old, the period of his death may be placed at from 1106 to 1110, thus leaving a space of about sixty years from the date of his death to the erection of the new Abbey in 1170.

Mr. J. T. Burgess, of Leamington, reminded the party that the spot on which they were now standing was rich in interesting remains.

Mr. Taylor, of the Bristol Library, gave some particulars of the Abbey that were well timed, and reminded his hearers that Jasper Earl of Pembroke was buried there, and Shakespeare's Duke of Buckingham made an oblation at the shrine.

Mr. Philipps referred to the remains of the pavement, and said in London and York many ancient pavements had been taken up at great expense, and put together. He suggested that they should have the remains of the pavement at Keynsham removed to Bristol, and put together as a memorial of the Abbey.

Mr. Cox then conducted the party round his garden, and pointed out specimens taken from the Abbey, which he had used for decorating his enclosure. Part of the tombstone of one of the abbots, bearing the date 1499, was well worthy of attention; and the figure of the Saviour riding on an ass furnished an excellent example of the workmanship of the period. Before the party left they passed a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Cox and Mr. Clifton for allowing them to inspect the remains of the Abbey.

Mr. Brock has written a paper on Keynsham Abbey since the visit, and the paper will be found printed, and accompanied with plates illustrating the principal objects of interest, at pp. 195-205.

After casting a glance at the church of St. John, the party next joined a number of their company who had come from Bristol in a special train, and proceeded to Bath, where several conveyances were waiting to take them, *via* Wraxall and Chalfield, to Bradford-on-Avon. Mr. C. E. Davis of Bath acted as *cicerone* to the excursionists.

At the Manor House, Wraxall, a halt was made, and the old structure inspected carefully. The building is an excellent example of a

stone manor house of the time of Edward IV, to which great additions had been made by the ancient family of Long down to the commencement of the last century. The house had a curious gateway and staircases, with double entrances leading to a series of rooms, connected with a courtway opening into an inner court. The main point of interest was the remains of the old hall, which still contained the ancient screen guarding the lower part of the hall from the buttery and pantry. The drawing-room with its fine chimneypieces, the "ghost" room, and other apartments, were all visited and narrowly inspected; and the party listened to Mr. Davis' observations on the story of Guy Darrell of Littlecote, a legend of which the scene was laid at some distance from Wraxall.

Chalfield was subsequently visited, and the manor house here, with a church adjoining, furnished objects of much interest. The fine farm-buildings that at present show how much agriculture is cultivated on the spot, are included in a moat still existing. The house was seen to be of a remarkably highly decorated character. The oriel windows were worthy of notice, the quaint, carved terminals exciting the attention and admiration of the leading members of the Association. Refreshments for the party were liberally supplied by the kindness of the proprietor.

The party next went to Bradford-on-Avon where there were three special objects of interest. The Rev. Prebendary Jones showed some of the striking features of the old church, and the lucid manner in which he traced the different features enabled the company to appreciate fully the architectural details. Mr. Jones has promised a paper on the parish church, with a view of recording the oral account he gave to the Association.

The principal curiosity of the town was the Saxon church, not far from the parish church, and this was described by Mr. Jones and Mr. Davis. Mr. Jones' remarks have since been amplified and committed to writing, in the form of a paper, laid before the Association at an evening meeting on the 24th of March, and will be found printed, with two views, at pp. 143-152, under the title of "The Finding of the Saxon Church of St. Lawrence at Bradford-on-Avon." Mr. Davis, however, collecting the company around him in the vicinity of the place, said a great deal on the subject of the Saxon church.¹ "The school-house at the north of Bradford Church, notwithstanding the numerous alterations it has undergone during succeeding ages, retains unmistakable evidence of having once been a chapel or church; and not only does the arrangement still exist, of nave, chancel, and north porch, but it still bears architectural proofs of a very early

¹ Mr. Davis' written account will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

foundation. The nave, 25 feet 6 inches long by 13 feet 4 inches wide, was entered by an arch (still existing) from a north porch, which was entered also by a doorway almost immediately opposite. The inner arch is the earliest positively Decorated arch I have yet seen. The archway, which is not recessed, is 2 feet 10 inches wide, and springs from an impost which is simply a plain stone course, stopping also a slightly moulded pilaster, formed by a series of segmental rondels. Above this the impost is continued over the arch as a hood-moulding. In the east side of the nave is a small fragment of an arch, sufficient only remaining of the arc to determine its width at about 4 ft. 10 ins. It is precisely similar in every respect to the other, and, singularly enough, is not more embellished, although there can be little doubt that it was the entrance to the chancel. Above it, in the wall, were the figures of two angels with expanded wings, now removed to the exterior, which probably held a *vesica piscis*, containing the sitting figure of our Lord, as in the tympanum of the south door at Ely. There is one window to the porch still used, another to the south of the chancel blocked up. They are splayed both internally and externally, are circular-headed, and bear every evidence of being the original windows. It is much to be regretted that no other remains of the first windows exist, it being difficult to complete the plan in this respect; but I have no doubt there was another window to the north of the chancel, and probably two on the south side of the nave of the same form. At the west end the greater portion of the wall has been removed, so all is conjecture. I venture, however, to suggest that there was a small circular window placed somewhat high in the building. The exterior is the most worthy of notice as it, perhaps, exhibits the most perfect remains of the earliest architecture in England—certainly as early as any in Wiltshire—that I have yet seen or heard of. The building, as first existing, was of three distinct roofs, marking the position of the several portions; and that over the porch, although not at the original elevated pitch as marked on the side-wall of the nave, yet retains the same line of drip; but the others have been entirely altered. All the elevations, excepting the porch, which was of two stages, were divided into three. The lower was quite plain, with the exception only of a series of very slight projections: indeed, the projections are so slight they can only be called pilasters, and not buttresses. These occur at regular intervals, and support a stringcourse which runs flush with it all round the building, except where recently destroyed. Upon this stringcourse runs an arcade, a series of flat pilasters, partially moulded on the east, formed by upright stones not tailing into the wall. Upon these are square blocks of stone slightly bevelled, which support, or appear to support, plain arches. They appear to support, because the arches are only surface-decoration, not

being at all constructive arches, as they are cut out of the stone which runs irrespective of them in regular courses. The porch has a similar decoration on the north ; but to the east and west the pilasters do not support arches, but merely a tabling which on one side certainly is original, and is built to receive the eaves. In the eastern gable of the nave and chancel are the remains of an arcade above this one, which was built to take the form of the pitch of the roof, being stilted in increasing height to the centre ; but from the alterations since made in the roof, by depressing its elevation and inserting flues, the upper portion is entirely destroyed. The pilasters on the east elevation are moulded into three depressed roundels, a very simple form of decoration,—in fact, the earliest form met with in this country. This work is, therefore, more valuable, perhaps, than any other in this building as it, in the first place, marks the superiority of the east over the other elevations, showing at once that the building is, without doubt, a church ; and in the next place, together with the peculiar way in which the lesser pilasters which support the arcade are built, mark the antiquity of the structure. Without any existing record of the erection of this building to strengthen my opinion, I should hesitate to assign so early a date as the work here, perhaps, exhibits ; but I have no hesitation in saying that this building has as great a claim to be considered eleventh or even tenth century work as any which assumes that honour without any documentary evidence ; but as I am convinced Saxon, as we call it, never existed as a distinct style, but was rather a Saxon modification of the Norman, it would be difficult to say whether this was built prior to the Conquest, or soon after by Saxon workmen uninfluenced by imported refinements.”

This unique relic of Saxon architecture, founded by St. Aldhelm, first Bishop of Sherborne, A.D. 705-709, has now been purchased and conveyed to trustees (two of whom have held the office of President of the Wilts Archæological Society), with a view to its permanent preservation. Some steps should be taken at once to prevent further decay ; but until funds are provided, the work must be at a standstill. The cost of reparation is estimated at about £700. It would be desirable, if possible, to raise also a small sustentation fund ; so that £1,000 is wanted in all. The cost of the purchase, with attendant expenses, has been about £560. The subscriptions received up to the present time have amounted to some £530.

The Duke's House, Bradford, was visited by some of the party. It is a tall mansion full of windows, and is supposed to have been built by the architect of Longleat, viz., John of Padua ; but there are some signs in the drawing-room, and also in the adjoining room, that the internal fittings of stone were the work of another and less experienced hand.

After the archæological treasures of Bradford had been explored, the party re-entered the carriages and were conveyed to the Grange, about a mile from the town, and the residence of Mr. Buddle Atkinson, who had invited them to luncheon in a large tent pitched in front of his quaint and interesting mansion. At the close a few healths were proposed. Mr. K. D. Hodgson, M.P., the President of the Association, in felicitous terms gave the health of Mr. Atkinson, and that gentleman suitably responded. Other toasts were also honoured, and the party then went back to Bradford, leaving that town by a special train which brought them to Bristol in time for attending the evening meeting of the Association.

In the evening a meeting of the members of the Association was held at the Fine Arts Academy, Mr. K. D. Hodgson, M.P., President, in the chair.

Mr. Thomas Morgan read a paper on the early history of Gloucester and Somerset shires, which he prefaced by saying that he would not go back to the siege of Troy, or summon up the ghost of Brutus on this occasion: that Roman had been often buried, but his shade had at least as often reappeared, and may do so again. He would not invoke it now, and hoped not to give offence to the men of Bristol by not addressing them as "*Trojugenæ*"; or to the women of Bristol by not praising them as "*fortissimæ Tyndaridarum*",—a Grecian patronymic which would do an injustice to their gentler natures. He would keep his bark near shore, and go no further back in time than to the age of Julius Cæsar; nor would he be tempted to follow Iranian or Turanian "Will o' the wisps", lest they should dazzle and mislead rather than enlighten us. His paper will be printed hereafter.

Mr. J. F. Nicholls, City Librarian, read a paper entitled "Remarks on some Public Documents belonging to All Saints' Church, Bristol", which has been printed in the *Journal*, pp. 259-265.

Mr. R. N. Philipps, LL.D., F.S.A., read a paper on "The Similarity between the Ancient Usages and Customs of Bristol and London." He said there was a remarkable similarity in the uses of old cities, as discovered by the researches of the antiquary. He pointed to the similarity of the charters given to London immediately after the Conquest and that given to Bristol by Henry II a hundred years later. Strong reference was made to liberty and freedom in both of them. At the siege of Calais by Edward III, whilst London furnished twenty-five ships and six hundred and sixty-two men, Bristol sent twenty-two ships and six hundred and eight men.¹ The size of some of the Bristol ships was considerable, for in 1449 one of William Canynge's, called the *Mary and John*, was of nine hundred tons' burthen. The election of

¹ See W. S. Lindsay's *History of Merchant Shipping*, vol. i, p. 634, from MSS. Harl. 246, f. 12 b, and 3968, f. 130.

mayor was similar in both cities from early times. Colston was as much at home in Whitechapel as in Bristol, and in 1709 he sent £20,000 to help the starving poor of London. Canynge also united London and Bristol in his sympathies. He then noticed the way the salaries of the mayors of London and Bristol were obtained, the latter being from dues paid by each ship arriving in port, and the former by dues paid by each ship bringing corn into the port. There was a gallantry about Bristol, for twenty-six shillings for a muff for the mayoress was provided. The Chamberlain of Bristol formerly possessed the same powers as that of London; and there used to be two sheriffs, as in London. The coroner and aldermen were similarly appointed. He then referred to various interesting old customs that prevailed in both cities, causing amusement by enumeration of the curious punishments that were formerly meted out to offenders. The duties enjoined upon the mayors and corporations were very similar, especially in the measuring of coal sold, to see that the weight was correct; and if it was found short, the punishment was that the sacks should be burnt, and part of the coal given to the poor. To this day that right continued in the Corporation of London. The legal powers of the authorities of the two cities were very similar. The reason of the similarity between the customs, no doubt, was that these two cities were the two great centres of commerce and of manufacture, and also the two great ports of the kingdom, celebrated in the world for their wealth and enterprise.

Votes of thanks were passed to those who had read the papers of the evening, and the proceedings terminated at a late hour.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8.

Notwithstanding the heavy rain of the past night, upwards of seventy ladies and gentlemen mustered on the Midland platform on Saturday, at 9.15, where a special train awaited their conveyance to Thornbury. The route lay through the rich meadow lands of Gloucestershire, *via* Iron Acton, where the line enters upon some heavy cutting, and so on to Thornbury.¹ Straggling down at leisure in groups

¹ On the road from Bristol to Thornbury is the ancient village of Almondsbury, in the parish of which stands the lofty knole, formerly a stronghold of the inhabitants before and perhaps during the Roman occupation of Britain. Although not visited by the Association, the following notes on the antiquities of the village, kindly furnished by the Vicar and Mr. Sholto V. Hare, of Knole, will be interesting to the reader.

"ALMONDSBURY, OR AMSEBURY.

"It is said that the name is taken from Almond, a West Saxon Prince, father of Egbert, the first sole monarch of England, and supposed to be buried in the church. (Atkins' *History of Gloucestershire*.) This tradition may perhaps have some confirmation by the statue of a king with crown and sceptre placed in a niche in the gable of the ancient porch of Anglo-Norman architec-

through the clean streets of Thornbury, one of the best specimens of an English country town, the church and the entrance to the castle were reached. In the annals of the visitants this day will

ture, for the existing figure and niche, though modern, may probably be in some sort copies of an old work. In Atkins' *Gloucestershire* we read, 'The manor did belong to Robert, the son of Harding, ancestor of the Berkeley family, who founded the Abbey of St. Austin, in Bristol, in the fifteenth year of King Stephen, 1148; and endowed the abbey at the foundation with the Manor of Almondsbury, etc.' The existing church and chancel show marks of the style of architecture of this period. In the chancel the groined ceiling has its central boss sculptured with the sagittarius, the emblem of King Stephen, and it terminates in the north angle of the east wall with the corbel head of a king (Stephen), and in the south angle with the corbel head of a queen (Matilda). All this there seems every reason to consider original. The church and chancel throughout, except the Anglo-Norman porch, presents the hood mouldings with corbel heads, characteristic of the Early English style, though Perpendicular and nondescript treatment has been intruded in windows and elsewhere. The building is cruciform with a tower and brooch spire, and north and south transept forming the arms of the cross. The spire is constructed with a remarkably simple but strong oaken frame, and covered with lead in plates welted together, and fastened by copper nails. Tradition states the original lead to have been taken from mines in the adjacent hills, of which there remain yet traces in the "Ridge Wood", near on the side of the "Ridgeway." Over this well known Ridgeway passes the road from Bristol to Thornbury and to Gloucester. In the south transept a tomb is fixed raised above the pavement about its own thickness. It is figured at Pl. xlvii of Lysons' *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*. It represents the tomb of an ecclesiastic, probably John de Gihenham, vicar of Almondsbury. At the upper end appears to have been a head carved, and under it a cross. Around the edge of the tomb is the following inscription, in the Norman character: 'Johan de Gihenham, Vikere de Almondsburi, git ici, Dieu de sa ame.. eyt merci.' Another tomb is fixed even with the pavement of the floor in the north transept; except the appearance of a carved head as in the former nothing can be traced. Both seem to be grave lids of ecclesiastics, and these probably of the Priory of St. Augustine, Bristol, and vicars of Almondsbury. It does not seem likely that either of the tombs occupies the original position, but rather they seem now to have been placed to fit conveniently with the pavement of the floor. The following quaint inscription is on a slab in the wall of the church:

"Of all the creatures wch God made under the sun, there is none so miserable as man. For all dumb creatures have no misfortune to befall them but what comes by nature, but man through his own knowledge brings himself into a thousand griefs both of soul and body.

"As for example, our father had two children and against his knowledge he committed the sin of Idolatry upon us, For had Our Father done his duty towards God but one part in a Thousand as he did towards us when he prayed to God to spare our lives, God might have heard his prayers, but God is a jealous God and punisheth the faults of Parents upon their Children.

"Tho' the sins of our Father have deprived us of the light of the sun, thanks be to God, we enjoy more Great, more Sweet, more Blessed Light, which is ye presence of God ye Maker of all Lights, to whom be all Honour and Glory.

"Beneath this place lye the Bodies of John and Elizabeth Maronne, in the Memory of whom their Father caused this Monument to be put up, Elizabeth Died in 1708 aged 6, John Died in 1711 aged 5, their Father a poor Man born in the Province of Dophin, in the Kingdom of France, he believes that his sins were the cause that God took the life of his children."

"Further particulars relating to Almondsbury can be readily found in the *History of Gloucestershire* by Atkins, by Rudder, by Bigland, by Fosbrooke, in Lysons' *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, and in Dugdale's *Monasticon*."

be marked by a white stone, for Thornbury Castle, though neither peculiarly beautiful, imposing in its grandeur, nor picturesque in its appearance, is almost inaccessible to strangers. It is not a show place, hence the kindness shown to the Association was more appreciated. A paper on the Castle, by E. Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

The church, carefully restored thirty years since, has a Norman foundation; the north aisle, north door, and buttress under the east window, are clearly of that date. The door is perhaps eleventh century work, with a label or dripstone of a century later. The south side of the church, sedilia, and restored chancel windows, date from the thirteenth century. The rest is of the fifteenth. The slender pillars of the aisles, rising gracefully to a great altitude, suggest that the church was never intended to have a clerestory, an inference the correctness of which, however, Mr. Roberts doubted. The nave is large and wide; there are two aisles, two chantry chapels, and a chancel. A beautiful late brass, of the end of the sixteenth century, of a lady of the family of Tyndale, in a richly embroidered robe—that of her husband has unfortunately been stolen—is in the floor against the chancel step. This inscription is as follows:

“Thomas Tyndall dyed the xxviij of Aprill 1571.

“Ye se how deathe dothe spare no age no kynd,
How I am lapt in claye and dedd you fynde,
My wyfe and childeren lye here with me,
No gould no Frende no Strenthe could ransome be.

“The end of care and matter to repent,
The end of vayne delighe and ill intente,
The end of faere for frynd and worldly wo,
By deathe we have and of lyke thousand mo.

“And death of tymes in us hathe made an end,
So that nothinge can oure estate amend,
Who would not be content suche change to make,
For worldly thinges eternall lyfe to take.”

There is a singular arch in the chancel end of the south aisle; it has pendants, like those of many a Devonshire church—to wit, Crediton, Tiverton, etc.—and seems to show that the same architect came working his way up from the west. There are several piscinas, and in the south aisle in the floor are two different portions of stones, both inscribed to a William Rippe, the date being 1579. The tower is like those of Somerset, St. Stephen, and Dundry. We have always heard the “I’ve done dree” story heretofore ascribed to St. Stephen’s, then “I’m a Biton,” then “I’ve dun dree;” but Mr. Roberts gave Thornbury tower instead of Bitton, and with far more justice, for the parapets, some 16 feet in height, are magnificent. The tower grows less

pure in style as it grows upwards, proving that a considerable time elapsed, as usual, ere it was finished. A curious combination of a priest's door into the chancel and of a door that joined it at right angles into the chantry of the south aisle was pointed out. These doors are just at the angle of the south aisle and the chancel, the very point where a modern architect would tremble to place an opening lest he weaken the structure. Mr. Roberts strongly advised that they should be opened. There is a turret to a roodloft, no longer in existence, and there was, as is evident from a walled-up window, a "*parvise*," or priest's room, over the south porch.

Returning from the church, on the left in the street the ancient gateway into some monastic building of the fifteenth century, is seen with a label or drip peculiar to Gloucestershire. On the north side the drip finishes as usual; on the other it has a curious bend, and an abrupt termination, just, as one observed, like a hockey stick. Under the pleasant guidance of Mr. Gwynne, of Bristol, the party entered Porch House at the dinner hour of the kindly host and his family. There are some few remains here of what is said to have been a religious house, but the most striking were two long oaken tables of the fifteenth century, off of which probably the brethren dined.

The luncheon was served at the Swan. Mr. Hills proposed the health of Mr. Scarlett, which was appropriately responded to. Mr. Levien, in his happiest style, then proposed the health of the President. The excursion secretary gave the health of the indefatigable local secretary, Mr. Reynolds, to which Mr. Nicholls begged to add the name of Mrs. Reynolds, who had been prevented from attending every excursion and meeting. Due honour was done to each. Then, in five breaks, with private carriages, the party (now considerably increased by mid-day additions by rail) started off for Iron Acton. And thus through the lanes and valleys of Gloucestershire, with heavy crops of wheat awaiting the sickle, or standing in massive shocks in the fields, or filling the creaking wains on its way to the stackyard, midst many a cheer from the brawny reapers the members attending the excursion passed rapidly on to Iron Acton, and soon at the gate of the churchyard all leaped down to inspect the fine old preaching cross, that like a covered castelet still stands somewhat mutilated, but ever a thing of beauty, in the churchyard. Here Mr. Wright read a description, after which the party moved into the church to hear a few words about it from Mr. E. Roberts. Some time was spent in examining the carved panelling, *temp.* Henry VII, the curious corbel heads in the tower, the fine groined roof of the belfry, and its charming little door; the two fine effigies in the vestry, once a chantry chapel; the tabernacle tomb, and incised stones in the floor of knights in armour of the fourteenth century. A good hour's work was compressed into about ten

minutes. The high pews and galleries were emphatically denounced, and then Yate was passed and the party made a somewhat late arrival at Chipping Sodbury.

Half a mile farther, amid "*lynchets*" of defence on the hill sides, that mark the whole of the line of hills as an old Saxon battle ground, were reached the fields wherein stands Sodbury camp. As time was precious, the party deferred to inspect the camp, and wound its way down by the rampart of an early British covered way that led up to the fort, to the old manor, or Bible-Tyndale-house, *i. e.*, the house in which he lived holding the position of tutor to his friend Sir John Welch's children, preaching in its chapel, and all round about, often coming over to Bristol, and telling the bigoted priests that by God's help "he would one day make the veriest ploughboy in England know more of God's word than did they its professed preachers." Reference was made by Mr. Nicholls to the fact that the only perfect copy of Tyndale's First New Testament is in the Baptist College of Bristol, and one of the few early editions, the first in which the matter is broken up into verses, is in the old City Library. Major W. H. H. Hartley, who is a descendant from John Winchcombe—Jack of Newbury—conserves everything with great care, though the house is deserted and used as a carpenter's shop. The ancient dining hall has a fine timbered roof of the fifteenth century. There was no fireplace or *louvre* to let off the smoke, but the fire had to be kindled on a hearth in the centre of the room, whilst the smoke and steam escaped through the crannies of the roof. A theory was suggested by Mr. Roberts that the two corbel heads opposite each other in a line with this central hearth (a similar example of which had been seen at Great Chalfield Manor House on the previous day) had been used to sustain lights on a rope, or possibly cooking pots, but the theory found opponents in Messrs. Kerslake and Talbot, the latter gentleman suggesting that a frightful mask high up in the wall at the east end was a squint over the dais through which all that went on in the hall could be seen by a person concealed in a niche behind it; also that the windows now divided longitudinally were once continuous in their length to the lower sill. In one of the rooms is a good oriel window; in another stands on its end a dusty old early spinnet, the primeval ancestor of our grand pianoforte; a curious inscribed mantlepiece the Major has had removed to his own dwelling, which also contains the original portrait of Belinda, the heroine of Pope's "Rape of the Lock." There are three Sodburys, namely, Parva, Magna, and Chipping Sodbury. This manor house is now called Old Sodbury. In 14 Henry IV is the first mention of "Olde Sobbery"; but in 11th of Henry III there was a Chipping, *i. e.*, Cheaping market; in 1681 Charles granted a charter of incorporation, which became so burdensome that in 1688 the inhabitants begged that it

might be annulled. The appointment of bailiff then reverted to Major Hartley's ancestors, and is to this day enjoyed by that gentleman.

Time, the inexorable, here cut short further remarks, and a move was made up the hill to the camp, about which there was no time to expatiate. Messrs. Morgan, Nicholls, and Taylor, after hastily exploring it and perambulating its boundaries, came to the conclusion that it was evidently of Roman construction, though showing abundant proofs of Saxon and, perhaps, later occupation—in fact, Mr. Taylor showed that it was temporarily occupied by Queen Margaret ere the battle of Tewkesbury. The valla and fosse are very fine in many places; an evident Roman way crosses the camp direct between the two entrances, the traverse, covering the southern one, being, however, probably Saxon. The curious sign board attracted universal attention. Two open Roman hands—as showed by the insignia—crossed the legend, “Caius Marius Imperator Concordia Militum;” “B.C. 102”. Other indications seemed to show that it was, perhaps, taken from some ancient object found on the spot. The year is that in which Marius (who became seven times Consul of Rome), after serving against the Cimbri, was in Gaul, when the “Comitia” chose him, in his absence, for the third time Consul.

A pleasant drive rapidly brought the excursionists back to Yate Station, where the train awaited them, and they were speedily conveyed to Bristol, after, perhaps, the pleasantest day's trip hitherto enjoyed.

The evening meeting was again held at the Fine Arts Academy, and the attendance was numerous. The chair was taken by

Mr. Sholto V. Hare, who, in opening the proceedings, said he had great pleasure in occupying that position for the time, but he hoped the Mayor would soon be there to relieve him. He then called upon

Mr. Wright, who gave a short account of the day's excursion, which, he said, had been to places replete with archæological interest.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, after remarking that his observations on unpublished historical documents at Bristol would relate to several ancient and hitherto unpublished manuscripts which had been liberally put before him by the gentlemen who were so fortunate as to possess them, explained what was meant by palæography, which was a science that dealt chiefly with the handwriting of ancient documents. A great change had taken place in it. The old science was very uncertain and unstable, but the new palæographic school strove to be more careful and precise. The father of that new school was Sylvestre, whose works were edited by Sir Frederic Madden, who might be justly considered the father of the modern science of palæography. The science which they originated, as might be said, was now being intensified, and within the last eighteen months the Palæographic Society had been formed,

for the publication, by means of photography, of specimens of ancient deeds, and pages of the finest and oldest manuscripts, and it had excited great interest among literary men. Mr. Birch then went on to observe that he would on that occasion refer to a small selection from a very interesting collection of ancient charters in the possession of the Bristol Library, the authorities of which had very kindly lent them that evening to the Congress. The first was a charter of the early part of the twelfth century; it was a grant by William Earl of Gloucester to the church of St. James, in Bristol, giving them his body to be buried in that church, and also granting them a share of the receipts from a certain mill situated in Gloucestershire. Another very interesting deed was one from Sampson, Bishop of Worcester in 1097, and connected with the Abbey of Tewkesbury, which was very large and powerful, and had jurisdiction over St. Peter's at Bristol. This was a grant giving to St. Peter's certain possessions about the neighbourhood. In his examination of these documents he had found a large number of names of people connected with religious houses in Bristol who had up to the present time been unknown to history, and also some very curious details connected with them. Mr. Birch particularised several of these, pointing out that the existence, about the year 1360, of a monastic house on the bridge over the Avon was proved conclusively by these documents. From them also might be gathered a large list of constables of the castle, for in his cursory inspection he had met with the names of several, and sometimes the constable was mentioned before the mayor of the city, showing that the former was a very important officer indeed. The family name of Worcester also occurred very frequently in these charters, which, he thought, were of very great interest to the inhabitants of this city, and he would recommend all those who wished to know anything of the history of their native place to pay a visit to the library where they were deposited, and he was sure Mr. Taylor would do all he could to assist them. That gentleman deserved very great credit for the way in which he had taken care of the documents. A selection of the most important of these documents has been printed at pp. 289-305.

Mr. Birch referred to some books which had been kindly placed before them by the authorities of St. Mary Redcliff Church. They were three manuscripts relating to the parish, which had been rescued from impending destruction chiefly by the care of Mr. S. V. Hare, who had very properly had them bound as manuscripts should be bound. After describing the contents of the first book, which was one of accounts, Mr. Birch said that in one place was mentioned the price of the book itself, namely, twenty pence, showing the value of paper at the time. There were also in it pages of scribbling in the handwriting of the unfortunate Chatterton. The other day they were shown his room, and many

other places associated with his memory, and here they had the actual autograph of his hand, which was in imitation of the old handwriting of the book. Those imitations appeared to him to foreshadow the wondrous forgeries which took all people by surprise, and for a long time puzzled the learned and literary of the day. They were imitations of a poor kind of writing, and words of Latin written over and over again, as if he was endeavouring to imitate a copy—as if a schoolboy was trying to imitate what he did not understand. The next book was filled with memoranda relating to the same church, and contained what was probably a list of tenants of Canynge's property, as well as an inventory of the church property. The third book also related to Canynge, in 1458. That collection of books was of the very greatest interest, and Mr. Birch expressed a wish that other gentlemen would follow the example which had been set them by Mr. Hare, in preserving things relating to ancient local affairs.¹ Mr. Birch here exhibited to the Congress Chatterton's pocket book—the actual pocket book, he said, which Chatterton possessed, which contained scribblings and notes such as were in the manuscript before described, and which was found in the room in which he died. They would notice upon it the stain from the bottle that held the poison by which he destroyed himself, and the potency of the draught was pretty well indicated by the hole it had burnt in the book itself. That book was undoubtedly one of the most valuable literary relics connected with Bristol, and how much they

¹ The following is a schedule of the most important autographs, etc., in Mr. Hare's library :

1. The identical pocket-book (1769) taken by Chatterton to London, and found by his bedside after his death, with an emptied phial bottle resting on its edge. Presented by Mrs. Newton (Chatterton's sister) to the late Joseph Cottle.

2. Letters *re* Chatterton ; two from his sister, Mary Newton, and one from Geo. Symes Catcott, all dated 1802.

3. Longman, Rees and Co., account of sales of Chatterton's poems, edited by Southey and Cottle, producing £184 15s.

4. Two books, of 73 pages, in the autograph of Chatterton, containing Rowley's poems of "The Goulers Requiem", "The Tournament", "Romaunte of the Cuyghte", etc., and the De Burgham pedigree, and coat of arms on parchment, by Rowley.

"Gods! what would Burgam give to get a name :
And snatch his blundering dialect from shame !
What would he give to hand his memory down
To Time's remotest boundary ?—a crown !"

Vide Chatterton's Will in Library, Bristol.

5. Sundry old deeds of Bristol from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries.

6. Oliver Cromwell to his wife, 4th September, 1650, the day after the battle of Dunbar.

7. General George Monek, afterwards Duke of Albemarle (two sheets of foolscap closely written), letter of advice to Richard Cromwell on his succession to the Protectorate, and sent to him through Clarges, recommending certain captains for ships, colonels for regiments, and denouncing others, etc.

8. Charlotte de la Tremouaille, Countess of Derby, to Prince Rupert, asking him to send relief to Lathom House. Dated 31 Aug., 1642.

were indebted to Mr. Hare for securing it, and not allowing it to pass out of the city. Reference was next made to an old History of the Antiquities of Nailsea Court, which dated from the Tudor period, kindly lent to the Association by Mr. Sheriff Walton for publication. The history will be printed in a future place. A very early map of Bristol, prepared and measured from actual survey, during a two days' visit, by W. Smith, in 1568, was also referred to. In conclusion Mr. Birch, alluding to what had been supposed by some to be a seal and charter of Thomas à Becket, said that it must undoubtedly be ascribed to Theobald, Becket's immediate predecessor as Archbishop of Canterbury—the charter was a grant to Turstan, a priest of Bristol, of the Church of St. Ouen, one of the oldest churches at that time in the city. The error had arisen, probably, from the initial "T" being alone used at the commencement of the charter, but the seal showed the central letters of the word *Theobaldus*. The text of the deed will be found at p. 290.

Mr. J. Taylor, of the Bristol Museum and Library, read a paper entitled "Gleanings from Church Records of Bristol", which will be printed on a future occasion.

Mr. H. W. Henfrey read a paper on the Bristol Mint, which will be printed, with illustrations, in a forthcoming part of the *Journal*.

In illustration of the paper read, Mr. Sholto V. Hare and Mr. Wm. Brice exhibited several coins and tokens struck at Bristol in the reigns of William the Conqueror, Edward I, Edward IV, Charles I, William III, etc.

The High Sheriff, T. T. Walton, Esq., then proposed a vote to the distinguished visitors on this the closing evening meeting, which was ably seconded at some length by a Hindoo gentleman from Madras. Mr. G. M. Hills responded, and in brief, earnest words, thanked the Mayor and officers of the Corporation, the Master and Society of the Merchant Venturers, the indefatigable local secretary, Mr. Reynolds, the gentleman who had helped them so thoroughly by opening the museum and commercial rooms, free of cost, as well as those who had contributed so largely to the *éclat* of the meetings by reading papers, and by other help. Mr. Reynolds acknowledged the compliment.

Mr. Roberts read a letter, relating to the amalgamation of the Association with the Institute, from Lord Houghton, who expressed his opinion that there was work enough and room enough for the two Societies; and then, with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Hare, the meeting terminated.





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THE BRISTOL MINT AND ITS PRODUCTIONS.

BY HENRY W. HENFREY, ESQ.

THE City of Bristol having become a place of importance in very early times, it is only to be expected that it should have possessed a mint at an equally remote period. We learn, from the evidence of coins, that this was actually the case; the Bristol Mint dating from Anglo-Saxon times, or the tenth century of our era. The earliest Bristol coin yet discovered is a silver penny of Ethelred II, who reigned A.D. 978-1016.

The Bristol Mint was also worked by the following monarchs, previous to the Conquest, viz., Canute, Harold I, Edward the Confessor, and Harold II, and coins struck at Bristol are still remaining of all these kings. The exact place in the town where the coining operations were carried on during this period is totally unknown; and it is remarkable that we possess no written records relating to this mint until the reign of Henry III, unless we can rely upon the statement of Roger Hoveden, as quoted in John Evans' *Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol*, 8vo, Bristol, 1824, p. 23 :—

“‘In the days of Athelstan’, says Roger Hoveden, ‘it was decreed that there should be, at Canterbury, seven monetaries...and at Bristowe and other boroughs, one.’”

I am very much disposed to doubt this evidence, as no Bristol coins of Athelstan have ever come to light, nor indeed any earlier than Ethelred II, as I have observed above.

Another singular circumstance is that the Bristol Mint is not mentioned either in the Saxon Chronicle or in Domesday Book. It is known, from the number of coins minted at Bristol at the time when these records were being compiled, and which are still extant, that the Mint at Bristol was then in full work ; but, after a very careful search, I am able to state that not the slightest reference is made to this mint in either of these important and valuable records.

It is stated in Mr. George Pryce's *Popular History of Bristol*, 8vo, Bristol, 1861, that Bristol Castle was built during the reign of William the Conqueror. There is little doubt that, in conformity with the custom of those days, the mint in Norman times was established and worked within this castle. This idea is confirmed by documentary evidence of the reigns of Edward I, Henry VIII, and Edward VI, which will be printed below. Mr. Pryce seems to think (erroneously) that the mint in the castle was first set up in Henry VIII's time, as he remarks :

"A mint for coining was also established [*temp.* Henry VIII] within its walls, under the guardianship of a constable or governor, which office seems to have been constantly filled until the reign of Charles I, who sold the castle, with all its appurtenances, to the corporation." Page 77 of the *Popular History of Bristol*.

Between the reigns of Edward VI and Charles I the Bristol Mint appears to have been idle. During the Civil Wars, however, the city and castle were besieged and taken by the Royalists in July, 1643 ; and money was minted in the castle by the cavaliers to a considerable extent during their occupation of Bristol, which lasted until September, 1645. Oliver Cromwell took it by storm on the 10th of September, 1645, and the castle itself was destroyed by his order, when he was Lord Protector, in January, 1655. I believe that scarcely any part of it now remains above ground.

The Bristol coins of Charles I occur with the dates 1643, 1644, and 1645, and are all of the "declaration type." They will be further described below. These are the last coins made in Bristol Castle.

We have to descend to the reign of William III for the next Bristol coinage, which is the last one (if we except private tokens) ever made in this city. In the great national re-coinage of 1696-7, Bristol was chosen for one of the five

country mints that were set up in order to expedite the coinage, and half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences were made there bearing the dates of those two years. They are distinguished by the initial B under the king's bust. From original documents in the Public Record Office (which will be given further on) I find that Alexander How was "Deputy Master and Worker of His Majesty's Mint at Bristol" in 1696-7; and the Rev. Rogers Ruding states that the weight of old hammered money and wrought plate imported into this mint at that period, for re-coinage, amounted to 146,977 lbs. (*Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 3rd edit., ii, 213).

The building in which the Bristol coinage of 1696-7 was carried on is still existing, and I had the pleasure of seeing it during the Congress of our Association. It is an ancient and picturesque structure, situated just behind St. Peter's Church, and near the river. I gather from Mr. Pryce's *History of Bristol* that this house stands on the site of the once magnificent dwelling of the Nortons, which was built apparently towards the close of the fourteenth century, and occupied the whole of the ground between St. Peter's and the river Avon. In 1607 the building underwent extensive alterations at the cost of Robert Aldworth, the then owner. A portion of it at the east end, distinguished by three gables, was not however rebuilt, and remains to the present day, undoubtedly forming part of the original mansion of the Nortons. I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. John Taylor, curator of the Bristol Museum and Library, for a photograph (lately taken by him) of this portion of the house. (See illustration.) In 1666 this house ceased to be a private residence, and was appropriated as a sugar refinery, and continued to be used for that purpose until 1696, when, as I have already mentioned, it was turned into a mint, for the purpose of striking the new coins of William III. From the circumstance of its having been used for this object, in 1696 and 1697, the house acquired the name of "The Mint," and is so designated in the map prefixed to W. Barrett's *Hist. of Bristol*, 1789. In 1698 the building was purchased by the Corporation of the Poor, and adapted to its present use, *i. e.*, a workhouse or "general asylum for the poor, the old, the infirm, the diseased and the helpless"; and the former mansion of the Nortons, the residence of

Robert Aldworth, and the last Bristol Mint, is now known as "Saint Peter's Hospital, the public poor-house of the city."¹

Having thus briefly described all that is known regarding the position and buildings of the Bristol mints, I shall next make a few observations on the name of this city, in connexion with the various spellings of the word found on the coins there minted.

Several different etymologies of the name "*Bristol*" have been proposed, but that which seems to harmonize best with the name on the earlier coins, is the Saxon *Bricg-stow*, from *bricg*, a bridge, and *stow*, a town, together "a town or place at a bridge." In the Saxon Chronicle the name is spelled *Brycgstow*, *Bricstow*, and *Bristow*. The original form, *Bricgstow*, is found on the Anglo-Saxon coins, viz., BRICSTOW (on the pennies of Ethelred II, Canute, and Harold I); BRICG-stow, BRICST-ow, and BRYGSTO-w (on the coins of Edward the Confessor); and BRI-cstow and BRYCI-stow (on those of Harold II.) On the pennies of William I is found a very modern-looking form, BRICSTOL. On those of Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II the name is BRISTO-l; but on Henry III's pennies it varies, BRVST-ol (probably for BRYSTOL.)

The coins of Edward I commence a new series of types, and on the reverse of them is inscribed, VILLA BRISTOLIE, a mediæval Latin form, meaning "the town of Bristol." On the money of Edward IV and Henry VI the name is spelled VILLA BRISTOW, BRESTOLL, or BRISTOLL. On the coins of Henry VIII struck in his thirty-fourth year (1543) we first find the form CIVITAS BRISTOLIE, "the City of Bristol," that title having been conferred in the preceding year, 1542.

I will now proceed to give a concise historical description of the productions of the Bristol Mint, in chronological order, inserting copies of original documents bearing on the subject under their proper dates. I may be pardoned for observing that the British Museum and other cabinets have been personally examined with much care; and I am indebted to Mr. Sholto Vere Hare and Mr. William Brice for the kind loan of several valuable coins.

¹ Mr. George Pryce's *Popular History of Bristol* is my chief authority for these facts, and I refer the reader to his book (pp. 224-5) for a fuller account of the Nortons' house.

Explanation of frequent references below :

Hildebrand signifies M. Bror Emil Hildebrand's "Monnaies Anglo-Saxonnes du Cabinet Royal de Stockholm", 4to, Stockholm, 1846.

Hawkins signifies the late Mr. Edward Hawkins's "Silver Coins of England arranged and described", 8vo, London, 1841.

Ruding signifies the Rev. Rogers Ruding's "Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies", 3rd edition, 3 vols. 4to, London, 1840.

Snelling signifies Thomas Snelling's "View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of England", fol., London, 1762.

ETHELRED II, 978-1016, A.D.—The earliest Bristol coin now existing appears to be a silver penny of this monarch, preserved in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm. It bears on the *obverse* a profile bust of the king, to the left, diademed, and within an inner circle. Legend around the inner circle : *ÆDELRÆD REX ANG*, with a cross pattée at the commencement of the legend. *Reverse*, a small cross pattée in the centre of the coin, within an inner circle. Circumscription : + *ÆLFPERD ON BRIC* (*Ælfwerd at Briegstow*). [*Hildebrand*, p. 37 ; and similar in type to *Hawkins*, fig. 205.]

This penny is one of a very large number of Anglo-Saxon coins now preserved at Stockholm, which were originally sent to Sweden as part of the celebrated tax of *Dane-gelt*.

The *silver penny*, weighing from 20 to 27 grains Troy, was the chief piece of coined money made by the Anglo-Saxon kings, halfpence and farthings being generally formed by cutting the pennies into halves and quarters. All the Bristol coins from Ethelred II to Harold II, inclusive, are pennies weighing as just stated, and made of silver of the "old standard", viz., 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine to 18 dwts. of alloy.

The pennies of this and all monarchs down to and including Henry III have the type of the king's head, with his name and titles, on one side ; and some form of the cross on the other, accompanied by the name of the moneyer and the place of mintage, as in the instance of the above-described penny, the reverse inscription is *Ælfwerd on Bric*, in full, *Ælfwerd on Briegstow*, meaning that *Ælfwerd* was the moneyer (or workman of the mint) who struck this coin "at Bristol."

CANUTE, 1016-1035.—The Bristol pennies of Canute are rather numerous. Six specimens are in the British Museum, and eleven varieties are described by Hildebrand from the Stockholm cabinet.

The name of the town is spelled, as on Ethelred's penny, *Bricgstow*, variously contracted; and the names of the moneyers are *Ægelwine*, *Ælfwine*, *Leofwine*, *Wulfwine*, *Wulstan*, *Wunsige*, and *Goaman*.

These pennies have on the *obverse* a profile bust to the left, diademed, within a tressure of four arches, legend, + CNVT REX ANGL. (*Hildebrand* type E, and *Hawkins* fig. 212); or a similar diademed bust, to the left, with a sceptre in front of the face, legend + CNVT RECX (*Hildebrand* type H, *Hawkins* fig. 208); or the head and sceptre as before, legend (blundered) + ECPI RECCX (*Hildebrand* type I).

On the *reverse* they bear—a tressure of four arches, with pellets on the points. Over all, a long double cross with crescents on the ends of it, reaching to the edges of the coin; crosses pattées at the commencement of the legends, which are, ÆGELPINE ON BRI OR BRIC, ÆLPINE ON BRIC, ÆLPINE ON BRCS, ÆLPINE ON BRIC, GO.AMAN ON BRIC, PVLFPINE ON BRIC, PVLFPINE ON BRIV, PVNSIGE ON BRIC, or PVNSIGE ON BRICS (all of *Hildebrand's* type E, *Hawkins* fig. 212). Others bear—a double cross within an inner circle, an annulet over the centre; legends, + ÆGELPINE ON BRIC, ÆLPINE ON BRI, LEOFFINE ON BRIC, or PVLSTAN O BR (*Hildebrand* type H, *Hawkins* fig. 208); another coin has a double cross within an inner circle; over the centre is a small tressure of four curves, with pellets at the corners and in the centre; legend, + ÆGELPINE ONN BRICC. (*Hildebrand* type I, *Hawkins* fig. 209.)

HAROLD I, 1035-1039.—In this reign the name of the town continued to be spelled *Bricgstow* on the coins, of which six specimens are in the British Museum, and four varieties in the Stockholm cabinet.

Among the names of moneyers, that of *Ælfwerd* again appears, who may possibly have been the same person as the *Ælfwerd* who minted the above described penny of Ethelred II. I have not met with any coins of Canute bearing his name, although it is probable that he continued to execute coins during that reign. Other names of moneyers are *Leofwine*, *Sæwine*, *Wulnoth*, and *Wulwine*. *Leofwine* and *Wulwine* were also no doubt the same persons as two of Canute's moneyers.

Two of the Bristol pennies of Harold I bear on the *obverse*, the king's head to the left, filleted; legend, + HAROLD REX, or HAROLD REX. *Reverse*, a cross formed of four ovals issuing from a circle, with a rose in the centre; legend, + LEOFFINE ON BRIC, or SÆPINE ON BRICST. (*Hildebrand*, type A*.)

His other pennies have, *obverse*, bust of the king in profile to the left, a sceptre in front of the face; legend, + HAROLD REX. *Reverse*, a large double cross extending to the edge of the coin, with a fleur-de-lys in each angle issuing from a compartment in the centre; legend, one of the following: + ÆLFPERD ONN BRI, ÆLFPERD ON BRIC, LEOFFINE ON BRIC, SÆPINE ON BRIC, PVLNOD ON BRIC, or PVLFPINE O BRIC. (*Hildebrand* type B, *Hawkins*, fig. 214.)

No Bristol coins of Hardicanute are known.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1041-1066.—The Bristol pennies of Edward are rather numerous. I have met with twelve varieties. The name of the town is variously spelled, viz., *Brice-*, *Brec-*, *Bryce-*, and *Bryg-stow*. The moneyers' names are *Ælfrie*, *Ælfward*, *Ælfwine*, *Æthelstan*, *Ceorl*, and *Godwine*. The name *Ælfwine* occurs on coins of Canute, but all the other names are new. *Elfwine* and *Ielfwine* on two coins are apparently blundered forms of *Ælfwine*.

Two of these pennies bear on the *obverse*, the king's bust in profile to the left, crowned. No sceptre and no inner circle. Legend, + EDPERD RECX. *Reverse*, a small cross pattée, within an inner circle. Legend, + ÆLPINE ON BRICC, or GODPINE ON BRVCE. (*Hildebrand* type A, *Hawkins* fig. 226.)

One rare penny in the British Museum has on the *obverse*, full-face bust bearded and crowned, within an inner circle. Legend, + EADPARD REX A. *Reverse*, similar in type to the last described coins. Legend, GODPINE ON BRVC. (*Hildebrand* type A var. C, *Hawkins* fig. 225.)

Two other pennies bear *obverse*, king's bust to the left, filleted, and with sceptre. No inner circle. Legend, + EDPERD REX. *Reverse*, a double cross, with limbs gradually expanding, issuing from two central circles; all within an inner circle. Legend, + ÆLFARD ON BRICST, or ÆDESTAN ON BRI. (*Hildebrand* type E, *Hawkins* fig. 219.) Several more pennies have *obverse*, king's bust to the right, crowned, and with sceptre. No inner circle. Legend, EADPARD REX. *Reverse*, a double cross, each limb terminating in an incurved crescent. Legends, ÆLFRIC ON BRVGSTO, ÆLPINE ON BRE, ELFPINE ON BRVSTO, or GODPINE ON BREC. (*Hildebrand* type G, *Hawkins* fig. 222.)

The next variety has *obverse*, the king sitting on his throne, crowned, and holding the sceptre and orb. Legend, EDVVEARDVS REX AN. *Reverse*, a double cross with four martlets in the angles; all within an inner circle. Legend, + ÆLPINE ONN BRVCE. This penny is engraved by *Hildebrand* tab. 10, from the original coin in the Royal Cabinet, Stockholm. (Type H of *Hildebrand*, and similar to *Hawkins* fig. 228.)

Two more Bristol pennies have on the *obverse*, profile to the right, crowned, with sceptre in front. Legend, EADPARD REX. *Reverse*, a double cross, with a pyramid terminating in a pellet in each angle; all within an inner circle. Legend, + CEORL ON BRVCC, or IELFPINE ON BREC. (*Hildebrand*, type I.)

HAROLD II, 1066.—The Bristol pennies of this king are rare, very few only being known. The name of the town is spelled *Bri-cestow*, *Bryci-stow*, and *Bryc-stow*. The moneyers' names are *Ælthwine*, *Ceorl*, and *Leofwine*, out of which the name of *Ceorl* only is found on the coins of Edward the Confessor.

There is only one of these pennies in the British Museum. It bears

obverse, the king's profile to the left, crowned, with a sceptre in front of the face. Legend, + HAROLD REX ANG. *Reverse*, the word PAX between two dotted lines, across the centre of the coin; all within a beaded inner circle. Legend, + LEOFFINE ON BRI. (Type of *Hawkins'* fig. 230.)

Another is said to be in the Hunterian collection, at Glasgow University, and is engraved in *Ruding's Annals of the Coinage*, plate xxvi, No. 2. *Obverse*, profile to left, crowned; no sceptre. Legend, + HAROLD REX ANRI. *Reverse*, the word PAX between two straight lines, within a plain inner circle. Legend, + CEORL ON BRVCI. (Type of *Hawkins'* fig. 231.)

In the sale of the Rev. J. W. Martin's cabinet, May 1859, were two Bristol pennies of Harold. The first (lot 54) had on the *obverse*, bust to right, with sceptre. Legend HARALD REX. *Reverse*, the word PAX across the field. Legend, + ELDPINE ON BRVC. The other penny (lot 56) was similar in type to that engraved in *Ruding*, pl. xxvi, 2, and *Hawkins'* fig. 231, but the two legends were, *obverse*, + HAROLD REX ANGL; *reverse*, + LEOFFINE ON BRI.

WILLIAM I AND II, 1066-1100.—The money of William I consisted of silver pennies, similar in weight, fabric, and fineness to those of Edward the Confessor. The weight is about 20 to 21 grains to each penny, and the standard is that called the "old standard," viz. 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine silver to 18 dwts. of alloy. This standard was continued without alteration until the reign of Henry VIII.

The Bristol pennies of William I and II are numerous, but it is uncertain to which of these two monarchs many of them belong. The first coin in my list is the only one which can be assigned to William I beyond dispute.

The name of the place is spelled on these pieces, *Bricstol*, *Brec-*, *Brice-*, *Brici-*, *Brie-*, or *Bricu-stol*. The blundered forms *Brieso* and *Bricsopi* also occur. The moneyers' names are, *Brihtworth*, *Brunstan*, *Cædwulf*, *Colbac*, *Leofwine*, *Lifwine*, *Oter*, and *Swegn* or *Swein*.

Pennies: Type No. 1 (like *Hawkins'* fig. 233). *Obverse*, profile bust of the king, crowned, to the left, with a sceptre in front of the face. Legend, + PILLEMV REX (for *Willelmus Rex*). *Reverse*, a cross having each limb terminating in a large trefoil, within an inner circle. Legend, + CEDPL (probably for *Cædwulf*) ON BRICSTOL. Another penny, no doubt minted by the same moneyer, is exactly similar, except in the legend of the reverse, which reads EEDPL ON BRIESTOL.

Another type (like *Hawkins'* fig. 237) has *obverse*, full-face bust crowned, with a sceptre on each side; all within an inner circle. Legend, + PILLEM REX ANGLO. *Reverse*, a cross like that on No. 1, but surmounted by another cross saltire, all within an inner circle. Legend, + LEOFFINE ON BRICI.

The next type (like *Hawkins'* fig. 238) bears *obverse*, full-face bust crowned, with a star on each side, all within an inner circle. Legend,

+ PILLEM REX AN. *Reverse*, an ornamented cross within a tressure of four arches; all surrounded by an inner circle. Legend, + LEOPINE ON BRIES.

The commonest type of all (like *Hawkins'* fig. 241) is the following: *obverse*, full-face bust, crowned, with sceptre in right hand; inner circle on both sides. Legend, + PILLELM REX. *Reverse*, a large cross, with the letters PAXS (each in a circle) in the angles. Legends, + BRIHTPOD ON BRIC, BRIHTPOD O NBRI, BIHTPOD O NBRIC, BRVNSTAN O NBR, BRVNSTAN ON BR, BRVNSTAN ON BRI, BRPODE ON BRIESO, COLBLAC ON BRIC,¹ COLBLAC ON BRI, COLBLAC ON BRIC, COLBLAC ONBRICC, COLBLAC ON BRICV, LIFFINE ON BRICSI, LIFFINE ON BRICST, SPEGN ON BRICSTO, OF SPEIN ON BRICSOPI.

The pennies of the last type (like *Hawkins'* fig. 243) have *obverse*, full-face bust of the king, crowned, holding a sword in his right hand; inner circle. Legend, + ILLELM REX. *Reverse*, a cross over an ornamented tressure of four arches, within an inner circle. Legend, + LIFFINE ON BRIC. Another coin of this type reads correctly PILLELM REX on the obverse, and LIFFINE ON BRICSI on the reverse. Another penny is exactly similar to this latter one, but has OTER ON D BRECSST on the reverse.

HENRY I, 1100-1135.—I have only heard of two Bristol pennies of this king. The name of the town is spelled *Brist-ol* on them, showing that the modern spelling of the name was adopted as early as the twelfth century, although it occurs in other varieties of form later on in the middle ages.

A penny in the British Museum has *obverse*, full-face bust of the king, crowned, holding a sceptre in his right hand; all within a beaded inner circle. Legend, + HENRICVS REX A. *Reverse* (similar to *Hawkins'* fig. 254), a cross having each limb terminating in a large trefoil, within a beaded inner circle. Legend, H...RTHG ON BRIST. In bad preservation.

A second piece is engraved in Snelling's *Silver Coinage*, plate i, No. 23. *Obverse*, full-face bust, crowned, with sceptre. A rose at the side of the head; and a beaded inner circle. Legend, HENRICVS REX. *Reverse*, a quatrefoil enclosing a cross of pellets, with a star in the centre; four fleurs-de-lys in the angles. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend, + GERAVD ON BRIST. (Type of *Hawkins'* fig. 262.)

The weight and fineness of Henry I's pennies are about the same as those of William I and II's coins.

STEPHEN, 1135-1154.—The Bristol pennies of Stephen are very few. They are of rude and imperfect execution, and weigh from 20 to about 22 grains. The name of the mint on them remains *Brist-ol*.

The only one in the British Museum has *Obverse*, full-face bust of the king, crowned, holding a sceptre in his right hand. Legend,

¹ A very fine specimen of this coin, belonging to Mr. William Brice, was among the coins lent by him for exhibition to the Congress, on the evening of the 8th August, 1874.

+ STIEFNE. *Reverse*, double cross with pellets on the ends, and a pellet in the centre; all inside a tressure, with fleurs-de-lys in the angles of the cross. A beaded inner circle around. Legend (imperfect):.... LM . . N BR... (Type of *Hawkins'* fig. 268.)

Two other pennies of Bristol were found near Dartford, Kent, in 1826, and are described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, old series, vol. xiii, p. 187. They are of similar type to *Hawkins'* fig. 270. The first bears *Obverse*, profile bust to the right, crowned, a sceptre in front of the face. Legend, SH.....RE... *Reverse*, a cross within a tressure fleurée, enclosed by a beaded inner circle. Legend, + FA.....BRIST. The other penny is similar to the last, but reads on the reverse, [G]VRDAN.....B.....S.

HENRY II, 1154-1189.—Several Bristol pennies exist of this king's first coinage, minted about 1156. They are of rude and irregular workmanship, and in weight and fineness resemble the coins of William I. The name of the town is spelled *Bristo*, and the moneyers' names are *Elaf*, *Ricard*, and *Tancard*.

These pieces have on the *obverse*, full-face bust of the king, crowned, with a sceptre in his right hand. Legend, HENRI REX ANG (sometimes more abbreviated). *Reverse*, a cross potent, with a small cross in each angle; all within a beaded inner circle. Legend, the name of the moneyer and the mint, preceded by a cross. (Type of *Hawkins'* fig. 285.) In the British Museum are specimens of these pennies with the following reverse inscriptions: ELAF: ON: BR..., [E]LAF: ON: BRISTO, TANCARD: ON: BRI, and.....BRIST.

Among a large number of pennies of this coinage found at Tealby, Lincolnshire, in 1807, there were some Bristol pieces with these reverse inscriptions: ELAF ON BRISTO, RICARD ON BR..., [RI]CARD ON BRIS, T[ANCAR]D ON BRI. See *Archæologia*, vol. xviii, p. 3.

I am not aware of any Bristol coins of the second coinage of Henry II, or of Richard I and John.

HENRY III, 1216-1272.—I have not met with any Bristol pennies of Henry III's first or "short-cross" coinage.

His second or "long-cross" coinage was introduced about the year 1248, when a writ (33rd Henry III) was issued to the bailiffs and men of Bristol (and eight other towns) ordering "that in full Town Court they should choose (by oath of four-and-twenty good men) four persons of the most trusty and prudent of their town, for the office of moneyers there; and other four like persons, for the keeping of the king's mints there; and two fit and prudent goldsmiths to be assayers of the money to be made there; and one fit and trusty clerk, for the keeping of the exchange; and to send them to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, to do

there what by ancient custom and assize was to be done in that case."¹

Two out of these four moneyers are found named on coins of this issue which have come down to us, viz., *Elis* and *Jacob*. The name of the place is spelled *Brust-ol*.

The only Bristol penny of Henry III in the British Museum bears *obverse*, crowned bust of the king, full-face and bearded. Beaded inner circles on both sides. Obverse legend: HENRICVS REX ANG (the last word indistinct). *Reverse*, a long double cross botoné extending to the edge of the coin; three pellets in each angle. Legend, ELIS ON BRVST. (Type of *Hawkins'* fig. 289.)

Another penny of the long cross coinage was among some coins found on Tower Hill, March 1869, and published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., vol. ix, p. 255. It bore *obverse*, crowned full-face bust, bearded; no sceptre. Legend, HENRICVS REX III'. *Reverse*, same type as the last-described coin. Legend, IACOB ON BRVST. Beaded inner circles on both sides.

The weight and fineness of these pennies was about the same as William I's.

EDWARD I, 1272-1307.—In the eighth year of Edward I, 1280, it was ordained that there should be four furnaces in this city, and in the year 1300 (28th Edward I) an order was given for the building of houses for the workmen in the castle there, and for sending beyond the seas for workmen.²

As might be expected from these preparations, the coinage of Bristol in this reign was considerable. Several changes in the types of the coins were introduced, and half-pennies and farthings were made for the first time.

The following is an exact list of the Bristol pieces of this king. It will be observed that the name of the moneyer disappears, and that the reverse inscription on all is a Latinised form of the name of the town: VILLA BRISTOLIE ("the town of Bristol").

Pennies, No. 1, class 1 of *Hawkins*, type I of Mr. A. J. Evans.³ *Obverse*, full-face bust of the king, crowned, with drapery on the shoulders. All within a beaded inner circle. A cross pattée at the commencement of the legend, which is EDW R' ANGL' DNS HYB. *Reverse*, a large cross extending to the edges of the coin. In each angle of the cross are three pellets; within a beaded inner circle. Legend, VILLA BRISTOLLIE. A rather common coin; it is in the British Museum, and five specimens were found in a hoard at Oxford in 1868. Mr. S. V. Hare exhibited one at the evening meeting of the Congress, 8th August, 1874.

¹ Rev. R. Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., vol. xi, p. 265.

Pennies, No. 2, class 2 of *Hawkins*, type II of Mr. A. J. Evans. The type of both sides is similar to No. 1, but the letters are smaller, and the coin is smaller. The obverse legend is the same, but that on the reverse reads VILL BRISTOLIE. (British Museum.)

Pennies, No. 3, class 3 of *Hawkins*, type III of Mr. A. J. Evans. Similar to No. 2, but with a star on the king's breast. The obverse legend is also the same as on No. 1; but the reverse reads like that of No. 2. (British Museum.) Only one specimen was in the Oxford find mentioned above.

Halfpennies. No. 1. *Obverse*, bust and inner circle as on the pennies, No. 1. A cross pattée also at the commencement of the legend, which is EDW R ANGL DNS HYB. *Reverse*, similar to the pennies. Legend, VILLA BRISTOLLIE. (British Museum, weight 8.9 grains.)

Halfpennies. No. 2. *Obverse*, bust, etc., as before, also with drapery on the shoulders. Legend, EDWARDVS REX. *Reverse*, type as No. 1. Legend, VILL BRISTOLIE. (British Museum, weight 7 grains.)

Farthing. *Obverse*, king's bust, full-face, crowned, drapery on shoulders. No inner circle. Legend, E R ANGLIE, preceded by a cross pattée. *Reverse*, large cross, pellets, and inner circle, as on the pennies. Legend, VILLA BRISTOLLIE. (British Museum, weight 5 grains, very rare.)

The coins of Edward I weigh in the proportion of $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains to the penny until his 28th year, when the weight was reduced to $22\frac{1}{4}$ grains.

They are made of silver of the "old standard".

EDWARD II TO EDWARD IV, 1307-1461.—From the reign of Edward I to that of Edward IV, a period of more than 150 years, no coins appear to have been issued from the Bristol Mint.

Although Henry VI, in his first year (1422), gave authority to the Master of the Mint to coin at Bristol, by an indorsement upon an indenture of the 9th of Henry V,¹ I have not met with any of his money earlier than the period of his restoration in 1470. The Bristol coins of Edward IV were, however, made before this.

EDWARD IV, 1461-1470 AND 1471-1483.—The first gold coins minted at Bristol were made in the 5th year of Edward IV, 1465. They were denominated *nobles* and *half-nobles*, or sometimes called *rials* and *half-rials*. The name *rial* is evidently another form of the word *royal*. Both pieces were struck in nearly pure gold, the standard being 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains pure gold to half a grain alloy, or in the proportion of 1 part alloy out of 192.

The *noble* weighed 120 grains troy, and was current in this reign for ten shillings. On the *obverse* is a figure of the king, crowned, in armour, standing in a ship, with a sword in his right hand, and in his

¹ Rev. R. Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*.

left a shield bearing the quartered arms of England and France. There is a square flag in the stern, bearing the letter E (for Edward). On the side of the ship is a full blown rose, and underneath it, on the waves, is the letter B, for Bristol. Legend, EDWARD. DI. GRA'. REX. ANGL'. Z. FRANC. DNS. 'IB. *Reverse*, a tressure of eight curves with a beaded interior, and with trefoils in the outward angles, containing a large sun of sixteen rays. Four ornaments are around, in the direction of a cross, with fleurs-de-lys over them. These ornaments alternate with four lions under crowns. In the centre of the coin is a small rose, over the middle of the sun. Legend, IHC' AVT' TRANSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORVM IBAT (from Luke iv, 30). A mint-mark of a sun before IHC. There are beaded inner circles within the legends on both sides. There are two of these nobles in the British Museum, both with the sun mint mark; but Mr. William Brice possesses a very fine example of this coin, identical with the above description, except in having a crown instead of the sun for mint mark.

The *half noble* is similar in type to the noble, also having B under the rose on the obverse. The legends read (*obv.*) EDWARD. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL'. Z. FRANC.; (*rev.*) DOMINE NE IN FVRORE TVO ARGVAS ME (from Psalm vi, 1), with small trefoils between the words. Mr. Brice has one of these coins, with a sun for mint mark before DOMINE. He exhibited this coin and his noble, at the evening meeting of the Congress on 8th August, 1874.

The full weight of the half-noble was 60 grains troy, and it was current for 5s. No Bristol half-noble is in the British Museum.

It is interesting to observe that the type of the obverse is clearly intended to commemorate the naval supremacy of England, or, in the words of the old couplet,

“Foure things our noble sheweth unto me,—
King, ship, and sword, and power of the sea.”

The reverse type of the rose and sun is the well known badge of Edward IV, adopted by him after the extraordinary appearance of the sun at the battle of Mortimer's Cross.

Adverting now to the silver coins of Edward IV, I find that of his first or “heavy” coinage no Bristol pieces are known, except a half-groat or twopence, which was formerly in the collection of the late Mr. J. D. Cuff. It weighed 29 grains, and bore *obverse*, full face bust, crowned, within a tressure of arches and a beaded inner circle. A fleur-de-lys on the king's breast, and a pellet each side of the crown. Legend: EDWARD. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FR. *Reverse*, cross with three pellets in each angle; the following legends in two circles: VILLA BRISTOW, and POSVI. DEVM. ADIVTORE. MEVM. Mint mark, a cross.

After his fourth year, 1464, the weight of the silver coins was reduced from the proportion of 15 grains to the penny to the rate of 12 grains to the penny. The second coinage is therefore generally called the "light" coinage.

The light groats (full weight 48 grains), occur in many varieties. Their type is *obverse*, a bust of the king, full face, crowned, within a tressure of nine arches and a beaded circle. The letter B (for Bristol) on the king's breast. Some groats have quatrefoils on each side of his neck, others have trefoils instead, and some have neither. Legend, EDWARD'. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. (or FRANCI. on one). Mint mark at the commencement of the legend, a sun, a crown, an annulet, or a rose. *Reverse*, a large cross, with three pellets in each angle. Legend, in two circles, POSVI. DEVM. ADIVTORE'. MEVM, VILLA BRISTOW. On some groats the town name is spelled BRESTOLL or BRISTOLL. Mint mark, in front of POSVI, a sun, a crown, a rose, or, on one coin, nothing. Mr. William Brice has a new variety of the light groat of this type, which has for mint mark, both sides, a crown, and reads BRESTOLL on the reverse. He exhibited it at the meeting of the Congress. It is not in the British Museum, and it is not mentioned by Hawkins.

Light half groats; full weight 24 grains. *Obverse*, bust, etc., as on the groats. B on the king's breast. Some specimens have quatrefoils at the sides of the neck, others have none. Legend, EDWARD. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL'. Z. FR. (sometimes FRA. or FRAN.) Mint mark, a sun, a crown, or a rose. *Reverse*, exactly similar to the groats. The name of the town is spelled BRESTOLL or BRISTOW. Mint mark, before POSVI, a pierced cross, or none at all.

Light Penny. This coin is extremely rare. One in the British Museum, weighing 12.6 grains, has *obverse*, bust, full-face, crowned, within a beaded inner circle. A trefoil to the right of the king's neck. Legend, EDWARD'. DI. GRA'. RX. ANGL. Mint mark, a crown. *Reverse*, cross and pellets, and inner circle. Legend, VILLA BRISTOLL. No mint mark this side. Engraved by *Hawkins*, fig. 351.

Light halfpenny. Also extremely rare. One in the British Museum, weighing 6.5 grains, bears *obverse*, type similar to the penny. A trefoil on each side of the neck. Legend, EDW[ARD DI] GRA REX. *Reverse*, same type as the penny. Legend, VILLA BRISTO[W]. Mint mark, on the obverse only, a crown. Engraved by *Hawkins*, fig. 353.

HENRY VI, 1470-1471.—Several coins were minted at Bristol during the brief restoration of this monarch, 9th of October, 1470, to 14th April, 1471.

The gold money consisted of *angels*, at that time current for 6s. 8d. each. The full legal weight was 80 grains, and they were made of gold of the same fineness as Edward IV's nobles. This piece acquired the name of *angel* from the representation of the archangel Michael on the obverse. A fine specimen in the British Museum, weighing 80 grains, may be thus described: *obverse*, the archangel Michael spearing the dragon; legend, HENRICVS . DEI . GRA . REX . ANGL'. Z . FRANC. *Reverse*, a ship with a large cross for the mast; the letter H (for *Henricus*) and a fleur-de-lis at the sides of the cross; a shield bearing the

quartered arms of England and France is affixed to the side of the ship; the letter B (for Bristol) is on the waves, below the shield; legend, *PER CRVSE' TVA' SALVA NOS XPC REDET* (*per crucem tuam salva nos Christe Redemptor*). Mint-mark, a pierced cross before the word *PER*. There are beaded inner circles on both sides, and small trefoils between the words of the legends; also trefoils beneath the H and fleur-de-lys on the reverse.


Another rare and fine Bristol angel formed lot 85 of Capt. R. M. Murchison's sale, June 1864. It was similar to the piece just described, except that the obverse legend was *HENRICV'*, etc., ending *DNS*; also the last word of the reverse legend was *REDE'TOR*. It weighed 79½ grains, and sold for £10.

The silver coins struck at Bristol after Henry's restoration, are several varieties of light groats, weighing 48 grains each. None of his early heavy coinage, weighing at the rate of 15 grains to the penny, was made at the Bristol mint.

The light groats have, *obverse*, the King's bust, full face, crowned, and within a tressure and beaded circle, exactly as on Edward IV's groats; the letter B (for Bristol) is placed on the King's breast; legend, *HENRIC.* (or *HENRICV.* or *HENRICVS*) *DI. GRA'. REX. ANG. (or ANGL.)* *Z. FRANC.* Mint-mark, a rose, a cross, a trefoil, or a sun. *Reverse*, large cross with three pellets in each angle. Legend, in two circles, *POSVI DEVM ADIVTORE' MEVM, VILLA BRISTOW* (on one coin *BISTOW*). Mint-mark, before *POSVI*, a fleur-de-lis, a rose, or a cross. These groats are very rare, and one is engraved by *Hawkins*, fig. 341.

I am not acquainted with any Bristol coins of Richard III and Henry VII. That mint, therefore, appears to have been idle between 1483 and 1543, the latter date being the year when Henry VIII commenced to coin at Bristol.

HENRY VIII, 1509-1547.—The earliest Bristol money of this king belongs to his thirty-fourth year, 1542-3. Sir William Sharington, Knt., appears to have been chief officer of this mint from 1543 to 1548, under Henry VIII and Edward VI, and his initials are found upon nearly all the Bristol coins of Henry VIII.

A few gold coins of Henry VIII, made in 1543, are only to be recognised as struck at Bristol by their mint-mark, which is a monogram of Sharington's initials,  W. S., thus :

The sovereigns of this coinage have on the *obverse*, within an ornamented inner circle, a full-length figure of the King sitting on his throne, in royal robes, crowned, with the sceptre in his right hand and the orb in his left; at his feet a rose; legend, *HENRIC'. S. DI. GRA'. ANGLE FRANCIE ET HIB'E REX, or HENRIC' S DEI' GRA' AGL' FRAN' Z HIB'*

REX. Mint-mark, in front of HENRIC., the above mentioned monogram of W. S. *Reverse*, a shield bearing the arms of France and England quarterly, crowned, and supported by a crowned lion and the red dragon; HR in monogram beneath the shield, for *Henricus Rex*; a beaded inner circle around all; legend, IHS (or IHESVS) AVTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLOR' (or ILLORV') IBAT. The same mint-mark in front of IHESVS. There are cinquefoils between the words of the inscriptions on the British Museum coin. Full weight, 200 grains. Current, when issued, for 20s.

There are some gold crowns and half-crowns, made at Bristol by Sir William Sharington, in the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII, 1544. The full weight of the crown (current for 5s.) was 48 grains, and of the half-crown (current for 2s. 6d.) was 24 grains. The gold was 22 carats fine, or 11 parts fine to 1 of alloy. The above mentioned sovereigns were also of this standard.

The crown bears, *obverse*, a large double rose crowned, between the letters H R (for *Henricus Rex*) also crowned; legend, HENRIC' 8. ROSA. SINE. SPINE (*rosa sine spina*). Mint-mark, a quatrefoil. *Reverse*, the shield of arms crowned, also between the same letters, H R, crowned; legend, D'. G'. ANGLIE. FRA'. Z. HIB'. REX. Mint-mark, W. S. in monogram. There is a beaded inner circle on each side of this coin. There are quatrefoils between many of the words in the legends. Engraved in Snelling's *Gold Coinage*, plate ii, No. 20, and in *Ruding's* plate vi, No. 5. Another specimen in the British Museum has, *obverse*, mint-mark, a cinquefoil, and legend, HENRICVS 8, etc.

The halfcrown has, *obverse*, shield of arms crowned, between the letters H R not crowned; legend, HENRIC' 8. D'. G'. ANG. FR. Z. HIB'. REX. No mint-mark on this side. *Reverse*, a large rose crowned, also between the letters H R not crowned; legend, RVTLANS ROSA SINE SPINA (or SPI'). Mint-mark, the monogram of W. S. Beaded inner circles on both sides. Engraved in Snelling's *Gold Coinage*, pl. ii, No. 19, and in *Ruding's* plate vi, No. 3.

Several Bristol pieces are extant of Henry VIII's *third* silver coinage, made in his thirty-fourth year, which weighed at the rate of 10 grains to the penny. The silver is very base, one-sixth of it being alloy.

The British Museum possesses a very rare shilling of his thirty-fourth year, weighing 120.4 grains, and made of this base silver. It was formerly in Mr. J. D. Cuff's collection, and bears, *obverse*, bust of the King, full-face, crowned, with a mantle over his shoulders; legend, HENRIC' 8 D' G' AGL' FRA' Z HIB REX; small quatrefoils between the words. *Reverse*, a large double rose crowned; the letters H R, also crowned, at the sides of the rose; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLLIE. Three crosses after CIVITAS, and two after BRISTOLLIE. Mint-mark, before CIVITAS, the monogram of W. S. A beaded inner circle on each side of the coin.

A base groat of the third or fourth coinage, in the British Museum, weighing 33.9 grains, has, *obverse*, crowned bust, nearly full face, with

mantle over the shoulders ; legend, HENRIC' 8 . D . G . AGL . FRA . Z . HIB' . REX. No mint-mark. *Reverse*, shield of arms surmounted by a cross fleurée ; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLIE. Mint-mark, W. S. in monogram. Beaded inner circle each side. Small trefoils between the words of the legends.

A penny of the third coinage, in the British Museum, is engraved in *Hawkins*, fig. 406. It bears, *obverse*, full-face bust crowned, in mantle ; legend, HE' 8 D' . G' . ROSA SINE SPINA ; no mint-mark, but a cross after ROSA. *Reverse* similar in type to the groat ; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLIE ; two pellets before and a fleur-de-lys after CIVITAS ; a beaded inner circle on each side of the coin.

The *fourth* silver coinage of this king, made in his thirty-sixth year, 1545, was still more base than the preceding, consisting of half silver to half alloy. The weight was the same, viz., 10 grains to the penny.

The groats of the fourth coinage have, *obverse*, mantled bust crowned, nearly full face, within a beaded inner circle ; legend, HENRIC' 8 : D' G' AGL' FRA' Z HIB' REX ; mint-mark, a rose or a small cross. *Reverse*, shield within inner circle, surmounted by cross fleurée ; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLIE ; a rose after CIVITAS on one.

The half-groats of the fourth issue bear, *obverse*, mantled bust crowned, nearly full face, within inner circle ; legend, HENRIC' 8 D' G' ANG' FE' Z HIB' RE (or REX) ; no mint-mark on obverse. *Reverse*, type as the groats ; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLIE ; mint-mark, the monogram of W. S. in front of CIVITAS. Some have trefoils in the forks of the cross ; one has a fleur-de-lys after CIVITAS, another has a pierced cross after that word ; one piece has a fleur-de-lys after CIVITAS, and another before BRISTOLIE. See engravings : *Hawkins*, fig. 404 ; *Ruding*, pl. viii, No. 15.

The *fifth* coinage, in Henry's thirty-seventh year, 1546, was debased to two-thirds alloy. Four ounces only of silver were mixed with eight ounces of alloy. The weight was the same as before.

The Bristol groats have, *obverse*, mantled bust crowned, nearly full face, but slightly turned to the right ; inner circle ; legend, HENRIC' 8 . D' . G' . ANG' . FRA' Z HIB' REX. ; no mint-mark on obverse, except a rose on one. *Reverse*, type as on the preceding coinages ; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLIE ; mint-mark, in front of CIVITAS, the monogram of W. S., or on one coin E. Some have small trefoils or annulets in the forks of the cross, and a rose and a trefoil after CIVITAS ; another has a cinquefoil and a pierced cross after CIVITAS. See *Ruding*, pl. viii, No. 11, for one of these groats.

EDWARD VI, 1547-1553.—No Bristol gold coins of this king are known to me. His first silver coinage, issued in 1547, was of the same low standard as the last coinage of his father, viz., 4 oz. silver to 8 oz. alloy. The weight was at the rate of 10 grains to the penny.

The Bristol pennies of this base coinage bear, *obverse*, the King's bust in profile to the right, crowned, and within a beaded inner circle; legend, ED' 6. D' G' ROSA SINE SPINE (or SPINA). One coin reads SPIPA by mistake. Mint-mark, a cross before ED. One penny has a cross after ROSA; another, with the cross after ROSA, has also trefoils after SINE and SPINA. *Reverse*, shield of arms within inner circle, surmounted by a cross fleurée; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLIE. One has a fleur-de-lys after CIVITAS; another has a cross after the same word. Some specimens have also trefoils in the angles of the cross. The penny of this coinage in the British Museum is not so base as others. For engravings of these pennies see Snelling's *Silver Coinage*, pl. iv, No. 6; *Ruding*, pl. ix, No. 16; and *Hawkins*, fig. 415.

The halfpennies are very rare, like the pennies, and bear *obverse*, crowned profile and inner circle, as on the pennies. Legend, E' (or ED.) 6. D' G' ROSA' SINE' SPIN' (or SPINA). Mint mark, a trefoil before E. One halfpenny has small trefoils after E, D, G, ROS, and A'SPIN. *Reverse*, cross fleurée, with three pellets in each angle; also a beaded inner circle. Legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLI (or BRISTOLIE). Trefoils or roses in the forks of the cross.

In the Public Record Office, London, are preserved several original documents relating to the Bristol coinage of this reign. The earliest one is an Indenture (partially decayed) of all the gold and silver bullion, coined monthly into moneys by Sir William Sharington, under-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, from the 1st of May, 1546, to the last of March, 1547. (No. 31, vol. i, of *Domestic State Papers*, Edward VI.) Sharington is designated in this document: "Sir Willm. Sharyngton knyght, one of the gentillmen of the ks mats¹ most honorable p'vey² chamber, and under-treasr of his highnes Mynte wthin the Castell of Brystowe."

No. 32 of the same volume of State Papers is Sir W. Sharington's Account of the bullion coined according to the foregoing indenture, and of the expenses thereof. It appears that during the period above stated (1st May, 1546, to 31st March, 1547,) there was coined £962 5s. value in gold (of 20 carats fine to 4 carats alloy), and £16,833 4s. value of silver (of 4 oz. fine to 8 oz. of alloy). It is also stated "Harp Groats" of 3 oz. fine to 9 oz. of alloy were made at this mint for use in Ireland. The value of them came to £3,657 4s. in the period above mentioned. This account ends with the signatures of Sir William Sharington, Roger Wigmore (Comptroller), and Thomas Marshall (Paymaster).

No. 33, vol. i, of these State Papers, is an Indenture, dated 6th April, 1547, between Sir William Sharington and Roger Wigmore (Comptroller and Surveyor of the Mint of Bristol), of money delivered to Wigmore for necessities for the Mint there.

In vol. ii of Edward VI's *Domestic State Papers*, No. 10 is an Indenture of all gold and silver bullion, coined into moneys in the office of Sir William Sharington, from the 1st April to 30th September, 1547,

¹ King's Majesty's.

² Privy.

in the Mint of Bristol. No. 11 is a duplicate of the preceding document. No. 12 is the Account, also dated 30th September, 1547, of Sir W. Sharrington, of gold and silver bullion coined into moneys from 1st April to 30th September, and of the expenses thereof.

Both the documents Nos. 10 and 12, vol. ii, are signed by Sharrington, Wigmore, and Marshall; and they record that, during the period 1st April to 30th September, 1547, there was coined at Bristol £204 4s. in gold of 20 carats fine and 4 carats alloy. The gold was coined in July, August, and September only. In the months of April to September, inclusive, 1547, the value of the silver coined was £6,838 4s., of 4 oz. fine to 8 oz. alloy.

No. 3, vol. iv, of the same papers, is another Indenture of all bullion of gold and silver coined and made into moneys within the office of Sir William Sharrington, in the Mint at Bristol. This document is imperfect, and the date is gone, but it apparently records the amount of money coined from May 1547(?) to March 1548, inclusive. The total amount of gold coined during this period was 213 pounds 10 ounces (troy weight). The amount of silver, 4 oz. fine to 8 oz. alloy, was 16,833 pounds weight, some being coined in every month from May to March, inclusive, except August and September "by reason of coining of Irish money theis ij moneths." These Irish coins were harp groats of 3 oz. fine and 9 oz. alloy, and the amounts of them made were in August 2,000 lbs.; in September 1,657 lbs.; total, 3,657 pounds weight. The account ends with the signatures of R. Wigmore and Tho. Marshall.

No. 23 in the same volume of State Papers (vol. iv) is an Indenture, dated 2nd July, 1548, between Sir Edmund Pekham, Treasurer of all the Mints, and Sir William Sharrington, of the receipt of certain sums arising from the profits of the mint at Bristol, to the king's use.

In January, 1549, Sir William Sharrington, the chief officer of this mint, was arrested on a charge of coining base money, clipping, and other frauds.¹ In order to save his own life he made a confession to the Council, admitting his guilt, and stating that he had been in league with the Lord Admiral Seymour to supply the latter with money for his designs upon the crown. It appears that the Admiral was actually Sharrington's debtor to a considerable amount. After a short time, however, Sharrington was pardoned and restored; but his confession was the immediate cause of Seymour's being sent to the Tower, on the 19th January, 1549. Bishop Burnet says: "And now many things broke out against him (Seymour), and particularly a conspiracy of his with Sir William Sharrington, vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, who was to have furnished him with £10,000, and had already coined about £10,000 false money,"² and had

¹ Among Edward VI's State Papers, vol. vi, No. 29 (Feb. 1549), is a specification of all the plate, money, jewels, etc., belonging to Sir William Sharrington at the time of his arrest in January.

² In the *State Trials*, vol. vii, p. 1, the sum is £12,000.

clipt a great deal more, to the value of £40,000 in all ; for which he was attainted by a process at common law, and that was confirmed in Parliament.” (*Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii, p. 93.) The 23rd Article of High Treason, etc., against Lord Seymour stated that he had moved the Lord Protector and the whole Council that he might, by public authority, have that which by private fraud and falsehood, and confederating with Sharington, he had obtained—that is, the Mint at Bristol to be his wholly. It also appears, by the Act for his attainder (*State Trials*, vol. vii, p. 7), that he had devised this Mint, with all the treasure in the same (except £10,000 a month for the wages of his men), to be at his command, by the means and consent of Sir William Sharington. [See *Ruding's Annals of the Coinage* for many of these particulars]. Seymour was executed on the 20th March, 1549, on Tower Hill.

Horace Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, says that there are two or three portraits of Sir W. Sharington extant, one being among the royal collection of Holbein's drawings.

It should be borne in mind by the reader that the base silver coins of Edward VI, described above, and mentioned in the Indentures, cannot be properly termed “false” coins, since they were then the legally authorised currency of England. Money of the same standard was also made at London, in the Tower Mint.

In 1549 the plate belonging to All Saints' Church, Bristol, was delivered into the Mint for the King's use, as appears from a receipt printed in William Barrett's *History of Bristol* (4to, Bristol, 1789), p. 440, as follows :

“On the 13th of August, 1549, was received by me, Robert Recorde, Comptroller of his Majesty's Mint of Bristol, to his Highness's use, of Mr. William Younge and John Pykes, Proctors of All Hallows in Bristol, in gilt silver, 19 lbs. 11½ oz., and in parcel gilt, 15 lb. 3 oz.

“ROBERT RECORDE.”

In the same year Recorde also accounted for the receipt of 107 ounces of gilt plate, and 142 oz. of parcel gilt, belonging to the Church of St. Auden or Ewen.⁹ And 13 lbs. 8 oz. of plate belonging to St. Leonard's Church were delivered to the King's Mint for his Highness's use, by virtue of his Majesty's Letter, two chalices excepted (13th August,

⁹ Barrett's *History of Bristol*, p. 478.

1549).¹ Even one of these chalices was afterwards taken away in 1553.

The Rev. Rogers Ruding remarks, in his *Annals of the Coinage*, that Burnet does not date the visitation for the plate in the churches until the year 1553; *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii, p. 205; which must be too late, if the above receipt be correctly given.

It further appears from Barrett's *History of Bristol*, p. 440, that there being much plate still remaining in All Saints' Church in 1552, it was, on the 6th of August, delivered to the King's Commissioners for the use of his Mint at Bristol, two chalices and six bells excepted, which were left till the king's pleasure was further known.

John Evans, in his *Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol*, p. 142, states that in 1549, August 14th, the plate of All Saints' Church weighed 423½ oz., but that it was nearly all taken to the Mint for coinage in 1549-52.

ELIZABETH, 1558-1603.—This queen did not have a mint at Bristol, and consequently none of her coins require description here.

In the third year of her reign, 1560-61, the base shillings issued by Edward VI were decreed. Those of the better sort (made of 6 oz. silver to 6 oz. alloy) were ordered to pass current for four-pence halfpenny each, and to be counter-marked with a portcullis before the king's face; while the shillings of baser metal (3 oz. silver to 9 oz. alloy) were to pass for twopence farthing only, and to be marked with a greyhound.

I find among the Domestic State Papers of Elizabeth, vol. xvi, No. 10, an original letter from William Carr, Mayor of Bristol, to the Privy Council, dated Bristol, 30th January, 1561. In this letter Carr states that £1,000 in new money had been sent down to Bristol by the queen, to be distributed to the poor, in exchange for the base money issued by Edward VI. Two London goldsmiths, Francis Eton and Robert Wells, were sent down in charge of the money, taking with them a letter from the Privy Council. The exchange of the base money was declared by the Council to be sevenpence in the pound only. An account of the exact sum spent, and showing the rates at which the base money was exchanged, is enclosed in the mayor's letter. I give an exact copy of this:

¹ Barrett's *History of Bristol*, p. 509.

“Bristol. A note of the p'ticlar somes of base monyes exchanged into new monies by ffraunces Eton and Robert wells, begone the xxvth daie of January A^o 1560 and ended the xxxth of the same moneth.

“In primis in peces of ij^d q^d—xlvj m' v^c xlvj peces amounting to iiij^c xxxvj^{li}. vij^s iiij^d ob.

“In pecis of iiij^d ob.—xij m' iiij^c lxxij peces...ij^c xxxij^{li}. xvij^s.

“In pecis of j^d ob.—l iiij m' viij^c v pecis...iiij^c xlij^{li}. x^s. vij ob.

Some...j m' xij^{li}. xv^s

“William Carr mayer.”

The first item in this account (46,546 pieces at $2\frac{1}{4}d.$, amounting to £436 7s. $4\frac{1}{2}d.$) refers to the base shillings of Edward VI that were countermarked with a greyhound; the second item (12,472 pieces at $4\frac{1}{2}d.$, amounting to £233 17s.) refers to the shillings of better silver which were marked with a portcullis; and I suppose that the last amount (£342 10s. $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ in 54,805 pieces at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$) refers to the base groats of Edward VI's first coinage. The total was a little over the sum sent by the Council, being £1,012 15s.

This interesting little document has never before been published, and is, I believe, the only contemporary account existing relating to the calling-in of Edward VI's base coins.

In 1594 the Mayor and Corporation of Bristol received a licence from Queen Elizabeth to make “farthing tokens, which were struck in copper, with a ship on the one side, and C. B. on the other, signifying *Civitas Bristol*. These went current (for small things) at Bristol and ten miles about.” Also, “on the 12th of May, 1594, a letter was sent (by the Privy Council) to the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol, requiring them to call in all the private tokens which had been stamped and uttered by divers persons within that city, without any manner of authority, and which they many times refused to accept again. The Mayor, etc., were required, by authority of that letter, henceforth to restrain them, and, in the names signed to that letter, straitly to charge and require them to change the same for current money, to the value they were first uttered by them; and that none should make the same without licence from the Mayor, etc., who were to take especial care that the former abuses were duly reformed.”¹

A few of the farthing tokens struck by the Mayor and Corporation of Bristol in Elizabeth's reign, according to the licence above mentioned,

¹ Rev. R. Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*.


are still preserved, but they are very rare. An engraving of one is given on p. 88 of Boyne's *Tokens of the Seventeenth Century*, 8vo., 1858. It is lozenge-shaped, and is stamped on the obverse with the arms of Bristol (a ship issuing from a castle) on a square shield, surrounded by a beaded circle. On the reverse, C. B., in large letters, also within a beaded circle. A specimen of this token, in copper, is in the British Museum, as well as another example nearly half its size, but otherwise similar. The smaller token has, however, no signs of a shield on the obverse. The date of both is supposed to be about 1600.

It is considered by collectors that these Bristol farthings are the earliest English tokens, and the only ones sanctioned by the State before the eighteenth century.

JAMES I, 1603-1625.—None of the gold and silver coins of this king were minted at Bristol; but it is possible that some copper tokens were there made, since, on the 2nd of April, 1609, Thomas Moze, one of the ordinary yeomen of the king's chamber, and William Edgeley, groom of the same, petitioned his majesty for a sole licence to stamp farthing tokens for the cities of Bristol and Gloucester; which petition was referred by the king to the commissioners appointed by his majesty for suits. The petitioners state that the city had received, many years past, authority from the queen (Elizabeth) to stamp farthing tokens in copper, and that such authority ceased upon his majesty's (James I) coming to the crown. The petition is printed on p. 3 of the Appendix to T. Snelling's *View of the Copper Coinage*, 1766, from Sir Julius Cæsar's MS., p. 101.

Whether Moze and Edgeley ever received the licence they asked for, does not appear; nor are any Bristol tokens known which can be assigned with certainty to James I's reign.

CHARLES I, 1625-1649.—The Bristol coins of Charles I are very numerous, although they were all minted in the period between July 27th, 1643, and September 10th, 1645. During this time the city was in the hands of the Royalists, and the following coins were probably struck by them in the castle. All have on the reverse the declaration which Charles made at the commencement of the war, viz., that he would preserve "the Protestant religion, the laws and liberties of his subjects, and the privileges of Parliament." It is in an abbreviated Latin form, RELIG. PROT. LEG. ANG. LIBER. PAR., and occurs together with this motto, from the 68th Psalm, EXVRGAT DEVS DISSIPENTVR INIMICI ("Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered").

The dates on the Bristol coins of Charles I are 1643, 1644, 1645, and they are distinguished by the mint mark of BR, for Bristol, in monogram thus, 

The gold pieces are sovereigns and half sovereigns, weighing $140\frac{1}{2}$ grains and $70\frac{1}{4}$ grains respectively. The gold is 22 carats fine, the same as the present standard. The sovereign bears obverse, half-length portrait of the king, looking to the left, crowned, and in armour. He holds a sword in his right hand, and an olive branch in his left. The numerals xx (for 20s. the value) behind the head. Beaded inner circle around all, and the legend, CAROLVS. D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX. Mint mark, BR in monogram. Reverse, the declaration REL : PRO. LEG : AN. LIB. PA : on a scroll across the centre of the coin. Three plumes above, and the date 1645 below the scroll. Mint mark, BR in monogram before REL. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend round the margin, EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI.

The half-sovereign is similar in type to the sovereign, but has mint mark a plume on the obverse, and x (for 10s.) behind the head, and reads B : F : ET. HIB : REX. The reverse is also of the same type, but reads ANG : in the declaration, and has the BR monogram immediately after INIMICI. Three plumes and date 1645 as before.

The silver coins are halfcrowns, shillings, and sixpences, with the dates 1643 and 1644, halfcrowns and shillings only of 1645, groats of 1644, and a half-groat without date.

Of the halfcrowns there are several varieties, differing much in the details. They bear *obverse* a figure of the king on horseback to the left, crowned, with a sword in his right hand. A plume behind the king, in the field. All within a beaded inner circle. Some have the BR monogram under the horse. Legend, CAROLVS. D. G. MAG. BR. FR. ET. H. (HI., HIB., or HIBER.) REX. Mint mark a plume, or a circle between four pellets, or none at all. *Reverse*, the declaration in two straight lines across the field, variously abbreviated, thus, RELIG: (or REL:) PRO. (or PROT:) LE: AN: LI: PA: Above the declaration are three plumes, and below it is the date, 1643, 1644, or 1645. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend around, EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI. Mint mark BR in monogram, or sometimes no mint mark. The BR monogram is also placed under the date on some varieties. (Engraved by *Snelling*, plate xii, Nos. 3, 4; *Ruding*, plate xxiv, No. 2, *Hawkins*, figs. 485, 490.)

The shillings have *obverse*, profile bust of the king, crowned, to the left. The numerals XII (for 12*d.* the value) behind the head, and sometimes a plume before the face. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend, CAROLVS. D. G. MAG. BR. FR. ET. H. (or HI.) REX. Mint mark a plume, a circle between four dots, or with no mint mark. *Reverse*, the declaration in three lines, RELIG: (RELI: or REL:) PRO: (or PROT:) LEG: ANG: LIB: PAR: Three plumes above the declaration, and the date 1643, 1644, or 1645, below it. The monogram BR under the date on some shillings. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend, EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI. Mint mark BR in monogram, or with no mint mark. (Engraved by *Snelling*, plate xi, Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29; *Ruding*, plate xxiv, No. 3, supplement plate v, Nos. 15, 16; *Hawkins*, fig. 519).

The sixpences have *obverse*, king's bust as on the shillings. On some sixpences the bust is smaller than on others. The numerals VI (for 6*d.*) behind the head, and a plume before the face on some pieces. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend, CAROLVS. D. G. MAG: B: F: ET: H: REX. No mint mark. *Reverse*, the declaration in three lines—RELIG: (or RELI:) PRO: LEG: ANG: LIB: PAR: Three plumes above, and the date 1643 or 1644 below. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend, CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO, or EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI. Mint mark, BR in monogram. (Engraved by *Snelling*, plate xi, Nos. 20, 21; *Ruding*, supplement, plate v, No. 14; *Hawkins*, fig. 531.)

The groats have *obverse*, bust as on the shillings, with or without a plume before the face. The numerals IIII (for 4*d.*) behind the head. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend, CAROLVS: D: G: MAG: B: (or BR:) F: (or FR:) ET: HI: (or HIB.) REX. No mint mark. *Reverse*, the declaration in three lines—REL: PRO: (or PROT:) LEG: ANG: LIB: PAR: Three plumes above, and the date, 1644, below. Some groats have BR in monogram under the date. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend around, EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI. Mint mark, BR in monogram; or no mint mark. (Engraved by *Snelling*, plate xi, Nos. 11, 12; *Ruding*, plate xxiv, No. 9; *Hawkins*, fig. 535.)

The half groats bear *obverse*, bust as on the shillings. The numerals II (for 2*d.*) behind the head; but no plume before the face. Beaded inner circles on both sides. Obverse legend, CAROLVS: D: G: M: B: F: ET: H: REX. *Reverse*, the declaration—RE: PR LE: AN: LI: PA: in three lines. Under the last line is BR in monogram. Legend around, EXVRG. DEVS. DISSIP. INIMICI. No mint mark on either side. (Engraved by *Snelling*, plate xi, No. 3; *Ruding*, supplement, pl. v, No. 11.)

At the evening meeting of the Congress, 8th of August, 1874, Mr. Sholto Vere Hare exhibited two Bristol half-crowns of Charles I, of the dates 1644 and 1645. Mr. William Brice exhibited a halferown of 1644, a shilling and a sixpence of the same date, and a half-groat.

Besides the legal money just described, it appears that a large number of counterfeit tokens were made at Bristol during the occupation of the city by Royalist troops. According to the *Diary* newspaper, published 13th September, 1644, it was declared in the House of Commons, on the 6th of the same month, "that His Majestie payed his army for the most part with farthing tokens which were minted at Bristol; and, being cunningly and secretly conveyed by sea to London, they oftentimes received silver for them."¹

The only legal farthing tokens of that period were made under the authority of a royal patent to Lord Maltravers and Sir Francis Crane, and issued from the Farthing Office in Lothbury, London. In 1643, however, the issue of these

¹ Page I, note, introduction to J. H. Burn's *Catalogue of the Beaufort Tokens*, second edition, 1855.



royal farthing tokens was put an end to by the Parliament.

The pieces here stated to have been counterfeited at Bristol were no doubt the farthing tokens struck in copper and brass, of very small size, being the third variety, made subsequent to 1635, or between 1635-43. See Snelling's *Copper Coinage*, p. 5, illustration E.

COMMONWEALTH AND CHARLES II.—After the death of Charles I the royal farthing tokens bearing his name and titles were entirely disused, and, in order to supply the great want of small currency, copper and brass tokens were made and issued by tavern keepers, coffee house keepers, and traders of all sorts. Between 1648 and 1672 an immense number of such tokens were struck by private persons, in nearly every part of England. The city of Bristol, however, forms a remarkable exception, as neither Snelling, nor any other numismatist, has ever seen a single tradesman's token of that place, of the seventeenth century. A town farthing only was struck, apparently by authority of the mayor and corporation, and served for the use of the city and its neighbourhood during the whole of this period (1648-78).

The Bristol farthing of 1652 is one of the earliest *dated* town pieces. It is very probable that the corporation prohibited the making and issuing of any private tokens in Bristol, and that is the reason why the only Bristol tokens of the seventeenth century are all town pieces of the following types :

Type No. 1. There are some scarce farthings which are clearly earlier than the dated ones of 1652 and following years. They are town pieces, probably issued by the Mayor and Corporation, and, from various circumstances, I should assign them to the period 1649-1651. They are circular, eight-tenths of an inch in diameter, and made of copper. *Obverse*, a ship issuing from a castle (the arms of Bristol). *Reverse*, the letters C. B (for Civitas Bristol) in the centre, surrounded by the legend, A. BRISTOLL. FARTHING. No inner circle on either side. There are several specimens in the British Museum, some differing slightly in the execution.

In making some researches for my new work, *Numismata Cromwelliana*, I have discovered evidence which goes far to prove that many of the Commonwealth's pattern farthings were made by David Ramage, a workman in the London Mint. Having carefully compared the Bristol farthings (of

both types 1 and 2), with the Commonwealth farthings made by Ramage, I have no doubt, from the great similarity of their execution, that Ramage engraved the dies of the Bristol farthings of 1649-1662, and that the initial R under the date on many of them stands for his name. Several numismatists, on very slight evidence, have asserted that the R was the initial of Thomas Rawlins, a Royalist engraver.

Type No. 2. Copper farthings, diameter, eight-tenths of an inch. *Obverse*, a ship issuing from a castle, surrounded by a corded inner circle. Legend, THE . ARMES . OF . BRISTOLL. *Reverse*, two large letters, "C. B", in the field; the date below them. All within a corded inner circle. Legend, A . BRISTOLL . FARTHING. Mint mark, a mullet (or five-pointed star) on each side. The earliest date on these farthings is 1652, and all the specimens with that date have a small letter ". R ." under the date on the reverse. Others have the date 1660, with and without the R below it. Those dated 1662 have a cinquefoil for mint mark on the obverse, and on the reverse have a cinquefoil or a lozenge between "C B." Some of the 1662 farthings have the small R under the date, and some are without it. Others of these farthings are dated 1670, without the R, and have a cinquefoil mint mark on obverse. (The farthing of 1662 is engraved in Snelling's *Copper Coinage*, pl. i, No. 15.) There are also several contemporary imitations of these farthings in the British Museum cabinet.

Snelling says, p. 13 of his *Copper Coinage*, that some Bristol farthings are dated 1666, but I have not been able to meet with one. Mr. Sholto Vere Hare has two dated 1676 and 1679 (without the letter R), which dates have not hitherto been noticed; but as the making of town tokens was strictly prohibited by Charles II's proclamations of August 1672, October 1673, and December 1674, it is difficult to account for such late dates as 1676 and 1679 on tokens.

Mr. S. V. Hare and Mr. W. Brice exhibited Bristol farthings of 1652, 1662, 1670, 1676, and 1679, at the evening meeting of the Congress, 8th August, 1874.

WILLIAM III.—At the great re-coinage in 1696-7, when all the money made by the old hammered process was finally called in, Bristol was chosen for one of the five country mints which were set up in order to expedite the re-coinage, and to facilitate the distribution over the kingdom of the new money. Silver halferowns, shillings, and sixpences, with the bust and arms of William III, were accordingly coined in this city (in a house described at the

commencement of this paper) during the years 1696 and 1697; and these coins are distinguished by the letter "B" under the king's head.

The halferowns, shillings, and sixpences, are of different sizes, but all of the following type: *obverse*, bust of the King to the right, in Roman armour and drapery, and with a laurel wreath round his head. The letter B, for Bristol, below the bust; legend, GVLIELMVS . III . DEI . GRA. *Reverse*, four shields arranged in the form of a cross, and each crowned. The upper shield bears the arms of England; the lower one those of France; on the right, Scotland; with Ireland on the left. The arms of Nassau in the centre of the coin. Legend, MAG . BR . FRA . ET . HIB . REX . 1696 (or 1697). The 1696 halferowns have the following inscription on the edge, DECVS . ET . TVTAMEN . ANNO . REGNI . OCTAVO. The halferowns of 1697 read NONO instead of OCTAVO. The edges of the shillings and sixpences are milled with oblique lines. See engravings in *Ruding*, plate xxxvi, Nos. 9, 14, 19. Weights of the halferowns, shillings, and sixpences, $232\frac{1}{4}$, $92\frac{1}{4}$, and $46\frac{1}{4}$ grains respectively, and made of standard silver as at present coined.¹

The Rev. Rogers Ruding, in his *Annals of the Coinage*, states that "the weight of hammered money and wrought plate imported into this mint, for re-coinage, amounted to 146,977 lb.; which, at £3 2s. the pound weight, was coined into £463,728 14s."² Page 213, vol. ii, 3rd edit.

John Evans, in his *History of Bristol*, 1824, states that the mint was set up to coin money "in the sugar house behind St. Peter's Church, December 12th, 1695"; and he makes an amusing mistake by asserting that in 1697 the mint ceased to work "after coining 40,050,000 pounds!" The fact is that the whole of the great re-coinage made in London and the five country towns, 1696-99, did not amount to much more than six million pounds in money, which would be equal to very little more than two (instead of forty) million pounds in weight.

On the 15th August, 1696, the mayor and aldermen issued a notice, to the effect that the officers of the Mint would pay 5s. 8d., in lawful money, for every ounce of clipped money or wrought plate brought to them. The following is an exact copy of the original printed broad sheet, from that in the British Museum:

"*Civitas Bristoll.*—By the Right Worshipful the MAYOR and ALDERMEN. THESE are to give Notice, That the Right Honourable the LORDS of His

¹ Mr. William Brice exhibited a fine set of the Bristol halferown, shilling, and sixpence, all dated 1696, at the evening meeting of the Congress, 8th of August, 1874.

² Should not this amount be £455,628 14s. ?

MAJESTY'S *Treasury*, have been pleas'd to Send Down for the *Benefit* of This CITY, and the *Counties* Adjacent, One Thousand Weight of *Silver*, Value *Three Thousand Pounds*, and Upwards, to the *Mint* here, to be Coynd into the *Lawful Coynd* of this *Kingdom*; and to be put in the Hand of some Able and Sufficient Person in this CITY, to Exchange such *Old Clipp'd Sterling Money*, as any Person will bring in, on the *Encouragement* or *Allowance* of *Five Shillings* and *Two Pence* an Ounce, and *Six Pence* an Ounce by way of *Recompence*; And the *Officers* of the *Mint* have Directions to Keep an Account of the Deficiency thereof, and also to Pay the like *Allowance* of *Five Shillings* and *Two Pence* an Ounce, and *Six Pence* *Recompence*, for such *Wrought Plate* as shall be brought in, Pursuant to the *Late Act of Parliament*, as soon as such *Plate* shall be Melted, Essay'd, and Reduced to *Sterling*: Which *Five Shillings* and *Two Pence*, and *Six Pence* an Ounce, as well for *Clipp'd Sterling Money*, as for *Wrought Plate*, is to be Immediately Paid down. Dated in *Bristol*, this Fifteenth Day of *August*, One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety and Six."

In the subsequent year a petition of the mayor and commonalty of this city, presented to the House of Commons on the 30th December, 1697, stated that there would, by computation, in a month's time be in the city at least £150,000 of old hammered money, brought to the fair from Wales and other places; and prayed that the mint might be continued some time longer, for the coining of that money, in order to prevent the inconvenience of sending it to the Mint at the Tower. (*Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. xii, p. 18.)

Among the Exchequer documents in the Public Record Office, London, *Queen's Remembrancer's Miscellanies*, *Mint*, 599-29, 9th William III, are two printed forms, filled up in manuscript, "witnessing payments made by Alexander How, deputy master and worker of His Majesty's Mint at Bristol, to Nicholas Baker, being the nett produce of two separate quantities of hammered silver money which had been by the said Nicholas brought in to be coined, dates May and June 1697."

The first paper is numbered 33, dated 12th May, 1697, and is signed by "Alexr. How", who states that he paid £8,759 5s., for 30,915 ounces (at 5s. 8d. per ounce) of old hammered coin, brought by Nicholas Baker to the mint to be there coined on the 6th February, 1697. This document informs us that the above amount brought into the mint only made £7,728 15s. in new milled money; and that the cost of melting, refining, coining, etc., was £257 12s. 6d., and the remaining loss or deficiency £772 17s. 6d., thus

making the total loss to the government, £1,030 10s. out of £8,759 5s.

The second paper is No. 63, 8th June 1697, and witnesses the payment of £60 0s. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* by How to Baker for 211 oz. 16 dwts. of hammered silver money.

The above-mentioned silver coinage of William III was the last authorised coinage at Bristol, and I must therefore now conclude this somewhat lengthy paper. A few private copper tokens were made in the city at the end of the last century, but, being of so recent a date, do not demand description in an archæological journal.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE OF BRISTOL COINS.

- No. 1.—Silver penny of Canute. Type H. *Obv.*, CNVT RECX. *Rev.*, ÆELPINE ON BRI (Ægelwine on Bricgstow). See p. 344.
 No. 2.—Penny of William I. Type No. 1. *Obv.*, PILLEMV REX. *Rev.*, CEDPL ON BRICSTOL (Caedwulf on Bricstol). See p. 346.
 No. 3.—Gold noble of Edward IV, 1465. See p. 350.
 No. 4.—Silver light groat of Edward IV. Legend, VILLA BRESTOLL on the reverse. In the collection of Mr. William Brice. See p. 352.
 No. 5.—Gold angel of Henry VI, 1470. *Rev.*, the letter B (for Bristol) below the shield. See p. 352.
 No. 6.—Shilling of Henry VIII, 1543. *Rev.*, CIVITAS BRISTOLLIE. See p. 354.

All these coins, except No. 4, are in the British Museum Cabinet.

THE HOLY LANCE OF NUREMBURG.

BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, F.S.A., ETC.

I HAD lately the honour of exhibiting, at an evening meeting of the Association, an extraordinary and interesting relic, the ancient model of the "holy lance", long preserved in the Treasury of Nuremburg, and now again transferred to that of Vienna. The model is just in its proportions, and exact in its resemblance to the original. Moreover, it reposes in the cyst originally designed for its reception, worm-eaten, bronze-bound, and retaining patches of stamped leather of the fifteenth century, with which the receptacle was formerly covered. Folded within are three documents,—a tracing, description, and note, by the hand of the late Cardinal Wiseman; and a broadsheet of the early part of the seventeenth century, portraying the Emperor Henry II of Germany

arrayed in the robes of Charlemagne, and bearing the ensigns of imperial power. Following is a long account, in Latin, of the removal of the holy lance to Nuremburg by command of the Emperor Sigismund, and an enumeration of the royal robes of Charlemagne as displayed on the effigy of the Emperor Henry. Since this model is illustrative of an ancient superstition, and occasioning, as it has done, much interesting inquiry, I gladly put in form all the information of which I am possessed, or have been able to gather.

Our certain knowledge of the holy lance commences with the year A.D. 918, when Widukind, monk of the Abbey of Corbie, writes, in that year it formed a part of the regalia of Conrad. Its previous history is purely mythical; its subsequent is best told from a descriptive catalogue published in Vienna, and kindly placed at my service by Sir Edmund Lechmere.

The holy lance of St. Maurice, preserved in the Imperial Museum, Vienna, is the oldest and historically most interesting of the relics belonging to the Romano-Germanic empire. It is a spear of iron in form of a lancet, a long socket with short, vertically detached ears. The ring at the end is meant to fit on a staff; *i. e.*, socketed. A hole was pierced in the blade, probably during the reign of Otho the Great; and a nail of singular form, taken from the cross of Christ, has been inserted therein. It was likely, by so doing, the blade broke in the middle; and as a ligature of thin iron plates proved insufficient, it was necessary to strengthen it by a band of iron. These annexes have somewhat deprived the lance of its fine pristine form. The Emperor Henry III put over the iron band a second band of silver, securely soldered, inscribed on the front: "*Clavus Domini + Henricus Dī gra Tercius Romanorum Imperator Aug. Hoc Argentum Jussit*"; continued on the back, "*Fabricari ad confirmacionem Clavi DNI et Lancee Sancti Mauricii*"; and in the centre, "*Sanctus Mauricius*."

The lance remained in this state until the accession of the Emperor Charles IV. During his reign (A.D. 1347-78), a plate of gold was riveted over the silver plate to cover it entirely, bearing the simple inscription, in Gothic letters, "*Lancea et Clavus Domini*". The rivets of the envelope becoming loose in course of years, disclosed the forgotten plate of Henry III, and also the fact of the loss of half the

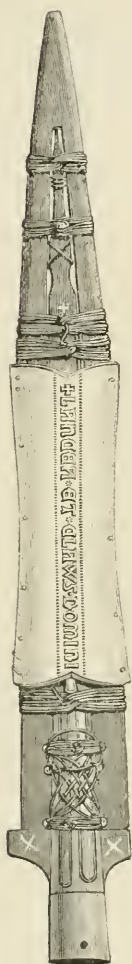
nail, most probably by the hand of Charles IV, a prince passionately fond of collecting relics, and sparing no pains in doing so. It is probable the embellishment by the plate of gold was to conceal from the world the operation on the Holy Nail. The binding of silver wires dates from this reign, serving to keep the fractured parts and nail in position.

This lance of St. Maurice has been closely associated with the history of the German empire, and was regarded during the Merovingian era as an emblem of majesty and power. The monk Widukind, of the Abbey of Corbie, relates in his Saxon history, how that the lance formed part of the insignia of King Conrad, A.D. 918; also that it formerly belonged to the Emperor Constantine: that at the battles of Bierten and Lechfeld, Otho grasping it, led forward his soldiers to assured victory. Also at the election of Henry II as emperor, his claim to the purple was substantiated against his rivals, on persuading the Archbishop of Cologne to deliver to him the sacred emblem of power.

In the celebrated missal preserved in the cathedral of Bemberg, and now at Munich, Henry II is represented in full state, with the crown on his head, the holy lance in his right hand, and the sword in his left.

Thus the venerated relic reposed in the treasury of Vienna until the year A.D. 1423, when the oppressed Bohemians, in defence of the liberties of their country, were, under Ziska, pressing in victorious march towards the imperial city. With other treasures it was consigned for safe keeping to the free city of Nuremburg, where for many years it remained, an object of reverence, and one of the costliest jewels in the treasury of the German Empire.

Now, as at least four Holy Lances are known, each claiming to be that of "Longinus", and with which he pierced the Saviour's side, the question of antiquity is not unnaturally joined to that of identity. We are willing to admit the certain interest attaching to reputed relics of Christ's Passion, but can never forget archæology is handmaid to truth, and that heretofore many a legend venerable in age, many a relic reputable in sanctity, being weighed in archæological balances has been found wanting, or tried by archæological tests, has fallen to the handiwork of an



One-fourth full size.

INNOCENTIUS ET GLIWS DOMINI

Half full size.

THE HOLY LANCE OF NUREMBURG.



after age. So with the reputed Lance of St. Maurice, as its certain history cannot be traced beyond the year A.D. 918, so its form and workmanship belong, not to the *first* but the *tenth* century, as must be apparent to every one who is at all conversant with the difference between classic and mediæval weapons. Just compare the Nuremburg relic with the lance-heads exhumed from Hod Hill and other Roman sites, and with those obtained from the later Frankish, German, and Danish graves, and it will at once be seen that the object in question has but a shadowy resemblance to the former, whilst it exhibits a marked similitude to the latter. But it is to the illuminations in MSS. of the end of the Anglo-Saxon era that we must look for the evidence of the true date of this so-called Holy Lance.

Again, how is it that more Holy Lances than one are found in Rome, Vienna, and Armenia? Our most excellent and learned Vice-President, H. S. Cuming, in our *Journal* of 1864, puts forth the supposition that the reason may possibly be found in the preservation of lances carried in the ancient Passion plays. I would put on record, however, in addition, the results of careful inquiry. In the early middle ages it was almost impossible to satisfy the demand for relics. Each sacristy must possess its peculiar object of veneration, and if possible, some relic of the Passion. Hence in many cases models of the true relic were fabricated, exact in proportion and resemblance, a fragment of the cross, or original relic, being inserted (as in the model of the spear). Each copy was first laid upon the original, and then sent to cathedral or church, with an attesting document, describing it as it was, a copy; but the model holding in its structure some fragment of the original, and the important document disappearing, the *εἰκὼν* took the honour of originality and identity, to which it had no claim. No doubt can exist, but this explanation attaches to the present interesting object, and partly accounts for the existence of many and otherwise inexplicable duplicates. Archaeologists are not content to take things on hearsay, or credulity overcomes truth. Sir Thomas More writes of a relic of the Passion (1528), "Ye might upon Good Friday every yere, this two hundred yere, till withlin these five yere, that the Turkes have taken the towne, have seen one of the thornes that was in Christe's crown, bud

and bring forth flowers in the service of time, if ye would have gone to Rhodes". What to Sir Thomas was but the hearsay of superstition, is to us a glorious truth: the thorn crown has blossomed in an everlasting glory, and lance and nail are changed in the sceptre of universal power.

ST. NICHOLAS CRYPT, BRISTOL.

BY JOHN TAYLOR, ESQ., LIBRARIAN OF THE BRISTOL MUSEUM.

THE religious uses for which the crypts of churches were intended, or at least to which they were applied, are well illustrated by these substructures to the churches of St. Nicholas and St. John the Baptist in this city. Both these crypts are remarkably complete examples of their kind, in the Perpendicular style of the fifteenth century; and both were used as places for the meetings of religious guilds, and for holding regular commemorations, with dirge and mass, of the benefactors of the church, whose bodies here rested in their altar-tombs. The present crypt or crowd had its own procurators or wardens distinct from those of the church above, and it also had its separate endowments, possessing in respect to the latter, besides an income from seven chauntries, as many as eight houses in Broadmead, Baldwin Street, etc. The upper church (for the crypt was a secondary church) is called in the proctor's book the "high church". The existing records of the crypt begin in 1489; among the obits was one for all good doers on holy rood eve in May. At this service attended twelve priests, including two clerks, who were paid collectively 3*s.* 8*d.* The religious offices ended, feasting began, and cakes and ale were furnished out in abundance; in 1523 as much as eighteen bushels of wheat being consumed, at 12½*d.* a bushel; and beside the expense of butter, saffron, etc., 6*s.* 8*d.* is charged for baking, with the addition of a holy rood eve at the bakehouse, the cost of a dinner for the priests, and 14*s.* for ale.

The festival of the boy bishop on 6th December, was here kept up with great completeness. On St. Nicholas

eve the mayor and sheriff and their brethren, says Ricart, in his curious local calendar, "walk to Seynt Nicholas church, there to heare theire even song, and on the morrow to hear their masse and offer, and hear the bishop's sermon, and have his blessing; and after dyner, the said maire, sherif, and theire brethern, to assemble at the mair's counter, there waytyng the (boy) bishopp's coming; playing the meane whiles at dyce; the towne clerke to fynde theym dyce, and to have a 1*l.* of every raphell; and when the bishop is come thither, his chapell there to synge, and the bishope to geve them his blessing, and then he and all his chapell to be served there with brede and wyne. And so departe the maire, sherif, and theire brethern to hear the bishope's evensonge at Seynt Nicholas Church foresaid."

Though this curious, and in more than literal sense, childish festival has been inferred to have existed in other places than Salisbury, where there is a tomb to a boy bishop who died during office, the ascertained instances are few, of which Bristol is one. St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra in the fourth century, was the patron of children. So excellent a pattern of self-discipline did he himself exhibit, that when an infant at the breast, he fasted on Wednesday and Friday, and sucked but once on these days and that towards night. Anciently, on the 6th of December, the choir boys chose one of their number to maintain the state and authority of a bishop, for which purpose he was habited in a rich episcopal robe, wore a mitre, and carried a crosier. His fellows, habited as priests, yielded him canonical obedience, taking possession of the church, and performing all religious offices except mass. In the records of St. Nicholas Church there are many references to the festival of the boy bishop. As these have not been published, we give a few items: "A.D. 1520. Paid for hanging of the church at Seint Nycholas tyde, and for mete and drynke, xi*l.*; paid to the mynstrells, xi*l.*" There are other entries for dressing up the bishop's stall; and the clerk and the suffragan have general instructions to dress up the bishop's gate against St. Nicholas' day, under pain of i*l.*

In the ordinances for the observance of Christmas at Bristol, in the reign of Edward IV, the mayor was ordered to make proclamation on the market day next before Christmas, or else on Christmas eve, "that no manner of

person of what degree or condition that they be of, go a mumming with close visages, nor go after curfews rung at St. Nicholas without light in their hands, that is to say sconce light, and that they go no wise with weapon defensibly arrayed, whereby the king's peace may be in any mannerwise be broken or hurt, and that upon pain of imprisonment and making fine and ransome to the king." In 1481, the suffragan is ordered to ring curfew with one bell at nine in the evening, for half a quarter of an hour, under pain of 2*d*. It may be interesting to remark that this curfew bell is yet maintained, and may any evening be heard at nine o'clock.

Bishop Latimer once preached in St. Nicholas Church. He complains in one of his sermons, that coming to preach in a certain town on a holiday, he found the church door locked, and was told the parish could not hear him that day, for they were gone to gather for Robin Hood, it being Robin Hood's day. The good bishop says, that for all his rochet he was fain to give place to Robin Hood. Probably the town alluded to was not Bristol, but possibly it was. It is curious that under the date 1526, in the church entries, there is a charge for "two pair of hosyn for Robin Hood and Lytyll John, vis., and for lynyng of the same viiid." Latimer, however, is only known to have preached at Bristol, and in St. Nicholas Church, in the Lent of 1528. His discourses occasioned great strife and debate in the town, being reported to contain great heresy, such as that there was no sensible fire in hell; that souls in purgatory have no need of our prayers, but rather to pray for us; no saints to be honoured; no pilgrimage to be used; and our blessed lady a sinner. He was invited by the mayor to preach again at Easter, but the invitation was resisted by the priests.

In 1539, Geo. Wishart, who suffered martyrdom in Scotland for his religious views, preached in the old church of St. Nicholas some of his heretical doctrines so called. Being accused by the dean of the diocese, he was convicted of heresy, and upon his recantation was sentenced to "bear a faggot in St. Nicholas Church, and the parish church of the same, the 13th July, and in Christ Church a week later", which was duly done.

Buried in St. Nicholas crypt, are Robert Thorn and his

wife, the parents of Robert and Nicholas Thorn, the founders of the Bristol Grammar School, a species of thorn that old Fuller wishes "God may send us many coppices of, for though men do not ordinarily gather grapes from thorn, wine and oil may be said to flow freely from them." Robert Thorn, the elder's will, is dated 20th January, 1517, in which he says, "I bequeath my soule to Allmighty God and to our Blessed Ladie, and my body to the hollie church's grave in the crowde of Sent Nicholas Church." "Also, I will have", he says, "a good priest to pray for my sowle in St. Nicholas Church vi yerres, and he to have viij a yere. Also, I will have eight poore men that shall beere viij torches, and there shall have every man a gown, and for bearing of the torches viiij. a man. . . . Also I bequeath to the four orders of ffryars to every place xxs. to praie for my sowle. Also I bequeath to the iiij almshouses, to every place, iiij s., and to Newgate iiij s. . . . Also to every nonne of the place to praie for my sowle, xijs." His crimson gown he leaves to his wife, and his scarlet gown and best scarlet cloak to Wm. Woseleys. To Nicholas and Robert Thorn, his sons, he bequeaths each £60 in ready money, and sixty ounces of plate; to Joanna, his wife, £200 in ready money, and 200 ounces of plate. "Also", he says, "I bequeath to St. Austin's Church a pipe of iron, and 40s. in ready money to the new building thereof, to pray for my soul", which gives the date for the rebuilding of that church. "Also I bequeath to the highways of Bristowe, where is most need, £10", which shows how roads were kept in order before highway rates were invented. "Also I bequeath to St. Nycholas crowde, where my bodie shal be buried, a howse that I bought of John Colas, that house in Nicholas Street. And I will that the proctours of the crowde shall ffynd ffor my sowle an obit every yere to the value of vs., and to be praide for in the pulpits every sundaie. Also I have a sellar full of salte, wherein is lxxxiiij ton of salte. And that I give to the alms howse of the iij kyngs of Culleyne every yere viiij s.; to the alms howse of the Greyffryers, viij s.; to the alms howse in Long Row viij s. yearly, and that as long as the monney or salte will dure to pray for my soul."

Joanna Thorne leaves to the church of St. Nicholas a "suit of vestments of black velvets to honour God and St.

Nicholas with, and that I may be prayed for every Sunday.” “If the said vestments be hyred out to any place, then I will to be received for the loan of them 10s. sterling, of the which I will 8s. to be given immediately to the four orders of fryars of thys towne, and that restithe to St. Nicholas Church”. To the same church she bequeaths a pair of gilt silver candlesticks weighing eighty-seven ounces. . . “Also, I bequeath to St. Michael’s altar in the crowd, a payre of vestments of grene and redde satyn, and a chalice, etc. Also I will that in St. Nicholas Church, I have a priest to sing for my soul for the space of four years, and for his wage to have every year *vili. xiiis. iiijd.*”

A FASCICULUS OF THE CHARTERS OF MATHILDIS, EMPRESS OF THE ROMANS,

AND AN ACCOUNT OF HER GREAT SEAL.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.R.S.L., HON. SECRETARY.

“Magna ortu, majorque viro, sed maxima partu,
Hic jacet Henrici Filia, Sponsa, Parens.”

(Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 5830, fo. 179.)

THE contemplation of original documents which illustrate one of the most interesting periods of our national history, that is, the civil or internecine struggle between the sole heiress of the Norman dynasty, personified in the Empress Mathildis, a woman of extraordinarily powerful intellect and indomitable courage, on the one hand, and the representative of an usurping branch of that same dynasty which had certainly many vital difficulties in the path of its legal succession to the crown of England, on the other, is of extremely great value to the historian, the archæologist, and the palæographer. That these documents should exist at the present day, more than seven hundred years after their ratification, is rather to be wondered at when we bear in mind that such instruments were, without doubt, eagerly hunted after, and carefully superseded or suppressed, unless, perchance, their contents were of a harmless nature, and so

possessed a claim upon the consideration and clemency of the successful antagonist.

It will be my endeavour, in the limits of this present article, to lay before the Association a fasciculus, or small collection, of accurate texts of nearly thirty such charters of the Empress Mathildis, the only daughter and sole surviving legitimate descendant of King Henry I. And before proceeding further on this subject, it will be necessary for me to recount as briefly as may be some small portions of the biographical record of that lady that are required for the elucidation of points which these documents corroborate.

It is a very important element in the history of England, during that period popularly called the reign of King Stephen, to determine whether that monarch exercised a continuous *de facto* rule over England, or ever temporarily ceased to exercise the regal functions, these functions being performed by another constitutional sovereign during the same interval. The chief events of the year 1141 need not be very lengthily considered to enable us clearly to perceive that for a brief time there was a break in the continuity of King Stephen's sovereignty, and a corresponding assumption of royal power by another personage, unhindered and unimpeached by the lack of any formality necessary for its plenary enjoyment. The passages in our chronicles are so numerous, and yet so consentient upon this fact, that I shall not require to repeat them in this place, but I will take one example out of many ready to hand. The well known William of Malmesbury, one of the most trustworthy and enlightened of contemporary historians, writing with all the opportunity and authority of an eye-witness, and moving in the royal courts at the very period, relates at good length in his *Historia Novella*¹ the particulars of the conference held at Winchester subsequent to the capture of King Stephen, after the battle of Lincoln, in the early part of this year, 4 Non. Feb., A.D. 1141. At this Conference, or Council of State, the Empress Mathildis, with her adherents (whose names we may gather from the lists of witnesses to these charters), was received by Henry de Blois, the Bishop of Winchester and Papal Legate in England. The author I have quoted proceeds to narrate, among the other notable events of this meeting, the conditions upon which the noble

¹ Edited by Sir T. D. Hardy for the Historical Society, vol. ii, p. 774.

prelate consented to recognise the Empress as *Domina Angliæ*, or lady, that is, Supreme Governor, of England, a solemn oath having been taken by her and her partisans. The exact words employed by William of Malmesbury are “*Nec dubitavit Episcopus Imperatricem in DOMINAM ANGLIÆ recipere*”. In another place the same Henry de Blois declares of her, “*In ANGLIÆ NORMANNIÆQUE DOMINAM eligimus*”. This regular election of Mathildis to the dignity and office of *Domina Angliæ* took place on Sunday, 2nd of March, A.D. 1141. On the following Monday she was honourably received into the city of Winchester, and conducted into the cathedral by the Papal Legate, attended by Bernard, the Bishop of St. David’s, one of her most constant companions, and by other nobles and ecclesiastical dignitaries; the crown of England’s sovereigns was handed over to her, a kind of *seisin*, representing that the kingdom of England was under the power of her hands (although it does not appear that any further ceremony connected with the rite of coronation was performed); and in this passage an important word has been employed by a contemporary chronicler: “*In publica se civitatis et fori audientia DOMINAM et REGINAM acclamare præcepit*”:¹ “He ordered that she should be proclaimed lady and queen in the public hearing of the city and court.

In two passages among the deeds in the fasciculus hereto appended very interesting allusions are made to this event. The first is from that in which it is related that the Queen grants to Henry, Abbot of Glastonbury, the possessions of the Abbey whereof he and the Abbey were seised, “*die dominica intransantis quadragesimæ, qua venit contra me et locutus est mecum juxta Warewell, quæ precessit diem lunæ qua idem prelatus et cives Winton’ honorifice in ecclesia et urbe Winton’ me receperunt*”; that is, “on the Sunday in early Lent, when he came to me and spoke with me at Warewell, that preceded the Monday when the same prelate and the citizens of Winchester received me honourably in the church and city of Winchester”.

The other passage is in allusion to the capture of Stephen at Lincoln [A.D. 1141] and to his incarceration at Bristol, which was not terminated until the battle of Winchester in A.D. 1143, when the hopes of the Empress were shattered.

¹ *Gesta Stephani, Historia Norm. Script.*, p. 594. *Arch. Journ.*, xx, p. 284.

It occurs in the charter creating one of the most faithful adherents of the queen, Milo of Gloucester, a peer with the title of Earl of Hereford, and runs thus: "Hanc autem donationem feci ei apud Oxineford die Sancti Jacobi Apostoli (25 Jul.) videlicet octava die ante festum Sancti Petri ad vincula (1 Aug.) pro servitio suo quod mihi fecerat, et ita quod tunc habebam in captione mea apud Bristoll Regem Stephanum, qui Dei misericordia, et auxilio Roberti Comitis Glocestriæ, fratris mei, et auxilio ipsius Milonis et aliorum baronum meorum, captus fuit in bello apud Lincoln, die Purificationis Sanctæ Mariæ (2 Feb.) proximo ante prædictum diem Sancti Jacobi Apostoli." "This grant, therefore, have I made to him at Oxford on the day of St. James the Apostle, to wit, the octave before the feast of St. Peter ad vincula, for his service which he had rendered to me, which was such that I then had in my keeping at Bristol Stephen, the king, who by God's mercy and by the aid of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, my brother, and by the aid of Milo himself and of others, my barons, was taken in battle at Lincoln on the day of the Purification of St. Mary, next before the said day of St. James the Apostle."

I am enabled, also, by extracts from the text of these very charters, to adduce several instances of contemporary and irrefragable evidence in corroboration of the practical assumption of English sovereignty by Mathildis. The first example which I shall consider is from No. 5, dated from Oxford in A.D. 1140, in which the clause containing the enumeration of liberties granted to the Abbey of St. Benet at Hulme, in Norfolk, is couched in these terms: "Et ideo volo.....quod ecclesia...de Hulmo.....habeat.....omnesconsuetudines quas aliqua ecclesiarum *regni mei* habet et quas ego ipsa habeo in dominicis terris et elemosinis *pertinentibus Coronæ meæ*."

The date of this charter is very interesting, because it is the only example of an actual date, calculated by expression of the years of the Incarnation, which occurs among the entire series which I have been able to collect. And it is also very valuable to us, because the terms "of my kingdom" and "of my crown" which therein occur, indicate that the deed was not issued until after that memorable Sunday and Monday, 2nd and 3rd March, A.D. 1141, when the queen received the crown of England at Winchester. Now,

as the historical year in those times commenced on the 25th of March, there is no doubt but that this charter was granted to the Abbey of Hulme at some time between the 3rd and the 25th of March, A.D. 1140-41.

Another example is offered by No. 6 of the series, which is a grant of land to the Abbey of Reading, while the queen was sojourning in that town. In this document the style of the lady is given thus: "M. Imperatrix, Henrici regis filia et Anglorum *Regina*". In this case also a means fortunately exists which enables me to conjecture the limits of the date of the deed. For among the witnesses occurs the name of "Milo the Constable". This personage is none other than the celebrated Milo of Gloucester, son of Walter of Gloucester, and created by the Empress Mathildis Earl of Hereford, as may be observed in No. 8 on the 25th of July, A.D. 1141. Hence it follows that the period enclosed between the 3rd of March and the 24th of July, A.D. 1141, that is, between the accession of Mathildis to the title of *Regina*, and the creation of Milo to the earldom of Hereford, after which event his title is invariably added to his name in the attestation of charters by him, is the only correct one which we can assign to the issue of this deed.

Yet a third testimony is to be noticed in the charter, No. 7, which has already furnished valuable evidence in treating of the events at Winchester. In this the same style, or titular designation, of *Anglorum Regina* is attributed to Mathildis, and inasmuch as "Milo de Glocestria" occurs among the witnesses, the same argument holds good that I have already enunciated with regard to the previous evidence, and the same limit of date must be conceded to this document as to that which has just been brought under consideration.

We may, therefore, take it as fairly shown that until the liberation of the king from his imprisonment at Bristol (as a sequel to the battle at Winchester in A.D. 1143, so disastrous to the queen's hopes), she held her position as queen, most probably at London, and having in all likelihood obtained possession or brought about the suppression of the great seal of King Stephen, she appointed in turn no less than three chancellors, viz., Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury; William Fitz-Gilbert; and, in reversion, William de Vere; thereby clearly indicating the absolute control of the Empress, as





well over the chancery of England as over the great seal of the kingdom. At this time, without question, Stephen's great seal was either lost, or fallen into the power of his enemies, or in abeyance, while Mathildis' seal, as existing specimens show, was the only one of paramount authority and sovereign currency throughout the realm of England.

The type of seal of the empress which is invariably affixed to every document among this collection that bears a seal, is that used by her in Germany as "Queen of the Romans", in virtue of her position as wife of Henry V, who was elected king of the Romans, *i. e.*, of Germany, in A.D. 1099, and after deposing his father, Henry IV, was crowned king at Mayence in A.D. 1106.¹ He was the last emperor of the house of Franconia. From this date, to that of her death, which took place on the 10th September, A.D. 1167, long after the solution of the troubles of the years 1140-1142 in England, she was accustomed to use this seal, and this only. It has never been suggested by any writer upon the historic seals of England that Mathildis employed any great seal as Queen of England, made after the conventional characteristics which obtain in the great seals of Stephen her predecessor, or of her son King Henry II. The troubled state of this country, the uncertain movements of the lady, the unsettled confidence of the people, and the consequent inability of attending to such a matter as the engraving of a great seal,—a work, it must be borne in mind, involving some time and care,—are, when taken together, more than sufficient causes to account for the continued usage of this type; although we may fairly presume that it was intended to supersede this foreign seal with one more consentaneously in keeping with English tradition.

This seal, which is circular, with a diameter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and possesses no reverse, bears a figure of the queen seated upon a plain rectangular throne or seat with cushion, plinth, and flat footboard. She is vested in a single garment gathered up at the throat with a string, falling short of her feet by a very little, and fashioned with a long loose sleeve, which in after years developed itself into the preposterous *maunch*, which we are all familiar with as the heraldic bearing of the family of Hastings. The head of the lady is

¹ He died at Utrecht on the 23rd of May, A.D. 1125, and was buried at Spire.

enveloped in a linen-cloth head-dress or coif, which confines the entire head with exception of the face, and above this is placed the crown, of cap shape, with three points *fleurées*. In the right hand she holds erect a sceptre *fleur-délysé*; in her right we should have expected to see an orb, but this emblem of sovereignty, although in use among the German royal seals, is here wanting. The legend, when perfect, is as follows :—

+ MATHILDIS DEI GRATIA ROMANORVM REGINA.

From photographs I had the pleasure of laying before the meeting, it was evident that this seal resembles in character and feeling those employed by the German sovereigns just before and after her time, the middle portion of the twelfth century. Other photographs of seals of contemporary English and French monarchs, which I also exhibited, equally indicate how different the seal art of these countries of England and France is to that of the seal under consideration. Impressions of the queen's seal are appended, by labels of parchment, to several of the charters among the series I have been enabled to collect, and I may here state that the Association is indebted to the kindness of William Willes, Esq., of Goodrest, Reading, and of 53, St. James's Place, London, for an exhibition of a very fine original charter of Mathildis, to which is appended a beautiful specimen of the seal in perfect preservation. The liberality of Mr. Ready, whose former services to the Association on similar occasions is, I am sure, not forgotten, has enabled me to compare it with a sulphur cast of another perfect specimen, and this exhibition is enhanced by a photographic picture of two charters, each with a seal appended, which are preserved among the archives in the Duchy of Lancaster in the Record Office, and this picture has been lent to me by Mr. William Hardy, the keeper of that portion of our national documents. I believe it would be difficult to match this collection of seals and charters which I have gathered.

The style or title employed by the court scribes, and in the diplomatic formulæ of the charters of this queen, are of three degrees. 1. The simple form "Mathildis Imperatrix Henrici Regis filia", and the charters numbered 1-3, 5, 11, 15, 19-21, 24-26, 28, in my collection, will be found to be drawn in accordance with these words. It is most probable that

these documents are to be assigned to a period either before the death of her father, King Henry I, or at most to the initial years of Stephen, before any serious attempt had been made to obtain the possession of the kingdom. 2. The form "*Mathildis Imperatrix Henrici Regis filia et Anglorum Regina*", which I have already shown to be the natural outcome of the conference at Winchester in the early part of the year 1141, and employed in the openings of two charters of my series, Nos. 6 and 7, which on this and on other evidence already detailed, have been assigned to periods closely consecutive to that meeting; and 3. "*Mathildis Imperatrix Henrici Regis filia et Anglorum Domina*." This last style is by far the most frequent, no less than fourteen examples occurring among the collection respectively numbered 4, 8-10, 12-14, 16-18, 22, 23, 27, 29.

There is no doubt that the use of this word *Domina* instead of *Regina* is deliberate, and was in the first instance adopted, I mean used in those charters which contain the word and were promulgated between A.D. 1135 and A.D. 1141, by reason of the ceremony of coronation not yet having been performed; and with regard to those charters which are placed subsequent to A.D. 1141, either because the ceremony was still unperformed, although she had the possession of the crown, or because of some stipulation with her opponents in power. The word was especially employed by English sovereigns under two conditions, either to denote supreme rule over lands which had not a crown, as was the case with Ireland, for example, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, and hence the style during that period was "*Henricus*" or "*Edwardus, Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Dominus Hiberniæ*"; or to be a temporary title for the newly-made monarch during the interval which was elapsing between the death of the predecessor and the coronation day of the living thing. In this latter signification King Richard I styles himself *Dominus Angliæ* in a charter among the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster, now in the Record Office, which was granted about a month after the decease of King Henry II (6th July, A.D. 1189) and before his own coronation (3rd Sept. in the same year). This fact has been pointed out by Sir Harris Nicolas and by W. Hardy of the Record Office in the *Archæologia*. But the fact of a ceremony of coronation not having been performed on

Mathildis does not really invalidate the other fact that Mathildis was *de facto* the Queen of England, because we can adduce a notable instance of a person who was crowned King of England, although his name has never been introduced into the *fasti* of English sovereigns. Henry, the son of Henry II, was crowned as king joint in rule with his father, yet he never enjoyed the practical result of his position, an absolute dominion.

Tabular Synopsis of the Titles, Dates, and Places of Attestation, found in the Charters of the Empress Mathildis, comprised in the following series :

Place.	Mathildis Imperatrix Henrici Regis filia.	Mathildis Imperatrix Hen- rici Regis filia et Anglorum Regina.	Mathildis Imperatrix Henrici Regis filia et Anglorum Domina.
Argenthan .	Charter No. 20	6	13, 14, 16, 17, 29(? A.D. 1151) 8 (1141), 9, 10, 12, 18, 22, 27
Devizes . .	15		
Oxford . .	5 (A.D. 1140)		
Reading . .	11		
Rouen . .	25, 26, 28 (? A.D. 1149)		
St. Alban's .	3		
Westminster	1, 2	7 (Winches- ter ?)	4 (Oxford ?), 23 (Oxford ?)
Uncertain .	19, 21 (Rouen ?), 24 (Rouen ?)		

1. Grant to Geoffrey de Mandeville, of the earldom of Essex and many important offices and privileges.

"M. Imperatrix regis Henrici filia Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus ...suis francis et anglis tocius Anglie et Normannie (?) salutem...do et concedo Gaufrido de Magnavilla...tenuit bene et quiete sicut aliquis antecessorum suorum illam unquam melius...postea...et heredibus suis ...Et concedo illi et heredibus suis custodiam turre Londonie...fuit Rauon ...in feodo et hereditate de me [et heredibus] meis cum terris et liberationibus et omnibus Consuetudinibus que ad [illa]m pertinerent et ut inforeiet illa secundum voluntatem suam. [Preterea] do ei et concedo et heredibus suis .c. libratas terre de me et de [heredibus] meis in dominio...videlicet Niweport pro tanto (?) quantum reddere solebat die qua rex H[enricus] pater meus fuit vivus et mortuus et ad rem[ovendum] mercatum de Niweport in Castellum suum de Waledena cum omnibus Consuetudinibus que prius mercato illi melius pertinuerunt in T.....et aliis consuetudinibus...nt vie de Niweport que sunt juxta littus aquæ dirigantur ex consuetudine ad Waledenam [super foris]-facturam meam et Mercatum de Waledena sit ad diem dominicam et ad diem Jovis et ut feria habeatur apud Waledenam et incipiat in [vigiliam] et duret per totam ebdomadam pentecostes et Meldonom ad perficiendum predictas .c. libratas terre pro tanto quantum inde reddi solebat die qua [rex Henricus fuit] vivus et mortuus cum omnibus Appendicis et rebus que adiacebant in terra et mari ad Burgum illud predicto die mortis Regis

Henrici [...Deopdenam]...etiam similiter pro tanto quantum inde reddi solebat die qua rex Henricus fuit vivus et mortuus cum omnibus Appendiciis suis et Boscum de chatelega cum [tenentibus ibidem pro] .xx. solidis et terram de Banhuuta pro .xl. solidis et si quid defuerit ad .c. libratas perficiendas perficiam ei in loco competenti in Essexia [...Her]tfordeserira aut in cantebriggseira tali tenore quod si [reddi]dero Comiti Theobaldo totam terram quam [ipse habuit] in An[glia]...predictis...antequam de predictis terris dissais[iatur...] heredibus Willelmi peur' de Lond' dabo similiter ei escambium ad valens antequam dissaisiatur de illa que fuit peurelli et illud es[cambium erit] de terra que remanebit illi hereditabiliter. Et preter hoc do et concedo ei et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis tenendum feodum [et serviciu]m .xx. militum et infra servicium istorum .xx. militum do ei feodum et servicium terre quam Hasculfus de tania tenuit in anglia die qua fuit [vividus et] mortuus quam tenet Graelengus et mater sua pro tanto servicii quantum de feodo illo debent et totum superplus istorum .xx. militum ei perficiam in [pre]dic[tis] tribus comitatibus. Et servicium istorum .xx. militum faciet mihi separatim preter aliud servicium alterius feodi sui. Et preterea concedo [ei quod omnia] castella sua que habet stent et ei remanent [et sint] inforcia[ta] ad voluntatem suam et ut ille et omnes homines sui teneant terras [et res] suas omnes de quocunque teneant sicut tenuerunt die qua ipse homo meus effectus est salvo servitio dominorum et ut ipse et omnes homines sui [sint quieti] de omnibus debitis que debuerunt regi Henrico aut regi Stephano et ut ipse et omnes homines sui per totam Angliam sint quieti de Wastis fores[tariorum]...essartis que facte sunt in feudo ipsius Gaufredi usque ad [diem qua] homo meus devenit et ut a die illo in ante omnia illa ess[arta...] comitatus quantum pertinuerunt...Meldonam et Niweport que ei do...quantum [pertinuit ad tertium] denarium de placitis Vicecomitatus unde eum feci Comitem et ut teneat omnia excidimenta mea que mihi exiderint [in com]itatu Essexie reddendo inde firmam rectam quamdiu erunt in Dominio meo et ut sit Capitalis Justicia in Essexia hereditabiliter mea [et heredum] meorum de placitis et forifactis que pertinuerint ad Coronam meam ita quod non mittam aliam Justiciam super eum in Comitatu illo nisi [quod ali]quando mittam aliquem de paribus suis qui audiat eum illo quod placita mea juste tractentur et ut ipse et omnes homines sui sint [quieti versus] me et versus heredes meos de omni forifacto et omni malivolentia preterita ante diem quo meus homo devenit. Et ei firmiter concedo et... quod bene et in pace et libere et sine placito hac teneat hereditabiliter sicut hæc carta confirmat omnia tenementa sua [...in terris] et tenaturis et in feodis et firmis et Castellis et libertatibus et in omnibus Conventionibus inter nos factis ...tre mee melius et quietius et liberius tenet ad modum Comitis in omnibus rebus ita quod ipse vel aliquis hominum suorum non p[onantur in] placitum de aliquo forifacto quod fecissent: antequam homo meus factus esset nec pro aliquo forifacto quod facturus sit in am... placitum de feodo vel Castello vel terra vel tenura quam ei concesserim: quamdiu se defendere potuerit de scelere sive...ad Corpus meum pertinente per se aut per unum militem si quis coram venerit... qui eum appellare inde voluerit. [Testibus Henrico Episcopo Wintonie] et Alexandro Episcopo Lincolnie et Roberto Episcopo Herefordie et Nigello Episcopo Elyensi [et Bernardo Episcopo de Sancto David et Baldewino Comite Devonie] Comite Willelmo de Moion et Brien filio

Comitis [et Milone de Glocestria et Roberto Arundel et Roberto Mallet et Radulfo de London et Radulfo Paynel] et Walkelino maminot et Roberto filio Regis et Roberto filio Martini [et Roberto filio Hildebrandi]. [Apud Westmonasterium.]” (Cottonian Charter, xvi, 27.)

This most important charter, one of the earliest, if not the earliest, example of the text of a deed creating a peerage, does not appear to have ever been published. I can not find the text in any printed book or MS. Fortunately Sir William Dugdale inspected this charter before it had been injured in the disastrous Cottonian fire, which destroyed so many invaluable evidences of British history. In his account of the Mandevilles, Earls of Essex (*Baronage*, vol. i, p. 202), he says, that “this is the most antient creation-charter which hath ever been known, *vide* Selden’s *Titles of Honour*, p. 647,” and he gives an English rendering of the greater portion of the Latin text, which has enabled me to conjecture several emendations and restorations in the above transcript. This throws such available light upon the missing portions of the charter that I need make no apology for its insertion here :

“And besides this, by another charter dated at Westminster, she constituted him Earl of Essex, to hold to himself and his heirs ; and to have the third penny of the pleas of the sheriffalty, as an earl ought to enjoy in his earldom ; and likewise granted to him and his heirs all those lands which Geoffrey de Magnavill, his grandfather, and Serlo de Maton or any of his ancestors ever held, either in England or Normandy. Moreover, she granted unto him and his heirs, the custody of the Tower of London, with that little castle there, which belonged to Ravenger ; and all the lands, liveries, and customs thereto belonging, to fortifie the same at his pleasure, as also one hundred pound lands per annum, to hold of her, and her heirs in demesn, viz. Newport, for the value it yielded at the death of King Henry her father, with license to remove the market from Newport to his castle at Walden, and all customs, to that market belonging, in toll, passages and other usages. Likewise, that the ways from Newport near the waterside, should be directed of course to Walden : and that the market at Walden should be upon Sundays and Thursdays ; and the fair there to begin on Whitson-eve and to continue all that week. Moreover, she gave him Meldon with its appurtenances, to make good that one hundred pound land before mentioned, for so much as it was worth, at the time of King Henrie’s death ; as also Deopdene, upon the like value, likewise the woods of Chatelege, with the tenants for twenty shillings, and the land of Banhunt for forty shillings. And to there make good what it should fall short of that value, in some convenient part of Essex, Hertfordshire, or Cambridgeshire ; but upon this condition, that if she should render unto Earl Theobald (brother to King Stephen) all the land which he held in England, then to give this Earl Geoffrey a valuable exchange in these three counties, before he should be dispossessed.

“And she farther covenanted, that in case she should render the whole barony and lands of William Peverel of London, to the heirs of him the said William, then to give this Geoffrey a valuable exchange for what he had thereof, before he should relinquish the same; which exchange to be to him and his heirs.

“Furthermore, she granted to him and his heirs twenty knights’ fees, within which number were the fee and service, that Hasculf de Taney held in England at his death: all which Graeleng and his mother held, for so much as belonged to that fee, promising to make good the remainder of those twenty fees, in the before specified three counties; and that he should perform the service for those twenty knights, besides the services for his own fees. Likewise, that his castles which he then had should stand, and be fortified at his own pleasure. Moreover that he and all his tenants should hold their lands as freely as they held them before he became her liegeman; and to be free from all debts due either to King Henry the First, or King Stephen. Also, that he and his tenants should be exempted from the wastes of foresters, and improvements made in the fee of him the said Geoffrey, till the day he became her liegeman, and that all those wastes should thenceforth be errable, without any forfeiture.

“Likewise that he should hold a market at Bissey, and a fair every year, beginning on the eve of St. James, to endure for three days: Besides all this she thereby granted to him the sheriffalty of Essex, to hold of her and her heirs upon the antient Rent, payable at the time of the death of King Henry the First, so that there should be abated of that rent of the sheriffalty whatsoever belonged to Meldon and Newport, which she had given him; and as much as appertained to the third penny of the pleas of the county, whereof she had made him earle. Moreover that he should hold all her demesns, which might accrew to her in Essex, paying the just rent, so long as they were in her demesn.

“Also, that he and his heirs should for ever be chief justices in Essex, to her and her heirs, of all pleas and forfeitures appertaining to the crown; so that she should send none other thither, than (at some times) one of his peers, to sit with him and see that the pleas were justly held. And that he and his heirs should be quit against her and her heirs, of any forfeiture, or past displeasure, before the day he became her liegeman, as also for any forfeiture which might thenceforth happen for any fees, or castles, land, or tenure, by her granted to him, as long as he could free himself from any treason against her person, either by himself, or any one knight, in case any should thereof accuse him, To this charter these being witnesses, Henry (de Blois) Bishop of Winchester, Alexander of Lincoln, Robert de Betun of Hereford, Nigel of Ely, Bernard of St. David’s; Baldwin, Earl of Devon, Earl William de Moium, Bryan Fitz-Count, Milo of Glocester, Robert Arundel, Robert Mallet, Ralph de London, Ralph Paynel, Walkline Maminot, Robert the King’s son, Robert Fitz-Martin, and Robert Fitz-Hildebrand.”

2. Mandate of the empress to the sheriff of Essex to deliver seisin to William, son of Oto, of his land in Benfleet:

“M. Imperatrix Regis Henrici filia Vicecomiti de Essex Salutem. Precipio tibi quod seisias Willelmum filium Otonis de terra sua de Benfleet ita bene et plene sicut inde seisitus fuit die qua rex Henricus pater

meus fuit vivus et mortuus et bene et in pace libere et honorifice teneat sicut liberius tenuit tempore Henrici patris mei. Testibus Cancellario et Comite Glocestriæ apud Westmonasterium." (MS. Harl. 84, f. 289. *Cartæ Antiquæ in Arce Londinense.*)

3. Confirmation to Milo of Gloucester of a house at Westminster.

"M. Imperatrix Regis Henrici filia Justiciariis et Vicecomitibus et Baronibus et omnibus fidelibus [suis] francis et Anglis de Middlesexa: et de Westmonasterio: salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Miloni de Glocestria domum que fuit Gregorii Dapif[eri] apud Westmonasterium. Quare precipio quod eam bene et in pace teneat. testibus Nigello Episcopo Elyensi et Walchelino maminot. Apud Sanctum Albanum." (Record Office, Duchy of Lancaster.)

4. Grant of lands, etc., to Christ Church, London.

"Matildis Imperatrix Henrici Regis filia et Anglorum Domina Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus et Ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis de kent salutem. Sciatis me concessisse ecclesiæ Christi London' et canonicis deo ibidem servientibus in elemosinam inperpetuum pro animabus patris et matris meæ et pro salute anime mee terram quam Picotus Empastorator eis dedit in villa de Bekeham et vij solidatas terre quas Picotus emit de hominibus ejusdem ville et viij solidatas terre Eastmundi et terram de Cleiherste cum omnibus rebus locis consuetudinibus et libertatibus ad easdem terras pertinentibus libera et quietas ab omnibus rebus excepto servicio dei. Preterea concedo eis pasturam x bovum inter meos boves in plano et in bosco et x porcos sine pathnagio et super hoc prohibeo super forisfactum meum ne aliquis sit ausus hominibus vel rebus ad predictam ecclesiam pertinentibus aliquam injuriam vel contumeliam inferre quia nolo quod ecclesia jus suum vel libertatem in aliquo tempore meo perdat. Teste Rodberto Comite de Glocestria Cancellario." (MS. Harl. 84, f. 157 b. "*Cartæ antiquæ in Arce Londinense*", N. No. 7.)

5. Grant of divers privileges to the abbey of St. Benedict, Hulme.

"Matildis Imperatrix Henrici regis filia archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus comitibus baronibus justiciariis vicecomitibus et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis et ministris barronum in quorum ministeriis et hundredis Abbatia de Hulmo terras habet: salutem. Sciatis quod pro dei amore et remissione peccatorum meorum et pro redempcione anime beate memorie Regis Henrici patris mei et pro animabus Regum Willelmi scilicet Avi mei et Willelmi Avunculi mei et aliorum parentum meorum quietam clamo et ab omni seculari potestate delibero Abbaciam de Hulmo et omnes terras et ecclesias et universas possessiones eidem Abbacie pertinentes in cujuseunque hundredis vel baillio sint. Et ideo volo et firmiter precipio quod ecclesia sancti Benedicti de Hulmo in omnibus teneduris et terris suis ubicunque sint habeant socam et sacam et Thol et theam et infangenethef et Gridbrece et Forstell et Wrek in mari et in litore maris et Hamsocam et Blodwyte et Filtwyte et Ferdwyte et Flemmeneferd, et Averperi, et Wardpeni, et omnes alias libertates et liberas consuetudines quas aliqua ecclesiarum regni mei

habet, et quas ego ipsa habeo in Dominicis terris et elemosinis pertinentibus corone mee et hec habeat ecclesia predicta in bosco in plano et pratis et pascuis et molendinis et turbariis et stagnis et vivariis et viis et semitis et in mari et in portibus maris et in mariscis, et in aqua et extra aquam, in feriis et mercatis, in civitate et extra, in burgo et extra burgum et in omnibus locis. Testibus R..... episcopo Londoniensi et Roberto Comite Glocestrie et Reginaldo filio Regis. Apud Oxenford. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M.C. quatragesimo.” (Galba E. II, f. 31. MS. Harl. 85, f. 344. “Cartæ Antiquæ”, CC. 4. cf. Harl. 6748, f. 3 b. Add. 6166, f. 325.)

6. Grant of lands to Reading Abbey.

“M^r imperatrix HENRICI regis filia et Anglorum reginæ archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, vicecomitibus, ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis totius Anglie, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse deo et sancte MARIE de Radingis et Monachis ibidem deo servientibus pro salute anime mee et pro anima HENRICI regis patris mei et pro incolumitate Gausfrⁱ. Andegavorum comitis et domini HENRICI filii mei et aliorum filiorum meorum et pro statu tocius regni terram de Windesoris et de cateshella in perpetuum elemosinam que fuit GAUSFREDI purcellⁱ quam monasterio redingensi dedit quando ibi monachus devenit. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod bene et in pace et libere et quiete et honorifice et plenarie teneant in bosco et plano et pratis et pasturis. In aquis et stagnis et molendinis. In civitate et extra et in omnibus rebus et locis omnibus et cum omnibus libertatibus et quietantiis ad terram illam pertinentibus. Testibus HENRICO episcopo Wintoniensi, Alexandro linchoniensi episcopo, Nigello episcopo Heliensi, Bernardo episcopo de sancto david, Rodberte episcopo herefordense, et Testibus Roberto comite de glocestria, et Reginaldo comite filio regis, et Rodberto fratre ejus, et BRIENⁱ filio comitis, Milone constabulo, Johanne Marescallo. Apud Radingⁱ.” (British Museum, additional charter 19,576. Printed in *Arch. Journal*, xx, 289.)

7. Confirmation of lands, etc., to the Abbey of Glastonbury.

“Matildis imperatrix Henrici regis filia Anglorum regina archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus comitibus baronibus justiciariis vicecomitibus ministris et omnibus suis Francis et Anglis tocius Anglie salutem. Sciatis me concessisse ecclesie Glastonⁱ et Henrico ejusdem ecclesie prelato et successoribus suis in perpetuum omnes teneduras et possessiones ejusdem ecclesie unde ecclesia et ipse saisiti et tenentes fuerunt die qua rex Henricus pater meus fuit vivus et mortuus et unde ecclesia et idem prelatus saisiti et tenentes fuerunt die dominica intrantis¹ quadragesime qua venit contra me et locutus est mecum juxta Warewellⁱ que precessit diem lune qua isdem prelatus et cives Wintonⁱ honorifice in ecclesia et urbe Wintonⁱ me receperunt. Hec omnia concedo et confirmo predictæ Glastonⁱ ecclesie et Henrico ejusdem ecclesie prelato et successoribus ejus integre libere et quiete et honorifice possidenda. Et nominatim manerium de offeculum cum omnibus pertinentiis ejus. Quare volo et

¹ Dugdale reads in error, “dominica Incarnationis”. This author also omits the words “qua.....fuerunt”. The list of witnesses also differs by omissions.

firmiter precipio quod prenominata ecclesia et prelatus ejus Henricus et successores sui omnia supra memorata bene et in pace et plenarie et quiete libere et integre et honorifice teneant in silvis et agris in pratis et pasturis in aquis et molendinis et piscariis in viis et semitis in civitate et extra in feriis et mercatis et in omnibus locis cum soca et saca et toll et team et Infangenetheof et hamsokne, cum moneta et monetariis et cum omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus inconcusse et absque omni inquietacione. Testibus. Bernardo episcopo de sancto david, et Nigello Eliensi episcopo, et S[effrido] episcopo Cicestrensi, et Galfrido abbate Glocestriæ, et Roberto comite Glocestrie, et Rein[aldo] comite corn[ubiæ], Brienne filio Comitissæ, et Milone de Glocestrie, et vnrifido de buhun, et Willelmo de Moim, et Radulpho luvel, et Elia Giffard, et Roberto Musard'." *Endorsed*, "Carta Matildis imperatricis de sistone." (Add. MS. 22934, f. 21b. Adam de Domerham, temp. Edw. III.)

8. Creation of Milo of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford :

"Matilda Imperatrix Henrici Regis Filia et Anglorum Domina archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus comitibus baronibus justiciariis vicecomitibus prepositis ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis totius Angliæ salutem. Sciatis me fecisse Milonem de Glocestria Comitem de Hereford et dedisse ei motam Hereford cum toto castello in feodo et hereditate sibi et heredibus suis ad tenendum de me et heredibus meis. Dedi etiam ei tertium denarium redditus burgi Hereford quicquid unquam reddat et tertium denarium placitorum totius comitatus Hereford. Dedi etiam ei tria maneria in ipso comitatu de meo dominio videlicet Mawerdinam et Luggewordinam et Wiltonam cum omnibus appenditiis suis. Dedi etiam ei haias Hereford et forestam de Trinela cum hoc quod ad hoc pertinet. Dedi etiam ei servitium Roberti de Chanados et Hugonis filii Willelmi et Richardi de Corneill et omnia feuda eorum ubicunque ea habeant. Et hæc omnia supradicta dedi et etiam concessi in feodo et hereditate sibi et heredibus suis ad tenendum de me et heredibus meis. Hanc autem donationem feci ei apud Oxineford die Sancti Jacobi Apostoli videlicet octava die ante festum Sancti Petri ad vincula pro servitio suo quod mihi fecerat et ita quod tunc habebam in captione mea apud Bristoll Regem Stephanum qui Dei misericordia et auxilio Roberti comitis Glocestrie fratris mei et auxilio ipsius Milonis et aliorum baronum meorum captus fuit in bello apud Lincoln die Purificationis Sanctæ Marie proximo ante predictum diem sancti Jacobi apostoli. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod hæc omnia supradicta teneat de me et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui ita bene et in pace et honorifice et plenarie et libere et quiete in bosco et plano in forestis et fugaciis in pratis et pasturis in aquis et molendinis in stagnis et vivariis in viis et semitis in foris et feriis infra burgum et extra in civitate et extra et in omnibus locis cum soca et saca et toll et team et infangenetheof et cum omnibus consuetudinibus et libertatibus et quietudinibus sicut nunquam aliquis comes melius et honorabilius et quietius et liberior et plenarius tenet aliquod tenementum vel dominium de me in Anglia vel unquam tenuit de aliquo antecessore meo. Testibus Theobaldo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Roberto Episcopo Londoniensi, Alexandro episcopo Lincolnensi, Bernardo episcopo Sancti Davidis, Nigello episcopo Eliensi, David rege Scotorum, Roberto comite Glocestrie, Reginaldo Comite Cornubiæ, Roberto Reginaldi filio, Brientio filio comitis,

Vmfrido de Bohun, Alexandro de Buch[an], Johanne filio Gisleberti marescallo, Pagano de Claris Vallibus, Roberto de Curceo, Radulfo Paganello, Willelmo de Doura, Elia Giffard, Walkerio Maninot, Ernulf de Hesding, Gisleberto de Lasceio. Apud Oxinfordiam." (Rymer's *Fœdera*, Clarke and Holbroke ed., vol. i, p. 14. "Ex Orig. Cant. Antiq. Bibl. Cotton., A.D. 1141, an. 6 Steph. R.")

9. Confirmation of a gift of a chapel by Baldwin, Earl of Devon, to St. Martin's at Paris.

"M. Imperatrix Henrici . regis filia . et Anglorum domina . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Abbatibus . comitibus . Baronibus . Justiciariis . Vicecomitibus . Ministris . et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis totius Anglie salutem. Sciatis me concessisse deo et Sancto Martino apud Paris', et monachis ibidem deo servientibus, illam donationem quam Baldewinus, comes Devonie, eis fecit de capella sancti Jacobi, et de terra et de omnibus illis rebus quæ ad eandem capellam adjacent et pertinent. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod bene, et in pace et libere et quiete, de omnibus consuetudinibus et quietudinibus capellam predictam, cum omnibus quæ ad eandem capellam pertinent et adjucent, teneant, ne super hoc aliquis inde injuriam vel contumeliam aliquo modo faciat. Testibus. Milone comite Herefordie . et Brientio filio comitis . et Roberto de Cure'. dapifero . et Roberto de Oilli . et Johanne de Sancto Johanne . et Roberto filio Martini. Apud Oxon'." ("Ex autographo in cartophylaceo collegii regalis Cantabr." Dugd., v, 106.)

10. Grant of the church of Cumba to the Abbey of Eynsham.

"Matildis Imperatrix, regis Henrici filia, et Anglorum domina, 'omnibus sanctæ ecclesiæ fidelibus'¹ 'tam Francis quam Anglis'² salutem. Sciatis me 'dedisse et'² concessisse pro anima regis Henrici patris mei . et pro mea . et filiorum meorum salute, monasterio 'et Conventui Sancte Marie'² de Egnesham ecclesiam de Cumba 'cum omnibus que ad eam pertinent. Quare volo et firmiter precipio ut idem Conventus Egneshamie prefatam ecclesiam de Cumba bene et in pace libere et quiete et honorifice in perpetuum elemosinam teneant cum omnibus rebus et consuetudinibus eadem ecclesie pertinentibus'.² Testibus. Roberto fratre meo comite Gloucestrie. Johanne de Sancto Johanne. Roberto de Oili. Gaufrido Luvel. Apud Oxeneford." (From the Register of Eynsham Abbey, library of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford; and Vespasian, B. xv, f. 7b; Dugd., iii, 20.)

11. Grant of the church of Stantune to the Abbey of Reading.

"M[athildis] imperatrix, Henrici regis filia, A[lexandro] episcopo lincoln', et omnibus baronibus de oxenfordescire salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse ecclesiam de stantune cum omnibus rebus ei pertinentibus in decimis et terris et omnibus aliis rebus ecclesiæ sanctæ Marie de rading' et monachis ibidem deo servientibus in elemosinam sicut eam A[alis] regina uxor patris mei et W[illelmus de Albini] rex

¹ Claudius, A. viii, f. 130.

² Harl. 258, f. 6.



ejus eis dederunt et per cartas suas confirmaverunt et volo et precipio ut eam bene et in pace teneant sicut melius alias suas res tenent. His testibus B[ernardo] episcopo de Sancto david et R[oberto] comite de glocestria et Hunfrido de buun dapifero. Apud Radling’.”

Endorsed:—“Mathill’ imperatricis de ecclesia de Stant’ et omnibus ad eadem ecclesiam pertinentibus.” (British Museum, additional charter, 19578.)

12. Grant of a prebend of sixty shillings to the canons of Osney.

“Matildis imperatrix Henrici regis filia et Anglorum domina, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis totius Angliæ salutem. Sciatis me dedisse in perpetuam elemosinam canonicis de Osneia prebendam illam de lxs. quam Peverell Presbiter tenuit et habuit. Quæ est in hiis iij maneriis, scilicet in Bensinton xxiijs., et in Beinton xxiijs., et in Heddon xijs., Vnde volo et firmiter precipio quod prefatam prebendam teneant bene et in pace et libere et honorifice, sicut unquam eam aliquis melius vel honorabilius tenuit. Testibus A[lexandro] episcopo Lincolnensi, et W[illelmo(?)] episcopo Londoniensi¹ et Cancellario, et E[adwardo] abbate de Reading’, et Roberto de Oilli, et Falcone de Oilli. apud Oxeneford.” (Cartæ antiquæ in Turre Lond., E. 9, and MS. Harl. 84, folio 61 b.)

13. Grant of a hermitage at Kanoc (Cannock) to the brethren of Radmore.

“Matilda imperatrix, Henrici regis filia, et Anglorum domina, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Deo et Sancte Marie de Rademora, et fratribus ibidem deo servientibus, in perpetuam elemosinam, pro statu regni et pro anima patris mei regis Henrici et pro anima matris meæ et antecessorum meorum, et pro salute viri mei, et mea, et liberorum nostrorum. locum Heremi sua (*sic*) in foresta de kanoc et totam landam de Melesho ad culturam frutum et pasturam animalium sine nimia exartatione nemoris; Testibus, Herberto clerico, et Vnfrido de Buhun, et Patricio de Sarum conestabulario, et Radulfo Pagano, et Roberto de Dunstanvilla. Apud Divisas.” (Ex Registro de Stoneley [Priory in co. Warw.] penes Thomam Leigh de Stoneley, mil. et bar. 1640.” Dugd. v, 446.)

14. Foundation charter of Bordesley Abbey.

“M. Imperatrix Henrici regis filia et Anglorum domina. Archiepiscopis. Episcopis. Abbatibus. Comitibus. Baronibus. Justiciariis. Vicecomitibus et omnibus fidelibus Angliæ et Normanniæ Tam presentibus

¹ The see of London was vacant from 1134 to 1141, but administered during some portion of that interval by Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester. This “W.”, who is called Bishop of London and Chancellor, may, perhaps, be William Fitz-Gilbert, who is placed in the list of Lords High Chancellor for 1142. Hardy does not give any notice of this curious text in his edition of *Le Neve’s Fasti*.

quam futuris. salutem. Notum sit nobis me pro dei amore et pro anima Henrici regis patris mei et M. reginæ matris meæ et parentum et antecessorum meorum. et pro salute G. comitis Andegaviæ domini mei. et mea. et H[enrici] heredis mei et aliorum filiorum meorum. et pro pace et stabilitate regni Angliæ fundasse abbatiam quandam quod dicitur Bordesleia. de ordine Cisterciensi. in honore beatissimæ virginis Mariæ reginæ Celorum. Huic autem abbatiæ dedi et concessi et confirmavi Totam terram Bordesleia. et Teneshale. et Ludeshale. et Cobesleia. et holesweia. preter terram parcarii. et totum dominicatum Budifordia. et Northuniae. in bosco et plano. in pratis et pasturis. in aquis et molendinis. et in omnibus aliis pertinentiis. Præterea jus advocacionis et dominationis ecclesiæ de Terdebiga cum virgata terræ. in eadem villa. et quibusdam sartis. prope divisam terræ ejusdem abbatiæ. et novum puteum de Wich. de proprio labore suo. et omnia aisiamenta sua. in foresta de feccaham. cum omni libertate pasnagij et pasturæ. et materierum ad edificia construenda. et aliarum rerum usui necessarium. et unam Piscariam apud Herneleiam. cum terram quæ ad eam pertinet. Hec autem omnia libere et quiete in bene et in pace ab omni servicio et exactione et consuetudine seculari in perpetuum permansura. concedo et sigilli mei impressione confirmo. Testibus Roberto comite Gloeccestriae. et Gualeranno comite Mellenti. et Milone comite Herefordiae. et Wilhelmo de Pontearch' Camerario. et Willelmo de Belloc'. et Willelmo difublato. et Gaufrido de Waltervilla. et Goscelmo de Baillol. et Roberto de frumovill'. Apud divisas."

A fine and perfect seal of the empress, as engraved, in hard red wax, is appended by a deerskin thong, and enclosed in a bag or cover of purple and yellow damask.

(From the original charter now in the possession of William Willes, Esq., of 35, St. James' Place, and Goodrest, Reading. From a note in Dugd. Mon. Angl., v, 409, it appears that the author of the Monasticon prints this charter "ex ipso autographo penes Clementem Throgmorton de Haseley, in com. Warw., Militem, A.D. 1630." See also Pat. Rot., 11 R. II, p. 2, m. 24.)

15. Grant of various possessions to Bordesley Abbey.

"Matildis Imperatrix. Henrici. regis filia. Archiepiscopis. episcopis. Abbatibus. Comitibus. Baronibus. Justiciariis. Vicecomitibus. et omnibus fidelibus Anglie. et Normannie. tam presentibus quam futuris. salutem! Sciatis me dedisse et in perpetuum elemosinam confirmasse deo et Sancte Marie et abbacie mee de Bordesleia totam terram Bordesleia. et Teneshal. et in Terdebigg'. Stapeltune. et Ludeshale. et Cobeslee. et apud Wichenesfort. xl. acras cum sede unius molendini quod solebat reddere. iij. solidos. et jus advocacionis et dominationis ecclesie ejusdem Terdebigg' cum virgata terre que erat de dominio. et totum dominium Budefordie. et Nottunie cum terra forestarii. et Bedellii que solebat reddere. iiij. solidos; et totam terram Holoweie preter terram parcarii. et apud feccham terram ubi porcaria sita est. cum dimidia virgata terre. et in foresta ejusdem feccham. omnia aisiamenta sua ad quæcunque sibi fuerint necessaria. et novum puteum de Wich de proprio labore. Hec autem omnia dedi prefate abbacie Sancte Marie virginis cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in bosco et in plano et aquis. et molendinis. pratis. et pasturis. libere. et quiete absque omni consuetudine

seculari et exactione. et preter hec in sabrina unam piscariam apud erneleiam cum terra que ad eam pertinet. Hoc vero feci pro anima patris mei Henrici regis et Matildis Regine matris mee et antecessorum meorum. et pro salute domini mei Gaufridi Comitis Andegavorum. et mea. et Henrici heredis mei et aliorum filiorum meorum. et pro pace et stabilitate tocius regni Anglie. Testibus. Willelmo cumino. et Roberto comite Glocestrie. et Gualeranno comite Meldent'. et Willelmo de pontearch'. et Willelmo de Bellocampo. et Milone comite Herefordie. et Willelmo de feblato. et Ganfredo de Waltervilla. et Jocelino de Baillol. et Willelmo de pino. et Roberto de fremovilla. et Johanne de Lunda. et Radulfo de Manlevilla. Apud divisas." (British Museum, additional charter, 20420.)

16. Grant of Blewberry, co. Berks., to the abbey of Reading.

"Mathildis Imperatrix. Henrici Regis Filia et Anglorum domina. archiepiscopis. episcopis. abbatibus. comitibus. baronibus. justiciariis. vicecomitibus. prepositis. ministris. et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et anglis totius Anglie! salutem. Sciatis me pro anima Henrici Regis patris mei. et Mathildis Regine Matris mee et antecessorum meorum in perpetuam elemosinam. et pro amore et legali servicio Brien' filii comitis quod michi fecit! dedisse et concessisse deo et Sancte Marie et Monachis Rading? Bleberiam. ita bene. et in pace. et libere. et quiete et honorifice et plenarie tenendam. cum soca. et saca. et Toll et theam. et Infangenetheof. et cum omnibus aliis consuetudinibus et libertatibus! sicut Henricus Rex pater meus. eam melius et liberius. et quietius et plenarius! habuit et tenuit. Testibus. Roberto Comite Glocestrie. et Reginalde Comite Cornubie. et Rogero Comite Hereford'. et Vnfrido de Buhun! dapifero. et Willelmo filio Alani. et Joscio de dinan. et Walcelino maminot. et Willelmo Paganello. et Willelmo [filio] hamonis. Hugone filio Ricardi. et Riulfo de Sessun! Apud Divisas."

Endorsed: "Matillidis imperatricis de blicbiria." (British Museum: additional charter 19577.)

17. A duplicate of the previous deed, with a few variants.

"M. Imperatrix Henrici. Regis filia. et anglorum domina. archiepiscopis. episcopis. abbatibus. comitibus. baronibus. justiciariis. vicecomitibus. prepositis. ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis totius Anglie! salutem. Sciatis me pro anima Henrici Regis patris mei. et. M. Regine matris mee. et antecessorum meorum in perpetuam elemosinam. et pro amore. et legali Servizio Bri filii Comitis. quod mihi fecit. dedisse. et concessisse Deo. et Sancte Marie et Monachis Rading? Bleberiam. ita bene. et in pace. et libere. et quiete. et honorifice. et plenarie tenendam cum Soca. et Saca. et Toll. et Team. et Infangenethef. et cum omnibus aliis Consuetudinibus. et libertatibus! sicut. Henricus. rex pater meus eam melius. et liberius. et quietius et plenarius habuit. et tenuit. testibus. Roberto comite Glocestrie. et Reginaldo Comite Cornubie. et Rogero Comite Herefordie. et Vnfrido de Buhun Dapifero. et Willelmo filio Alani. et Josco de Dinan. et Walkelino Maminot. et Willelmo Paganell'. et Willelmo filio Hamonis. Hugone filio Ricardi. et Riulfo de Sessun. Apud Divisas."

Endorsed: "M. imperatricis de bleberia." (British Museum, additional charter 19579.)

18. Grant to Milo, Earl of Hereford, of the Castle and Honour of Abergavenny.

"M. Imperatrix. Henrici. Regis filia. et anglorum domina. Archiepiscopis. episcopis. abbatibus. comitibus. baronibus. justiciariis. vicecomitibus. ministris. et omnibus fidelibus suis. Francis et Anglis et Walensibus totius anglia et Walie salutem. Sciatis me per requisicionem Brienni. filii Comitis. et Matildis de Walengeford' vxoris sue concessisse Miloni Comiti Herefordie. et Heredibus suis Castellum de Abergaveineia. et totum honorem qui ad illud pertinet. cum omnibus rebus ei pertinentibus ad tenendum de Briemmo. filio. Comitis. et Matilde uxore sua. et de heredibus suis. in facuda. et Hereditate. per servicium. ij. Militum. testibus. Willelmo Cancellario. et Reginaldo Comite Cornubiæ. et Baldewino Comite Deuoniæ. et Radulfo Paganell' et Stephano de Mannavill'. et Roberto filio Martini. et Roberto Corbet'. Apud Oxinford." (Record Office, Duchy of Lancaster.)

19. Confirmation of a grant by William de Berchele, to Tyntern Abbey, of Kingswood, co. Wilts.

"Matildis imperatrix, Henrici regis filia, omnibus sanctæ matris ecclesie filiis, tam clericis quam laicis, suæ subjectionis salutem. Volo vos non ignorare me concessisse, et carta mea confirmasse, illud caritatis donum, quod pro patris mei regis Henrici anime redemptione, et predecessorum suorum remedio, Willelmus de Berchele contulit abbatiæ de Tynterna: scilicet totam Kingswode, et quicquid deinceps ipsius abbatiæ cristicolis de suo collaturus est. Precipiendo etiam addendo, ne super hoc alterius quicquam injuriæ seu inquietudinis eis vel alicui de suis inde fiat. Hic inter fuere obstantes, etc." ("Ex Registro Abbatiæ de Kingswode, penes Joh. Smith de Nibley, co. Glouc. 1651." Dugd. Mon. Angl. v, 426.)

The names of the witnesses are omitted.

20. "Mathilde, impératrice, fille du roi d'Angleterre, déclare, par une charte sans date, à Richard, vicomte, et à ses fidèles d'Argentan qu'elle a donné à Robert 'Loricario suo mansuram terræ quæ est in vico Cadumensi' franche de toutes coutumes, et 'ab excubibus (sic) atque vigiliis'. Cette charte fut faite à Argentan, en présence de Reginald, son frère; de Guy de Sableuil et de Alexandre de Bohun." (Sceau brisé.) (From "Extrait des Chartes...qui se trouvent dans les Archives du Calvados" Par Léchaudé D'Anisy, 8vo, 1834, vol. i, p. 388.)

21. "Charte de l'impératrice Mathilde, fille de Henri, roi d'Angleterre, par laquelle cette princesse donne à l'abbaye de Saint-André-de-Gouffern, pour le salut de son âme ainsi que pour celui de son père Henri, roi; de Godefroy, comte d'Anjou; de Henri, duc de Normandie, son fils, et de tous ses autres enfans, quarante-six sols six deniers monnaie romaine, que les religieux de la dite abbaye étaient tenus de lui payer tous les ans en son domaine d'Argentan, à cause de leur terre de la Graverie, paroisse de Montgaron. Cette charte sans date est scellée de son sceau en cire rouge, attaché en laes de soie verte. Elle est attestée par Hubert des Vallées; Guillaume Helwin; Hubert, clerc; Hugues, medecin; et Roger son chapelain." (Ibid., p. 408.)

22. Grant of the monastery of St. Frideswide, Oxford, to the canons of the same.

"Mathildis Imperatrix, regis Henrici filia et Anglorum Domina, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, et baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse deo et ecclesiæ sanctæ Fritheswithæ Oxeneford, et canonicis regularibus ibidem deo servientibus, pro salute animæ meæ et pro anima regis Henrici patris mei, et pro animabus omnium antecessorum meorum, monasterium sanctæ Fritheswithæ cum territoriis sibi adjacentibus et clausuris locorum et grangiarum cum capellis de Hedyngdon et Merston, Elsefeld et Beneseye de quibus nulla redditur consuetudo episcopis archidiaconis nec eorum ministris : etc.

"Quare volo, etc.

"Testibus Theobaldo cancellario archiepiscopo, R. Londoniensi episcopo, Roberto comite Glocestriæ, R. de Oilli, apud Oxeneford. (Dugd. Mon. Angl., ii, 145.)

23. Grant of the church of Aceleia with the chapels of Borstalle and Edigrave to the canons of St. Frideswide at Oxford.

"M. Imperatrix, Henrici Regis filia, et Anglorum domina episcopo Lincolniensi et omnibus fidelibus suis, Francis et Anglis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse ecclesiæ sanctæ Fridiswidæ Oxoniæ, et canonicis ibidem deo servientibus, ecclesiam de Aceleia cum capellis et omnibus rebus ad eandem pertinentibus, scilicet capellam de Borstalle et de Edigrave pro anima patris mei et matris meæ et omnium predecessorum meorum, et pro salute mea et filiorum meorum, et stabilitate regni mei. Quare volo, etc. (Dugd., Mon. Angl., ii, 146. "Ex Registro in Bibliotheca Collegii Corporis Christi Oxon., p. 305.")

24. Extract from an "Inspeximus" of Henry V, of a charter of Mathildis to the abbey of Noa, or La Noue, in Normandy.

"M. imperatrix, Henrici regis filia, archiepiscopo Rothomagensi, episcopis, abbatibus, baronibus, justiciariis, et omnibus suis fidelibus de terra Normannia salutem. Sciatis quod ego terram quandam xl libris emi, quam deo et ecclesiæ S. Marie de Noa, et monachis ibidem deo servientibus, ad construendum ejusdem loci cenobium, pro salutē animæ meæ, et animarum patris et matris meæ, et Gaufridi, comitis Andegavensis, et filiorum meorum Gaufridi et Willelmi, in perpetuam donavi elemosinam; terram autem illam totam, videlicet, quæ est inter viam molendini de Chatmel, et propriam terram predictorum monachorum, et inter superiorem viam Ebroicensem et aquam Ithum emi a Mauricio de Bonaville et Roberto Sacerdote et fratribus ejus Rocelino et Rogero, et a Thoma milite, et a Giraldo de Hopelande, et Roberto nepote suo, Will-elmo fratre Thomæ, et ab Eurardo de Chatmel et filiis ejus; Roberto comite Mellenti, et Richerio de Aquila, dominis ejusdem terræ, concedentibus, etc." (From Dugdale, Mon. Angl., vi, 1098, and Pat. Rot. Normanniæ, 7 Hen. V, p. 2, No. 20.)

25. Foundation of the abbey of Cherbourg or "Notre Dame du Voeu", in Normandy.

“Henricus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ et Dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ et comes Andegaviæ archiepiscopis, etc., salutem. Sciatis me et dominam matrem meam M. imperatricem Henrici regis filiam fundasse abbatiam sanctæ Mariæ de voto, etc. Testibus . R. Archiepiscopo Rothomagensi . A. Lexoviensi episcopo . E. Ebzoicensi episcopo . comite Willelmo de Mandevilla . A. comite Ebroicensi . Nicholao de Stotevilla . Hugone de Longo campo . Reginaldo de Courtenai . Reginaldo de Pavilli . Roberto de Stotevill . apud Rothomagum.” (Neustria Pia, 853, 854 ; Dugd. Mon. Angl., vi, 1110 ; Pat. Rot. Normanniæ, 7 Hen. V, p. 2, No. 38, per Inspepinus 8 Hen. V, No. 3.)

26. Foundation charter of the abbey of Cherbourg, “Notre Dame du Voeu”.

“Mathildis imperatrix, Henrici regis filia, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, justiciariis, boronibus, vicecomitibus, ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis, Anglis et Normannis, tam presentibus quam futuris, salutem ; sciatis me et Henricum regem filium meum fundasse abbatiam Sancte Mariæ de Voto de Ordine Cisterciensi, etc.

“Testibus : Hugone archiepiscopo Rothomagensi, Philippo Baiocensi, Arnulpho Lexoviensi, Rotrodo Ebroicensi episcopis, Guillelmo Comite Mellenti, Galtero Comite Giffardo, Roberto de Novo Burgo, Godone de Vals, Guillelmo de Herlovino ; apud Rothomagum.” (Neustria Pia, pp. 852, 853.)

27. Grant of common at Hedinton to the monastery of St. Frideswide, Oxford.

“M. imperatrix, Henrici regis filia, et Anglorum domina, R. de Oilli, et vicecomitibus, et prepositis, et Henrico de Sancto Petro, et omnibus civibus de Oxeneford salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse, pro salute animæ meæ et pro anima regis Henrici patris mei, in perpetuam elemosinam, Deo et ecclesiæ Sanctæ Fritheswithæ Oxeneford et canonicis regularibus imperpetuum ibidem Deo servientibus, communiam ad omnia pecora et averia sua in manerio de Hedinton, ita scilicet ut pascent omnia pecora et averia sua libere et quiete in omnibus locis per totum manerium de Hedinton ubi dominica ejusdem manerii pecora et averia pascuntur tam infra forestam de Stawode et Scothore quam extra, et liberum introitum et exitum cum eis ad voluntatem ipsorum canonicorum sine impedimento et contradictione imperpetuum. Concessi etiam et confirmavi prædictis canonicis in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam totam illam terram quam Alanus de Rosmongere tenuit in parochia beatæ Mariæ Magdalænæ, et omnes alias terras quas predicti canonici habent infra hundredum, extra portam borealem Oxeneford, reddendo in annuatim redditum de eisdem debitum pro omni exactione et servitio seculari imperpetuum. Testibus R. Episcopo London'. et W. Cancellario. Apud Oxeneford. (Dugd., Mon. Angl., ii, 146, col. 1. Pat. 5 Hen. V, m. 3, per Inspepinus.)

28. Grant of various holdings in Wiltshire to Stanley Abbey.

“Matildis imperatrix, Henrici regis filia, et Henricus ejus filius dux Normannie,¹ archiepiscopis . episcopis . abbatibus . comitibus, baronibus,

¹ Henry (afterwards Henry II of England) did not succeed to the duchy of Normandy until A.D. 1149. This charter must, therefore, be ascribed to a date

justiciariis, vicecomitibus, ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis totius Angliæ salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse et concessisse Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ de Drogonis Fonte, et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus, pro anima regis Henrici, patris nostri, necnon pro statu regni Angliæ, et pro salute nostra in perpetuam elemosinam, pratum forestæ de Cheppeham ad pasturam et fenum faciendum, et viginti solidatas terræ quæ est juxta pontem de Lacoc quæ pertinet ad foendum de Ruda. quamdiu Ruda erit in manu nostra. et præter hoc concedimus finaliter predicto loco tres denarios in die de firma nostra de Cheppeham, quamdiu locus ille gente religiosa inhabitabitur. Testibus. Willelmo Cancellario, et Herberto Capellano, et Alexandro de Buhun, et Richardo de Haia, et Hugone de Doura, et Walkelino Meminot, et Huberto de Vallibus, et Manessers Biset, et Willelmo filio Hamonis, et Warino filio GERALDI, et Willelmo de Ansgervilla, Apud Rothomagum." (Charter in the possession of Edw. Bayntun, Esq., printed in the *Parochial History of Bremhill*, by the Rev. W. L. Bowles. London, 1828, p. 96.)

29. Grant of various possessions and offices to Humphrey de Bohun.

"M. Imperatrix. Henrici. Regis filia. et Anglorum domina. Et Henricus. filius Comes Andegavie. Archiepiscopis. Episcopis. Abbatibus. Comitibus. Baronibus. Justiciis. Vicecomitibus. Ministris. et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis totius Angliæ salutem. Sciatis nos reddidisse et concessisse Vnfrido de Buhun totam terram suam unde fuit tenens die qua Rex. Henricus. fuit vivus et mortuus. Et Dapiferatum suum in Anglia et Normannia sine hoc quod non ponatur inde in placitum sicut melius tenuit tempore. Henrici. Regis. Et preter hoc dedimus ei. et concessimus pro servicio suo Melchesham. cum appendiciis suis. et Burgum Malmesberie sine fortitudine facienda ibidem. et Boezam que fuit Gaufredi de sanceles. et Stokes que fuit Eborardi de Calna. Hec omnia supradicta dedimus ei. et concessimus tenenda in feudo et hereditate sibi et heredibus suis de nobis. et de heredibus nostris. Et pro hiis supradictis devenit homo noster ligius contra omnes homines. Quare volumus. et firmiter precipimus. quod bene et in pace. et libere. et quiete. et honorifice. et plenarie teneat in forestis et fugaciis. in bosco et. plano. in pratis. et pasturis. in aquis. et molendinis. in viis et semitis. in foris et feriis. infra Burgum et extra in civitate. et extra. et in omnibus locis cum soca. et saca. et Toll et Team. et lufangenethef. et cum omnibus aliis consuetudinibus. et libertatibus et quietudinibus. Testibus. Bernardo. episcopo de Sancto. David. et Gisleberto Abbate Glocestrie. et Roberto comite Glocestrie. et Rogero Comite Herefordie. et Radulfo Paganello. et Goseu de Dinan. et Willelmo de Bellocampo. et Willelmo de Dovra. Conestabulario. et Vnfrido filio Odonis. et Roberto de Dunest².....et Willelmo Paganello...Hugone filio Ricardi. [et Riulfo de Sessun?] Apud Divisas. (Record Office, Duchy of Lancaster.)

between 1149 and 1151, when Henry assumed in addition the title of "Comes Andegaviæ".

¹ Henry, son of the Empress, did not assume the title of Count of Anjou until A.D. 1151.

² Dunstanville.

ON CHURCH COLLECTING BOXES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

THE period is as yet undetermined when offerings for sacred and charitable purposes began to be collected from the people whilst assembled within the walls of the church, nor is the mode by which such collections were first effected at all clear and well defined. Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) ordered a trunk to be placed in every church, to receive alms for the remission of the sins of the donors ;¹ and Fosbroke says that poor-boxes in churches are often mentioned in the twelfth century.² But these money-chests were for the reception of free gifts made without personal application, and were altogether as distinct in purpose as they were in form from the collecting bags, dishes, and boxes, which in our time, and long before our time, have been handed from pew to pew for the benevolent to drop their coin into. When did these erratic ecclesiastical receptacles come into vogue ? is a question easier asked than replied to ; and so little do we really know respecting these matters, that it is best at present to simply describe the earliest examples which may chance to come within our ken, and thus assist in accumulating facts which may ultimately lead to a full understanding of the subject.

The attention of our members has on more than one occasion been directed to the old offertory dishes of stamped latten,³ and I now propose to introduce to their notice a few interesting specimens of collecting boxes of wood, but none of which can lay claim to remote antiquity nor much elegance of design. The first I have to refer to has long been employed at Beckenham Church, Kent. It consists of an oblong rectangular case, about half of the top of which is open, the other portion being closed and flat. The bottom of the case extends a trifle beyond the sides and one end ; the opposite end spreading out into a broad pyriformed

¹ Du Cange, *sub voce* "Truncus, truncus".

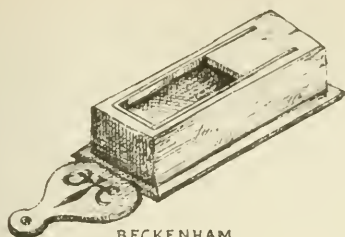
² *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, s. v. "Poor's-boxes". For examples of fixed almsboxes, see *Journal*, xxiv, p. 286.

³ See *Journal*, xii, p. 259 ; xxv, p. 391 ; xxvi, p. 69.

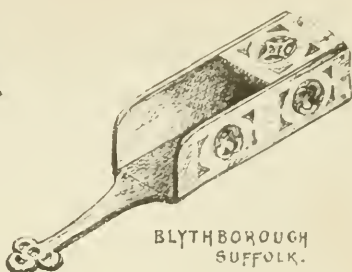
handle decorated with a large fleur-de-lys, and having a disc at the apex perforated with a round hole to enable the utensil to be hung up when not required for use. There is little about this collecting box, beside the fleur-de-lys, to indicate its age; but the fashion of the lily points strongly to the sixteenth century, and to this era we seem justified in assigning it. (See fig. 1.)

The next collecting box to describe is certainly of equal if not of superior antiquity to the example at Beckenham, and is one of the most ornate things of the kind I have yet met with. (See fig. 2.) The sketch of it which I produce was made by Mr. Watling in 1840, at which time the curious relic was kept in the ancient parish chest at Blythborough Church, Suffolk. The utensil measures, from its flat end to the extremity of its haft, full $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The receptacle has rather more than a third of its top closed; and this portion, as well as the sides of the case, are carved in an architectural style with circles enclosing trefoils, etc., placed between spandrels. The handle terminates in a trefoil, and is perforated for suspension. The whole surface of this specimen has been painted red, which is also the case with the three following examples of which Mr. Watling has furnished me with sketches. Two of these collecting boxes belong to Suffolk churches, viz., Earl Stonham and Kelsale. The Stonham box, which has a rather antique aspect about it, is of the usual rectangular shape; but either end of its top is closed, so that a broad aperture is left in the middle for the admission of money. At one end, on the same plane as the bottom, is a flat handle terminating in a fleur-de-lys. (See fig. 3.) The Kelsale collecting box is of the most unpretending character, being a simple rectangular receptacle with nearly half of its top closed over, and with a flat handle on a line with the bottom, terminating in a pierced disc. (See fig. 4.)

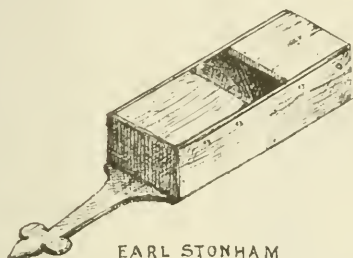
Norfolk as well as Suffolk furnishes us with a few examples of old wooden collecting boxes adorned with paint. That at East Harling bears a marked resemblance to the one at Kelsale in general design; but the flat end opposite the handle rises above the top of the utensil so as to enable it to be stood firmly in an upright position. It is also worthy of mention that within the case is a sloping board, down which the money slides as it is dropped in, and effectually



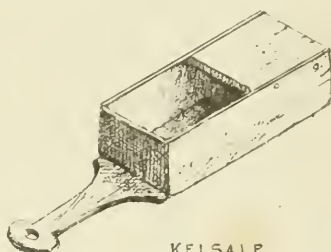
BECKENHAM
KENT



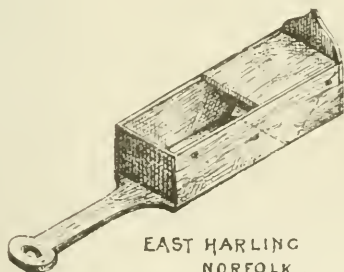
BLYTHBOROUGH
SUFFOLK.



EARL STONHAM
SUFFOLK.



KELSALE.
SUFFOLK.



EAST HARLING
NORFOLK.



BLICKLING
NORFOLK

CHURCH COLLECTING BOXES.



screens it from view. This red box has a straight haft with a perforated disc at its end. (See fig. 5.) It may be added that the Stonham, Kelsale, and East Harling boxes are each about 8 inches in length by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth, and therefore a trifle larger in size than the one at Blythborough.

The old collecting box belonging to Blickling Church, Norfolk, differs altogether in contour from those we have been considering ; and if the late John Adey Repton be correct in his conjecture, is of the time of Elizabeth. It has a cordiformed body, 10 inches in length, secured at the broad end to a hexangular handle upwards of 5 inches long. The upper edge of the flat cover of the box is cut out in a double scallop to admit the money, and on it is inscribed, in golden letters on a blue field, PRAY REMEMBER THE POOR. 92. (See fig. 6.) Mr. Repton remarks in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1837, p. 262, that "the lower figures of the date alone remain. It was probably 1592." A suggestion coming from so shrewd and careful an antiquarian is worthy of all respect ; but the form of the box and its inscription are of a character more in keeping with the seventeenth than the sixteenth century ; and I honestly believe that the utensil is of the time of Charles II, and the 92 of still later date.

The old church money-boxes were not always beautified with paint, for that still employed at Berrington, near Shrewsbury, is of varnished oak. It is of an oblong square form, with the half of the top furthest from the straight handle left open, and thus differs in more than one respect from the examples previously described. This, like the great majority of such ecclesiastical articles, is of about the middle of the seventeenth century.

The wooden hand-boxes here cited, though few in number, afford a tolerably clear notion of one kind of utensil in vogue for alms gathering in olden times, and the use of which, as we have seen, is not altogether obsolete in some of our rural churches : nay, there are even symptoms of its revival among London congregations, for I observed something very like these quaint and primitive receptacles being freely passed about when the first stone of a new church was laid in Walworth in 1873.

THE CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF ST. MARY OF THE CLIFF, OLD CLEEVE, SOMERSETSHIRE.

BY MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A., PRECENTOR
AND PREBENDARY OF CHICHESTER.

THE situation of the Abbey of St. Mary of the Cliff, or, as a benefactor in his charter called it, of "the Vale of Flowers", strictly fulfilled the rigid rule of the order, that the Cistercian monasteries should be built only in places secluded from the conversation and habitations of men.¹ The ground-plan is of that simple kind which is found only at Beauport (De Caumont's model abbey, c. 1202), Buildwas, Bindon, Roche, Grey,² Valle Crucis, and Sweetheart,—a nave with aisles, a transept with two eastern chapels, and a short narrow presbytery. It very nearly resembles the church of Valle Crucis in dimensions; in both the nave is of five bays; the rood screen closed in the first bay westward of the crossing here, but the peculiar arrangement of the choir, the day stairs of the monks, and those used by the lay brothers was almost identical; the difference in total length was only four feet, and one foot in the transept, whilst their foundations date within a few months of each other, so that we may not be very far from the truth, if along the site of Cleeve our imagination portrays the likeness of the sister church which, even in its ruin, still graces the Vale of Llangollen.³

Never were any buildings in a worse or more foul condition than those round the Cloister Garth of Cleeve, when Mr. Luttrell, of Dunster Castle, who had not long since entered into possession, by terminating their future occupation as farm tenements, began the good work of purging them thoroughly and placing them in a decent state. At my instance he heartily entered into the project for exhuming the site of the church, although it was one of speculation rather

¹ MS. Harl. 3708, fo. 18, quoted in the notes to my *Church and Conventual Arrangement*, p. 139.

² See the excellent memoir by Mr. Phillips of Belfast.

³ Addit. MS., Brit. Mus., 27, 764, C. fo. 73, and my account in Add. MS. 29,720, containing a Welsh *Monasticon*.

than hope according to the latest authorities. The chapel is entirely destroyed, according to Murray's Guide ; and Mr. Warre could not trace a vestige beyond the eastern cloister doorway and the south wing, which tradition led him to believe was the tower.¹ Linnies and sheds almost hid the nave wall on both sides, and the place of the remaining portion of the minster was overlaid with walls, pools, mounds, farm roads, soil, and masses of filth. The weather was propitious, and a strong corps of labourers placed on the works, so that within two months and a half I had the pleasure of seeing the entire plot of the abbey church laid bare, with the exception of a small piece upon the north-west which is covered with the branches and undermined with the "moors" of a walnut tree, numbering, perhaps, two centuries of growth. "Hæc olim meminisse juvabit." One wall, upwards of 100 feet long, extending obliquely across the transept, was removed, and the ground excavated, in some places to a depth of 7 feet, whilst in addition to the slow labour of unearthing and pulling down, the navvies had to work carefully in order not to destroy any tombs, pavements, bases of altars, and walls which might have been spared or overlooked.

Cleeve has no history or annals : a solitary incidental mention of it occurs in the *Annals of Tewkesbury*, and its very name is omitted in the exhaustive catalogue of MSS. relating to English monasteries in the British Museum. Cleeve was colonised from Revesby² in Lincolnshire, and I ascertained that the abbey church had consisted of a nave of eight bays, with a roodloft in the fourth bay from the crossing, a transept with three chapels in each wing, and a short aisleless presbytery. Revesby was a daughter of Rievaulx, whose mother was Clairvaux in France.

Acting on the general hint of arrangement afforded by the parent Abbey, and assuming the existence of the south walls of the nave and transept, I commenced operations in the neighbourhood of the crossing, where I recovered the polygonal bases of the dividing pillar of the south wing and the north-east pillar of the tower, and then worked eastward to find the site of the presbytery. A transverse trench revealed the southern buttress of the west front, and the discovery formed the basis for revealing the buried pillars

¹ *Somerset Arch. Soc.*, vi, p. 89. ² See *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxvi, 368.
1875 51

of the nave-arcade. The whole southern wall was cleared of a piggery, a coachhouse, and linney ; and the western doorway of the cloister, a grand tile-pavement near it, and the sills of three aisle-windows (lancets), 14 ft. high up in the wall, were laid open. I had now the key to the remainder of the ground-plan, although occasionally misled by huge masses of rubble-work which had been thrown down when the spoilers robbed the hewn stone and ashlar, and deceived me with the hope of finding whole walls and pillars. However, bases and lesser portions of the round columns of the nave, a piece of wall which had formed part of the choir-screen, fragments of pavement, a tomb, and foundations of altars, were disclosed : and the unstopping of the sacristy door furnished a considerable quantity of tiles. I found only a few insignificant bits of opaque glass, some leading, a lead canister of round shape with a cross on the lid, one carved gargoyle of fantastic form, and part of the cresting of the roof, in green tile, wrought with graceful foliations. I have been able to build up parts of three pillars with their hitherto scattered portions. The hewn stones now serve to mark the outlines of the building, and to be studied as a ground-museum, many of them retaining the plastering divided by red lines resembling the courses of masonry ; and the detached tiles, fragments of carved work, and the like, are carefully preserved in one of the rooms.

I. THE ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS.

The minster was 161 feet long, and 97 feet broad in the transept. It may be compared with Valle Crucis, measuring 165 feet by 98 ; Buildwas, 163 by 84 ; Basingwerk, 162 by 84 ; Jerpoint, 161 by 79 ; Hove, 155 by 88 ; Grey, 120 by 74 ; and Boyle, 101 by 79. The plan, of the sternest Cistercian type, resembles those of Beauport in France, Valle Crucis, Buildwas, Roche, Kirkstead, Sweetheart, and Grey.¹ Its date is between 1200 and 1250. At the east end the walls are 6 feet 4 inches thick, and in the nave about 4 feet.

The *nave* measured 100 feet by 60, and was of five bays. Foot-stalls of the two western pillars and those of the crossing, halves of the central pillars, the base of the west wall, and the whole of the south wall, with parts of the *cloister*-

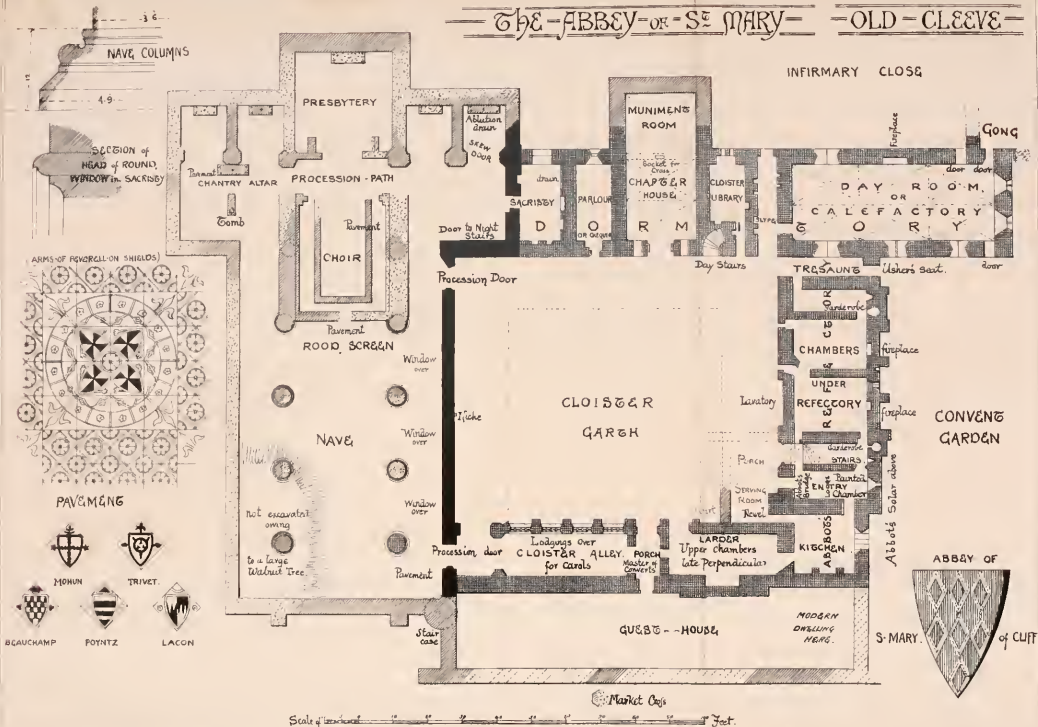
¹ My plans are in Addit. MS. 29,540.



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THE ABBEY OF ST MARY - OLD CLEEVE



doorways, remain. Each aisle was 11 feet broad. The aisles were lighted, as probably was the clerestory, by lancets.

The *ritual choir*, 40 feet by 20, ample to accommodate a small community, was prolonged one bay into the nave, athwart the crossing, broken by a passage-way into each wing, and terminated in a screen before the presbytery, with a doorway on either side. The western part had solid walls. A somewhat similar arrangement prevailed at Valle Crucis,¹ and originally at Fountains.²

Another very striking resemblance to Valle Crucis is found in the relation of the *lay brothers' stairs* to the nave. In the Welsh Abbey church there is a staircase in the west wall, which led up from the south aisle into the converts' chamber. At Cleeve a similar stair communicated with it from the south-west angle of the nave, and half of the circular newel is still shown even with the ground. The lay-brothers sat in the western portion of the nave, and never in the choir.³

The bases of the *rood-screen*, with some tile-pavement in front of the central door, and of the upper and lower *stalls*, with a fragment of the northern *choir-screen* a few feet in height, have been unearthed, together with a large portion of tiles close to the site of the tower. There are about fifty patterns, arranged in circles or broad bands, with borders of green, and burned in with black, red, and yellow colour. Many are geometrical, some are beautifully foliated, others have trefoils, roses, pairs of birds among foliage, fleur-de-lis, a greyhound, a hippogriff, a knight at tourney, and the arms of Mohun, Poyntz, Trivet, Montacute, Raleigh, Carew, Perrot, Paulton, Every, Bardolph, Fitz-Nicholas, Peverell, Brite, Furneaux, Beauchamp, Aynesford, Pollard, and St. Loe. Some of these occur at Muchelney, St. Decuman's, and Leighland.⁴ The introduction of such "curious novelties" was in direct contravention of the rule of the order.⁵

The *transept* had two eastern chapels in each wing. The south wall of the south arm, and part of one chapel, the west wall; the polygonal base of a pillar, with the springer

¹ Buckler's Plan, Add. MS. 29,720, fo. 50; 27,764, c. 73.

² Ib., 27,764, fo. 106.

³ *Chron. de Melsá*, App., p. lxxxii.

⁴ *Proc. of Arch. Inst.*, Bristol, 1851, p. 262.

⁵ See my *Church and Conventual Arrangement*, notes, p. 139.

of the pointed arch which it supported ; the basement of the parclose between the chapels, and of the altar of the south-eastern chapel, 5 feet 10 inches by 3, with part of its quatrefoiled drain, are now visible. Views of the south arm, which then had a clerestory of two lancets in the west wall, may be seen in Grose's *Antiquities*, 1754, v, p. 23 ; Collinson's *Somerset* ; and Boswell's *Picturesque Views*, 1787, Pl. 100. Each wing is 22 feet broad, and each chapel a square of 13 feet 6 inches. At the west side is the door to the *night stairs* used by the monks when descending to sing matin-lands ; and on the east a skew door which probably opened on an alure running over the arcade in front of the chapels, and, as at Valle Crucis, carried on stairs at the return of the wall on the north, in order to communicate with a loop which looked down into the presbytery.¹ The sacristan would use it for watching the perpetual "lamp of the oratory" or sanctuary at night.²

In the north wing there is the platform of the altar of the southern chapel ; and also in front of the dividing pillar, the basement of an altar, 9 feet 7 inches by 3, flanked by tile-paving, which was doubtless attached to a chantry founded by Gilbert de Woolavington. A large sepulchral slab of blue lias, 6 feet long, 5 inches thick, 2 feet wide at the head, and only 14 inches at the feet, scarcely rising above the floor, in accordance with the Cistercian rule, marks, I believe, his resting-place. It has only a blank-shield, and no inscription, but its date is clearly of the beginning of the fourteenth century ; and I found on tiles letters of the period scattered about in various places, which I venture to arrange thus : H[ic] c[on]ditur G[il]b[ertus] D[e] WOLAUYNTO[n] M[iles]. His foundation for two monks³ is dated in 1298. I can only account otherwise for their presence by assuming that they commemorate the "alphabet of consecration". Masonry surrounds it, and large portions of a beautiful Perpendicular screen have been found, which may have formed the memorial of this great benefactor.⁴

Of the low central *tower*, some huge masses of rubble-work which composed the core of the walls I have left to

¹ Addit. MS. 27,764, fo. 58.

² MS. Harl. 3,708, fo. 18 ; Lyndw. Prov., 153, gl. p.

³ For his benefactions, see *Inquisitiones p. m.*, i., 151.

⁴ See Note I in the Appendix.

tell their own tale. They have in their fall crushed a tile-pavement with deep indentations.

The *Presbytery* is an aisleless oblong, 29 feet north and south by 17 feet east and west, as at Sawley, Strata Florida, Valle Crucis, Buildwas, Kirkstall, Bindon, Roche, and Kirkstead.¹ On the north side there is apparently the base of a tomb of blue lias. The founder was buried at Revesby, with this inscription, "Hic jacet in tumbâ Willelmus de Romarâ, filius Luciæ Comitissæ de Lincolnæ, fundator monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Clyve." The arms of the Abbey found on some tiles are an adaptation of his coat,—*gules*, seven mascles, 3, 3, 1, conjoined, *or*.

My great object has been achieved, of rescuing the site from desecration, and it is now protected by a strong fence. The carefully measured plan of the monastery was made by Mr. Samson of Dunster, and is only one of the valuable services rendered by him.

II. THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS

Are on the south side of the minster, and surround a garth once enclosed by pented alleys; the corbels remain on three sides. The *east alley of the cloister* is pure Early English.

The *Dormitory*, with its splendid line of unglazed lancets recently opened, at once attracts the eye. It forms a splendid chamber, 137 ft. by 24 ft. 5 in. now divided by an unsightly modern wall (which will be shortly pulled down), where the flooring over the day room has been destroyed, owing to the demolition of its vault. The lancets are thirteen in number on the west wall, ten overlooking the garth, and three opening towards the convent garden. On the east side there are only eight, as a *muniment chamber* or treasury was built over the eastern bay of the chapter-house; part of the doorway and three stairs remain. To the north of it is a fireplace. Many of the window seats in the opposite wall are lined with tiles. The north wall has the sacristan's door, and the door to the right stairs with its bolt of wood and a jamb chamfered to accommodate the passing monks. The southern portion over the day room allotted to the novices retains a fireplace and part of a window in the south

¹ Addit. MS. 29,540.

wall ; and in the south-east angle a door to the upper gong near a skew window. The roof is modern, and does not appear in Grose's View.

The substructure is occupied by (1) the *sacristy*, 22 ft. 4 in. by 12 ft., which has colour on the barrel-vault ; it contains two aumbries with grooves for shelves in the west wall ; the door to the transept and a locker on the north ; an aumbry, an ablution drain, and recess for vestments on the south, and a large round window, once filled with tracery of the fourteenth century, facing the east, 7 feet in diameter. (2) The *cloister library* [a usual adjunct to the sacristy] whether laterally or in front of it, for the books used in the daily reading in the hours of study and prelections, has a barrel vault, and is lighted by a single lancet. (3) The *chapter-house*, a parallelogram, without alleys as at Ford, Whalley, and Sawley, and so, like the polygon of Margam, of exceptional form, was, until it lost its eastern bay, 46 ft. 10 in. long by 24 ft. 4 in. broad. The remaining bays, 21 ft. 4 in. north and south by 23 ft. 6 in. east and west, have quadripartite vaulting springing from lateral brackets. There were lateral single lancets in the eastern bay, both below and in the chamber above, shown in Grose's view. The vault retains bands of red colour, half diamonds within rude semicircles of foliage, which have oval ornaments at the points of junction. The platforms of the seats of the monks along the sides and a stone with a socket for the central cross remain. Portions of a plain tile pavement have been preserved. The triple portal consists of a large central arch, with red and white voussoirs in natural polychrome, flanked by an unglazed window on either side, which rises from channelled brackets, and is divided by a shaft of blue lias into two lights. No memorials of the abbots buried here have been found ; the cloister garth was allotted originally for the interment of monks, whilst the church was reserved for benefactors only. In later times a burial-ground adjoined the church. I have built up a dry wall to indicate where the foundations of the eastern bay have been discovered. (4) The *day stairs to the dormitory*, twenty-three in number, occur in the same position at Valle Crucis only, forming a marked feature of structural correspondence ; they are faced by an Early English arch, which has been tampered with in Perpendicular times by being skewed or corbelled above, when

a doorway was also built at midheight to temper ungenial draughts of air. The jambs had shafts of blue lias. These steps were used by the monks when going up to their meridian or mid-day sleep, and after compline on retiring to rest at 7 P.M. They occupy one corner of (5) the *parlour*, 16 feet 11 inches by 11 feet 7 inches, well defined, as at Sawley, Whalley, Bindon, Croxden, and Louth Park; it was the chamber used for private conversation when silence was observed in cloister. It contains a large aumbry under the stairs like a fireplace, and the east wall is pierced with two lancets. The last doorway is that of (6) the *stye to the infirmary*, which appears to have occupied the curtilage to the east, with a pentice along the walls of the day-room, opening on a lesser cloister garth; it was in this position at Kirkstead, Clairvaux, Rievaulx, Cîteaux, and Louth Park. The outer door of this passage, 30 ft. 8 in. by 6 ft. 2 in., had a porch. On the north side there are two pairs of lockers, and on the south two double aumbries for holding books or other articles left in them by the monks when going out to field labour; here too is the round-headed entrance to the *Day room*, 60 ft. by 22 ft. 6 in., very late Early English, forming a common room, laboratory, and study; it is more than a rival for those of Waverley and Neath, although it has lost its vaulting, which was supported on groining ribs rising from carved brackets, and on two central pillars, forming two alleys. The effect is also marred by the modern granary floor and wood work which cover the true level, but will shortly be removed. At the south end are two unglazed couplets of round trefoiled arches with quatrefoils in the heads, and shafts of blue lias, resembling some in the palace hall of Wells, whilst the actual wall was once pierced with two couplets under quatrefoils, which only in part remain. A door in the south-west angle opened into the convent garden, towards which on this side similar windows once opened; in the east wall are remains of another; a fireplace, and principal doorway is in the south-east corner of the entrance to the Lower Gong which ran eastward. The fireplace was used for warming the monks who shivered on bleak mornings after the lauds sung at sunrise, and for greasing their round-toed boots; the chanter also dried his parchments, and the acolyte lighted the charcoal in his censer here.

The south alley of the cloister was altered palpably in the Perpendicular period, the lower portion of the wall remains being Early English, with labels of doorways and the lavatory, whilst the sub-arches of the later calefactory are of the sixteenth century; but it is perfectly certain from the grouping of the lancets in the dormitory at the south-west angle, the point of junction, that the refectory was always in its present position, which is abnormal in an English Cistercian house, although it has been surmised that a parallel existed at Whalley,¹ and in France the only exceptions were at Beauport² and Pontigny.³ On the east side is the *Tresaut to the convent garden*, 30 feet long, and barrel-vaulted; at the south end is the *usher's door*, with the stone seat and wicket window used by the keeper. This passage and the adjoining chambers form the substructure of the refectory; at each end of the range is a recessed *garde-robe*; they are all lighted by transomed windows opening to the south; the first or eastern room has a stone seat, and square-headed door now inaccessible; the middle rooms have each a fireplace, they formed the later *calefactory* or warming room. The chief doorway has a quatrefoiled ceiling above it where it joins a skew door. The western room has two doors, one opening on the hall stairs, and the other communicating with the passage behind them. Immediately in front under a segmental arch is the *lavatory*, which touches the *hall stairs*, a steep flight of sixteen steps; the Early English doorway has lost its shafts of blue lias; above it are marks of a porch portrayed in Collinson's view. In front of the *entry to the kitchen*, which communicates with the hall stairs, are remains of the *Abbot's Newel*, close to the door of the *kitchen*, 18 ft. 6 in. by 17 ft. 10 in.

In the upper story is the grand *Refectory*, 51 ft. 6 in. by 22 ft. 4 in., late Perpendicular, standing east and west, and with large three-light windows, five on the north, and four on the south, transomed with a stone beam pierced with quatrefoils. It retains a fireplace, reader's pulpit, a wall painting of the Holy Rood, SS. Mary and John, above the dais, and a superb hammer beam roof with angel corbels. The west door is panelled; at the north side is the entrance

¹ *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lanc.*, 3rd Ser., vol. ii, p. 156.

² De Caumont's model of a monastery, c. 1200, *Rudim. d'Archéologie*, p. 88, 26.

³ Viollet le Duc, *Dict.*, i, 272.

to the *abbot's bridge*, which is carried over the hall stairs, wainscotted on one side, and lighted by square loops from the north ; it communicates with the abbot's lodge on the west over the buttery and kitchen. Southward of this remarkable construction are the *screens*, with a fine window and bench-table, and the *painted chamber*, with a fireplace, reader's stone table, and distemper representations of S. Margaret, S. Katharine, and S. Thecla.¹ Above the screens and these rooms is the *abbot's solar* as at Sawley and Cîteaux ; it has good large windows and a roof less ornate than that of the refectory.

The west side of the cloister. This side, like that on the south, has suffered considerable alteration, having been enclosed with stone in the Perpendicular period. In the centre is the *gateway porch*, 19 ft. 1 in. by 12 ft. 6 in., as the plan was at Tintern, Netley, Buildwas, Neath, and Boyle. Over it was the chamber of the master of the converts. On the north it opens by a doorway with floriated spandrils pierced in a screen of wood and plaster into a chamber, which formerly had a serving room of late date beyond it on the east, with a lateral narrow court on the north ; part of the foundations and the mitring in the cloister wall remain. On the south there is a large panelled Perpendicular archway into a cloister, which is 33 ft. 10 in. by 13 ft. 6 in., and has preserved some windows with stone tracery, which probably lighted carols or studies. There is only one other example at Ford ; at Sawley there was another one. The upper chamber on the north has a sepulchral slab with a cross built in as a mantelpiece. Immediately outside are the foundations of the original *converts' house*, 22 ft. wide, extending outside the west front, as at Netley, Whalley, Pontigny, and Vaux de Sernay, and once along the whole side of the outer cloister wall. The base of the newel staircase by which the converts descended to church still remains ; at Valle Crucis it is formed in the west wall of the south aisle.

The *north alley of the cloister* has a straining arch like one adjoining in the west alley, and contains the jambs of

¹ The legend of St. Tecla says : "Vidit magnam fossam aquâ repletam, multasque belluas marinas habentem, et dixit, 'Nunc tempus est lavandi statim belluæ quæ illie erant mortuæ sunt et super aquam natare ceperunt.'" (Lamb. MS. xciv, fo. 152b.)

the eastern procession-door, Early English, and the broken archway of one to the west. In the centre of the wall is a trefoil-headed niche resembling one at Grey Abbey, and used by the prælector and master of studies, or the claustral prior.

The wall which divided the cloister garth has been removed, the west alley is cleared of its piggeries, the eastern and southern ranges are cleansed, windows and doors are unstopped, and all unsightly and dangerous fissures made by modern hands are again closed up, but the whole garth has yet to be lowered down to its original level.

III. THE DOMESTIC BUILDINGS.

The huge sycamore tree in front of the gateway porch is growing out of the octagonal base of the *market cross*. On the west side of the conventual buildings are walls of the *Barton* or *Base Court*; one has a doorway with a hood over it on the west, and another to the south opens into the convent garden. Here were the granaries, stables, tanneries, tailories, and farm buildings. On the north side of the minster there is a wall 41 ft. long which had once a groined porch, and probably formed one side of a wine and cider press, like a similar building at Beaulieu.

In the meadow behind are traces of the stew ponds, upon which a wall with a buttress having pretty trefoiled terminals abuts, and along the east and north sides are remains of the moat which once fenced in the Home Park.

Upon the west the *precinct* walls at intervals may be seen by the side of the stream and in the direction of the abbey *mill*, which lies due south; up the valley is the Early English *grange* of *St. Pancras*.

The entrance to the abbey is over a little bridge, once defended by a *water gate* or barbican of the time of Richard II; one jamb of it still remains. A pitched path (continued in places northward to Chapel Cleeve) and roadway lead to the great *court gate* of the same date, 46 ft. by 13 ft. 6 in.; the northern arch has an arch with voussoirs alternately red and white; the southern arch and upper story were rebuilt by Abbot Dovell, whose name appears in an ornamental tablet. The south and north windows are of four lights; the gable on the north contains the image

of St. Mary and the Holy Child, and that on the south the holy rood; a tabernacle below the former, now empty, showed the abbot kneeling as on the conventual seal; and two vacant niches on the other side once contained the figures of the two mourners beside the cross. The inscription on the north is,

“Porta patens esto.
Nulli claudaris honesto.”

In Belgium there is a proverb, “for lack of a point Martin lost his Alne”; alluding to a well known incident that the ignorant abbot of that house put a full stop after *nulli*, and in consequence of public and local indignation the seigneur pulled down the buildings about his ears. In the upper story was the *guest house*, and below on the north-west was the *porter's lodge*, and on the south-east is the *almonry* with a hutch or turn for the daily dole. The vaulting is destroyed, but the roof remains. The roadway was divided by a central postern-like half-gate, which folded back into a recess, and in the adjoining segmental arch a rude Perpendicular arch for the porter's seat has been formed. When a visitor approached he said “Deo Gracias”, when he entered he added “Benedicite”, and then making a deep courtesy proceeded to inform the abbot that a guest was come.

ABBOTS OF CLEEVE.

“William, youngest son of William de Romare and Lucy his wife, founded the abbey and monastery of our Blessed Lady of the Cliff, in the county of Somerset, in the 9th year of Richard I, late King of England, and by the hands and oversight of one Hugh, then abbot of Revesby, which stalled and made then first abbot of the aforesaid monastery of Cliff one Ralph.”¹

„ —Hugh.

„ —William.

„ —Henry, c. 1297.

1315.—Richard Le Bret. in festo S. Matthæi Ap. electus in abbatem munus benedictionis recepit.²

1321, Sept. 29.—Robert de Clyvâ profitetur obedientiam dom. Episcopo.³

¹ Cotton. MS. Tib. E. 8, fo. 208 a. See Appendix 3.

² MS. Harl. 6964, fo. 36b.

³ Ibid., fo. 57b.

1338.—Henry, “in memoriam Gilberti de Wollavington qui multa beneficia iis contulerat, ac etiam duos monachos sacerdotes in augmentum conventus predicti, qui antea habuit tantum viginti sex monachos, etc., dat., iv. nov. 1297.”¹

1367-8.—James.

1407.—John Mason.

„ —John Plympton.²

1416.—Leonard summoned to convocation.³

1419.—Sept. 28. William Seylake, confirmatur ad instantiam Nicholai abb. de Newham.⁴

1421.—Oct. 1. John Stone. Commissio Ricardo Katanensi episcopo ad admittendum professionem fr. Joh. Stone in abbatem electi.⁵

1435.—David Joyner, summoned to the Council of Florence 1438, living 1448.⁶ In 1455, Aug. 23, licence was given to James, Bishop of Bangor, to consecrate a fair new and sumptuous chapel of St. Mary which he had built, together with a cemetery.⁷

c. 1487.—Humphrey.⁸

14 .—W. Donestere.⁹

1500.—July 13. Henry.¹⁰

„ —John Peynter summoned to convocation 1509.¹¹

1510.—William Dovell summoned to convocation 1514.¹²

1 Sept. 1510, “profitetur subjectionem dom. Epo. B. W. salvo jure ordinis sui”.

Leland has left no account of the abbey. He says, “I came to Cliff Chapelle. I left Clife Abbey scant a quarter of a mile oft by south on the left hand, and hard by on the right hond by north I saw a fair stone bridge of one arche. Cliff Chapelle, where offering was to our Lady, is set upon no very high ground but rokky, it is well builded and on the south side of it is a goodly ynnel of stone a late usid for pilgrimes. The se is about halfe a mile from Clife Chapelle.”¹³

¹ MS. Harl. 6965, fo. 100b.

² *Somerset. Arch. Assoc. Journ.*, vi, 40.

³ MS. Harl. 6966, fo. 21.

⁴ *Ib.*, fo. 11.

⁵ *Ib.*, fo. 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fo. 22, 30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fo. 37b. *Som. Arch. Assoc. Journ.*, vi, 58.

⁸ MS. Harl. 6968, 143.

¹¹ MS. Harl. 6967, fo. 12.

⁹ *Gent. Mag.*, lxxviii, p. ii, p. 873.

¹² MS. Harl. 6967, fo. 19b, 24.

¹⁰ MS. Harl. 6966, fo. 76b.

¹³ See account of religious houses, Hearne's *Hemingford*, ii, 610-11. The income in 1444 was valued at 70 marks 6s. 8d. (£47), and in 1534 at £155:9:9½. The Taxation of Pope Nicholas, 1291, gives the rental, £32:5:8.

¹¹ *Ilin.*, ii, p. 100, fo. 61.

He, in his *Collect.*, i, 78, merely says "Abbat. de Clive Bernard. Bathon. dioc.", and gives wrongly William first Earl of Lincoln as founder.

The king permitted the abbot and convent to hold within their precinct a market weekly on Wednesday and also two fairs, on the feasts of St. James the Apostle and the Exaltation of Holy Cross, to last for three days, in consideration of the cost of rebuilding the chapel of St. Mary by the Sea, which had been destroyed by the land slip of a large cliff, the altar and image only being left untouched.¹

There are said to have been seventeen monks at the dissolution, but I cannot find any survey, inventory, or surrender. Two monks received pensions; John Webbe had £8 a year and Rawff. Tybbes £6.² The next notice of the dissolved abbey occurs 24th March in a grant to Robert, Earl of Sussex, of the reversion of the house and site of the late abbey of Cleve, leased to Anthony Busterd, gent., by indenture under the seal of the Court of Augmentation, bearing date 27 Feb. 28 Hen. VIII, for the term of twenty-one days with the rent reserved, the lordship and manor of Clyve, which belonged to the said abbey, and all messuages, lands, etc., in the vills, fields, etc. of Old Clyffe, London, Bylbroke, Wassheforde, Hungreford, Leigh, Golsingoot, Roodewater, and Bynham, which belonged to the said late abbey to hold by a yearly rent of £33 : 14 : 8½. This grant is on surrender of a previous patent 30 Jan., 29 Hen. VIII.³ Mr. Ponsford, steward of the manor, has an interesting rental of this date, but I must restrict myself to the following official rental, omitting the terrier of lands beyond the immediate vicinity of the abbey. As a matter of local interest I would trace the name of Roodwater to the brook which flows down by the abbey towards "Weschet" (as the word was at first spelt), which once boasted the "Chapel of Holy Cross of Wachet,"⁴ Washford being a corruption of Watchet-ford.⁵

¹ Pa. Ro. 6 Edward IV, P. I. M. 2, quoted by Rev. T. Hugo, *Som. Arch. Assoc. Journ.*, vi, 43.

² *Augm. Off. Misc. Books*, 248. Dovell, in 1553, had a pension of £26 : 13 : 4.

³ Pa. Ro. 33 Hen. VIII (20), p. 8, and 34 (19).

⁴ *Som. Chuntries*, xlii, 54.

⁵ See Appendix to Adam de Domerham, i, pp. 208, 213, and King John's charter.

"Su'ma seit. monast. cum terris dominiis et aliis pertinentiis per annum xliij*li*. ijs. viij*d*.

"Redditus assisæ et aliorum reddituum et firme terrarum et tene-mentorū, hamlettes, molendinorum et aliarum possessionum quarumcunque in veteri Clyvâ, Capell. de Clyva, London, Bilbroke, Wassheford, Hungreford, Golsyngcote, Roodewater, Ligh et Bynham cum membris per annum iiij^{xx}ij*li*. vjs. ob.

cxv*li*. viijs. viij*d*.

"Pens. solut. ij capellanis apud Wollavyngton per ann. vj*li*. vjs. viij*d*.

"Eccles. Cath. Exon. per ann. vj*li*. xiijs. iiij*d*.

"Ecclesie de Olde Clyve per annum iiij*d*.

"Capell. de Legh per annum iiij*li*.

"Abbati de Dunxwell per annum xiiij*li*. vjs. viij*d*.

"Ecclesie de Stougomer per ann. xs.

In toto xxxij*li*. viij*d*.

"*Rectoria de Clyve* valet in firma x garbarum oblat. ad *Capellam de Clyve* et aliis proficuis xxxix*li*. xvjs. redditus sive pensio solut. Coll. de Wyndesor per annum x*li*.

"Summa totalis integri valoris predicti cccij^{xx}vij*li*. ix*d*.

"Repris. iiij^{xx}ij*li*. viijs. j*d*.

"Et remanet clare ultra repris. per annum ccxvi*li*. xiijs. viij*d*."¹

For these churches and chapels, see Appendix 2.

APPENDIX OF NOTES.

1.—THE CHANTRY OF GILBERT DE WOOLLAVINGTON,

Or, according to the information of Mr. Serel of Wells, as he was called before his assumption of that name, De Walleys.

"To all sons of Holy Mother Church, &c., Walter the Dean, and the Chapter of Wells, health, &c. Know your community that we the letters of the Rev. Father, &c., Bishop of Bath and Wells, have seen in these words. To all the faithful of Christ, &c., William, &c., Bishop of Bath and Wells, health, &c. We have seen the letters of the religious house of the Abbot of Clyve and the Convent of the same, dated, &c., of the tenor as underwritten. To all the sons of Holy Mother Church, &c., that Andrew brother, the said Abbot and Convent, health, etc. Whereas Gilbert de Wollauyntone, whose useful kindness and agreeable benefactions for the perpetual relief of our Church, &c., as well for himself as for others living and dead, by us the Abbot and Convent in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in of the church of Wollavyntone by the same Gilbert built, desires two secular priests to be appointed and ordained for ever, saying prayers, and by us and our successors to be supported; and in like manner two monks, priests, celebrating prayers in our Monastery of Clyve for the soul of the same Gilbert, his parents and benefactors, and all the faithful dead. Unwilling that kindnesses so useful and benefits so grateful bestowed upon us should be unremunerated, by our unanimous consent for us and our successors, at the instance, &c., of the said petition, we give and grant by these presents to Lord Robert de Wyldmerse and John

¹ Augm. Off. MSS. Books, 205.

de Mapuyr, our chaplains, and their successors, chaplains in the same chapel, celebrating and hereafter to celebrate prayers, etc., ten marks of annual rent for the exhibition and support of them; and one mark of silver of annual rent to find a light for the two chaplains in the aforesaid chapel saying prayers, and for repair of same chapel, to be received within the inclosure of the abbacy of Clyve by the hands of the monk our porter, &c.; $5\frac{1}{2}$ marks on the day of S. Michael, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ marks on the day of SS. Philip and Jacob. Which same secular chaplains every day for ever shall say the *Placebo* and dirge, etc., in the same chapel for the soul of said Gilbert and his parents, the Kings of England, the Bishops of Bath and Wells, all benefactors of same Gilbert, and the souls of all the faithful dead. We will and grant that the aforesaid chaplains and their successors, or some of them, with three horses and three pages, in our aforesaid house be honourably admitted, and in all things necessary for food, &c., they shall be given as well for themselves as for their horses and pages. *Moreover, we bind ourselves and successors, beyond the number of twenty-six monks in our Convent on the day of this writing, to increase the same Convent with two monks.*" Then follow certain directions for payments for bread, &c. The church of Cemmell (Queen Camel), of which the Abbot of Clyve was patron, is charged with the payments to be made. The witnesses are John de Cogan, Robert Martyr, William Truet (Trivet?), Robert de St. Clare, Gilbert de Bere, Knight, Richard Pyke, Richard de Avel, Thomas Truet (Trivet?), Hugh de Mandeville, Hugh de Walleyes, and others. Dated 4 Nov., 1297. Confirmed by the Bishop at Wyvelscombe, Tuesday in the octave of Epiphany, 1298, and by the Dean and Chapter at Wells, Tuesday in the feast of S. Sebastian, 1298.

2.—THE DEPENDENT CHURCHES AND CHAPELRIES.

"Universis Rainaldus Bath. Eccl. minister salutem. Gratam simul et acceptam habentes donacionem quam fecit dilectus nobis in Christo Willelmus de Roumar comes Deo et ecclesiæ B. Andree de Well. de ecclesiâ de Clive, statuimus et confirmamus ut ecclesia Well. habeat et teneat memoratam ecclesiam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in puram et liberam elemosynam. Hiis testibus mag. A. decano Well. Th. arch. Th. subdec. Well. Hug. de Well. Juel. Capell." ¹

"Will. Abbas Beccn. et Conv. salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quòd cùm inter dom. S. Bath. et Glaston. episcopum et ecclesiam suam Well. et nos controversia diutius verteretur super Ecclesiâ de Clive, quam idem episcopus et decanus et capitulum tanquam prebendam Well. sibi vendicabant, et nos è contrario illam tanquam jus nostrum et ecclesiæ nostræ petebamus, sub hâc formâ pacis tandem conquievit, viz. quòd dictus episcopus de consensu Alexandri decani Well. et Capituli et assensu nostro concessit et ordinavit ut abbates Beccenses in perpetuum habeant et teneant dictam ecclesiam de Clivâ cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in prebendam Well. Et ego Willelmus abbas Beccen. ipsam ecclesiam de Clivâ suscepi tanquam canonicus Well. mihi et successoribus meis, nomine prebende Well. perpetuo habendam et possidendam, more aliorum canonicorum Well. eo tantùm excepto quòd nec ego nec successores mei cogi poterimus ad residentiam faciendam apud Well. in propriâ personâ. Invenimus autem

¹ MS. Harl. 6968, f. 105b, 106.

vicarium perpetuo residentem in ecclesiâ Well. ministrantem pro nobis in officio sacerdotali qui recipiet annuatim à nobis 4 marcas sterl. Testibus H. Cant. archiepiscopo, Henr. de Castell. archd. Cant.”¹

“1323. Abbas de Becco Herlewyn prebendarius de Clyva percipit annuatim ab abbate et com. de Clyve. xl marc. pro fructivis et bonis dictæ prebendæ quam dicti *abbas et conv. de Clyva* tenent ad perpetuam firmam.”²

“Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis ad quorum notitiam perverit hæc scriptura, Johannes permissione divinâ Bathon. et Wellen. episcopus salutem in omnium Salvatore. Ea quæ in ecclesiâ Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam statuuntur tali deliberatione tractare convenit ut impensa sollicitudo successu temporis in dubium minime revocetur, quin potius firmitatis robore solidetur, attendentes siquidem quod in *Ecclesiâ Prebendali de Cleeve* nostræ dioceseos quam religiosi viri abbas et conventus ejusdem loci ad perpetuam firmam optinent à religiosis viris *abbate et conventu de Becco*, et optinuerunt à magnis temporibus retroactis, est *perpetuus vicarius* institutus, cujus vicaria non extitit in certis portionibus ordinata, nos omniū et singularum portionum ad ecclesiam supradictam et capellas ad eandem pertinentes qualiumcunque spectantium, per clericos et laicos ejusdem parochianos et alios prout moris est juratos investigatâ plenius veritate, ac super præmissis inquisito vero valore, prefatis religiosis ac Willelmo vicario, et cæteris, quorum interest ut ordinationi dictæ vicariæ intersint, specialiter et peremptorie vocatis, et sufficienter comparentibus, concurrentibus omnibus quæ in hac parte requiruntur de consuetudine vel de jure. In Dei nomine decernimus taxamus et ordinamus dictam Vicariam et Vicarii porciones in rebus et portionibus consistere quæ sequuntur, viz. quod Vicarius qui pro tempore fuerit ibidem habeat mansionem cum curtilagio pro vicariis antiquis assignatam. Ordinamus etiam et statuimus quod dictus Vicarius habeat et percipiat omnes oblationes et obventiones ad dictam ecclesiam et *Capellam S. Egidii de Leigh* provenientes, et minutas decimas ad præfatam ecclesiam spectantes, tam in pecuniâ quàm decimas molendinorum, lanæ, agnorum, capreolorum, vitulorum, pullariorum, equorum, porcellorum, aucarum, columbellorum, ovorum, mellis, lini, casei, butyri, pomorum, curtilagiorum, fœni, sepulturæ, et requestûs,³ ac alias minutas decimas quocunque nomine conferantur, cum herbagio *cemiterii ecclesiæ* memoratæ. Quibus predictis porcionibus dictus Vicarius coram nobis personaliter constitutus asseruit se contentum. Ordinamus etiam et statuimus quod Vicarius qui pro tempore fuerit predictæ ecclesiæ, et parochianis ejusdem deserviet competenter et adibit Capellam de Leigh prædictam quolibet die Dominico, et leget ibidem Evangelium, et parochianis præstabit *aquam et panem Benedictum*,⁴ ibique ter in anno, viz. diebus nativitatis Domini, Paschæ, et S. Egidii, missas celebrabit, vel faciet celebrari, prout consuerit, eustodiet etiam idem Vicarius clavem ecclesiæ, et libros, ac vestimenta ac ornamenta sibi ex parte rectoris et parochianorum liberata et ea mundabit ac munda conservabit. Omnes autem majores decimas, possessiones, redditus et proventus dictæ ecclesiæ vel ad ipsam provenientes superius non nominatas percipient abbas et conventus de Cleeve nomine

¹ MS. Harl. 6968. Comp. 6967, fo. 240.

² Ibid., 6964, fo. 67.

³ Requiem.

⁴ See my *Sacred Archaeology*, pp. 266, 314, 315.

reitoris ac loci ordinariorum, cum per eos transitum fecerint vice reitoris recipient competenter, salvis eorum privilegiis et juribus eisdem sede apostolicâ ritè concessis, quibus non interdiciamus. Dietique abbas et conventus de Cleeve oblaciones et proventiones ad capellam *B. Mariæ juxta mare* provenientes percipient, sicut à primariâ fundacione ipsius capellæ hactenus percipere consueverunt, possidentes autem dictam ecclesiam ut rectores omnia onera ordinaria et extraordinaria ad ipsam ecclesiam spectantia sustinebunt pariter et agnoscent, ità quod à Vicario loci nihil omnino de omnibus hiis exigetur, in quorum omnium testimonium huic scripto tripartito, cujus una pars penes dictos religiosos de Cleeve, altera pars penes Vicarium, et tertia pars penes Thesaurarium Wellensis ecclesiæ nostræ remanebunt, sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum. Datum apud Evererich iv^o kalendarum Junii anno Domini m.ccc.xx et consecrationis nostræ xii^o.¹

3.—THE DATE OF FOUNDATION AND THE FOUNDER.

In the valuable list of Cistercian abbeys² printed by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, the true date of foundation is given, June 26, 1198 ("vi. Kal. Julii, abbatia de Valle Floridâ, Cliv'"), where the poetical name, "Vale of Flowers", which reminds us of the Welsh Strata Florida, is combined with the old local designation of Clive. This marks, I believe, the period of the commencement of building the Abbey church. The lost annals of Lonth Park and the Cottonian MS. concur in this date. The charter of foundation was signed by Reginald, "Bishop of Bath" from June 23, 1174, to Nov. 1191. The second charter of endowment has for its first witness Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, consecrated on Sept. 21, 1186; and their date, therefore, lies between 1186 and 1191. They were granted by William (III) de Romara, lord of Bolingbroke, husband of Philippa de Burgh, and son of William (II), who died in 1152, during the lifetime of his grandfather, William (I) Earl of Lincoln. The latter died before 1182. He was son of Lucy and R. de Romara, and founder of Revesby Abbey, where he was buried. The genealogical notices in the *Monasticon* make hopeless confusion of the title and pedigree, calling the founder of Cleeve "the son of Lucy Countess of Lincoln". (See Dugdale's *Baronage*, i, 347; Nicolas' *Hist. Peer.*, ed. Courthope, 287; Burke's *Extinct Peer.*, 458.) The founder of Cleeve is believed to have died before 1198, without issue. I am indebted for information about Revesby Abbey to the Rev. T. Barker, vicar, and author of a paper in the *Linc. Dioc. Arch. Society's Reports*, 1869, pp. 22, 26.

¹ "Compositio inter Abbatem de Cleve et vicarium de Cleve pro Capellâ de Legh." (Ibid., 6966. fo. 75.) The Chapel of St. Mary, Cleeve, with its stocks and payments, together with a fee of £20:13:4, due to the crown from the rectory of Cleeve, formed part of the dowry of Queen Henrietta in 1636. (Rymer, *Fæd.*, viii, P. ii, 56.)

² "On the Date of Foundation ascribed to the Cistercian Abbeys in Great Britain." (*Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxvi, pp. 291, 363.)

THE VISION OF THURKILL,
PROBABLY BY RALPH OF COGGESHALL,

PRINTED FROM A MS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY H. L. D. WARD.

THIS Vision has been already published, in an abridged form, in the *Chronicles* of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris. This abridgment has been noticed by Warton in his *History of English Poetry* (1840, ii, pp. 387-8), and more fully summarised by Thomas Wright in his most entertaining little volume called *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (1844, pp. 41-5). But the complete version of the story contains many passages, hitherto unpublished, which are quite worthy, I think, of the attention of this Society.

It is only known to exist in two MSS., both in the British Museum. The MS. from which the present transcript has been made is a large folio, 15 in. by 11 in., finely written at St. Alban's about 1250, of which the Vision occupies twelve double-columned pages, each full column containing fifty-four lines. This MS. belongs to the Royal collection, and is numbered 13. D. V. The other copy was written in the latter part of the fourteenth century. It is a separate treatise of seventeen pages, with about forty-five lines to each page; but it is now bound up at the end of the Cottonian volume, Julius D. V. The text of the Cottonian MS., though slightly abridged in parts, is substantially the same as that of the Royal MS., with one important exception, which I shall notice presently.

This little work belongs to a series of pre-Dantean Visions of Heaven and Hell, which were especially favourite subjects with the monkish writers of England and Ireland. It will be needless for me to attempt to give a sketch of this class of literature, as it has already been done so well by Mr. Thomas Wright. But I must briefly describe three of the series, which are directly alluded to in the *preface* to Thurkill's *Vision*. These three are *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, the *Vision of Tundal*, and the *Vision of the Monk of Eynsham*. And first let me mention a remarkable feature, which is common to two of them, and also to the *Vision of Thurkill*.

The feature to which I allude is a narrow bridge that all have to pass, in the flesh or in the spirit. This is the "Brig of dread" mentioned in the *Lyke-Wake Dirge*, in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. It has its counterpart in Arabic traditions, and this has been improved by successive Mohammedan teachers, till it has become one vast scimeter. In the original traditions, both of the east and west, it stretched from earth to heaven, whilst a hell-torrent roared underneath it. The earliest mention of it in the west is in the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory the Great, in which a soldier who has returned from death to life gives a brief account of it (Book iv, ch. 36).

But now let us turn to the three visions mentioned above. In the first of these St. Patrick is said to have confirmed his preaching in the north of Ireland, by sending the doubters into a deep cavern in an island of Lough Derg, co. Donegal, where they obtained an actual bodily view of the purgatorial fires. Purgatory was not then supposed to be a world in itself, as it was afterwards depicted by Dante, but a long line of torture places bordering upon the infernal pit. Those who ventured into the caverns of Lough Derg were hauled to and fro by the demons, and often perished; but if they emerged they were thought sure of escaping purgatory after death. In course of time a gate was set to the mouth of the cave, and a priory built there, called *Reglis*:¹ and the prior kept the key of the gate. Many pilgrims came to the cave, but we have no records of their adventures till the middle of the twelfth century, when Sir Owen, one of King Stephen's knights, was admitted into it. Sir Owen always maintained that he had battled with the fiends, and passed the bridge, in the body, with his eyes open; but his story may fairly be classed among the *Visions*. The narrative is full of fine poetical touches. It was written by Henry, a monk of Saltrey in Huntingdonshire, from the reports of Gilbert, a monk of Louth in Lincolnshire, who had spent a long time in Ireland with Sir Owen himself. The MSS. of the work abound, both at home and abroad, and many are of the twelfth century. It was inserted in the *Chronicles* of Wendover and Matthew Paris, under the year 1154. It was soon translated into many European languages, one of the French metrical versions being by Marie de France. It

¹ An Irish word simply meaning an *abbey church*.

found a place in the English metrical *Lives of the Saints* (fourteenth century), under the heading of *St. Patrick*; and it is very well known in the form of a little poem of the fifteenth century, called *Owain Miles*.

Our *Preface* next alludes to Tundal, a wild Irish chief, with all the hot virtues and vices of his race. In his *Vision* the bridge does not cross from earth to heaven, nor yet from purgatory to the earthly Paradise (as it does in the *Vision* of Thurkill), but merely from one part of the penal regions to another. When Tundal reaches it, his guardian angel (who is acting as his guide) makes him drive a wild cow over it, that is to say, the “*imago*” of a cow, which Tundal when a lad had stolen from one of his godfathers. But though the cow is an “*imago*”, and Tundal himself also, it gives him quite as much trouble as if they had both been in the body like Sir Owen. The pictures in this *Vision* are strongly drawn, and the Lucifer, fixed in the centre of hell, and suffering far the greatest tortures of all, till in his agony he seizes the souls around him and squeezes them as a man may squeeze a grape, is a figure that Dante probably knew and admired, for his own Satan seems to be partly taken from it. The author of Tundal’s *Vision* was a certain Mark, who turned the story from Irish into Latin for the benefit of some abbess; but nothing more is known about him. This work was inserted by Helinand, a monk of Froidmont, near Beauvais (died 1227), in his *Chronicle*, under the year 1149; and Helinand was followed by Vincent de Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale*, and thus Tundal became known throughout the continent. Several early translations of the work exist in various languages, both in prose and verse, though it scarcely attained to the full popularity of *St. Patrick’s Purgatory*.

The third *Vision* mentioned in our *Preface* is that of the monk of Eynsham, in Oxfordshire. A poor sickly monk, named Edmund, falls into an ecstasy on the night before Good Friday, 1196; and his soul is led to the other worlds by St. Nicholas, till he wakes up just in time to hear the sweet peal of bells on the morn of Easter day. Our *Preface* lays great stress upon the fine style in which this *Vision* was written by Adam, the sub-prior of Eynsham, who at the time of its composition was chaplain to St. Hugh of Lincoln. The *Life* of St. Hugh, published for the Master of

the Rolls (1864), was by the same Adam; the conjectures on this point made by the editor, Mr. Dimock, being fully confirmed by our *Preface*. The chronicles of Wendover and Matthew Paris contain an abridgment of the *Vision of Eynsham*. There is one complete copy of this *Vision* in the British Museum, in the Cottonian MS., Caligula A. viii.; but this is not the composition of Adam; it is a Latin prose abridgment of a French poem, which was no doubt itself founded upon the work of Adam. But there are a few extracts from a Latin version, in another Museum MS. (Harl. 3776, fol. 89, b. -92), which I believe to be taken from Adam, as they closely coincide with passages in the English work called *The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham*,¹ one of the earliest English printed books, lately reprinted by Mr. Arber (1869). Moreover, a short passage occurs in the Harleian version (fol. 92), which I shall append in a note to our Latin text, as it has evidently been imitated by Thurkill's historian.

There is another *Vision* of the twelfth century, of which I must here give some account, though it is not named in our *Preface*. It has been preserved by Helinand of Froidmont, who copied large portions of his *Chronicle* from English writers. Under 1149 (as I lately observed) he inserts the *Vision of Tundal*. Again, under 1160 he enters the *Vision* of a monk of Melrose, who used often in his after years to do penance by standing in ice, and if any one asked, "how can you bear such a bitterness of cold" (*tantam asperitatem frigoris*), used to answer, "I have seen things more bitter still" (*asperiora ego vidi*). But the *Vision* more immediately concerning us, and which was evidently in some way known to Thurkill himself, is entered by Helinand under 1161. Gunthelm, an English Cistercian (of what monastery Helinand omits to say), is committed by St. Benedict to the care of Raphael, and is led into the other worlds. The usual order, however, is here reversed. First he passes through the earthly Paradise, where he sees the figure of the gigantic Adam, clad from the feet to the breast in the robe of glory, just as it appears in the *Vision of Thurkill*. Gunthelm afterwards beholds the furnaces of hell, a luxurious

¹ For the early origin of the confusion between *Eynsham* and *Evesham*, see Mr. Luard's edition, made for the Master of the Rolls, of the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, vol. ii (1874), p. 423, note 1.

man seated on a red hot seat, a robber with a red hot shield and a burning horse; and finally, Judas turning upon a fiery wheel. But before seeing Judas he has seen another ghastly sight; monks and nuns and bishops revelling and laughing, not with pleasure, but only to their greater torment and despair; for the fiends compel them to *act* their former sins, and then beat them, till the eyes and brains fly out of their heads. This is clearly the origin of the *Infernal Pageants* (to use Warton's expression) beheld by Thurkill. The passage, as given by Helinand, bears no marked resemblance to our own Latin text, so I have appended it here in a note.¹ If the original vision of Gunthelm had not been lost, we might have found the resemblance much greater. Helinand's version has been copied by Vincent de Beauvais, only the latter has altered *Gunthelmus* into *Guntelinus*.

In the later *Visions* many phrases recur, which are borrowed from the earlier ones, and which no doubt are due to the monks who turned the stories into Latin. But when incidents are repeated, such as those of seeing the gigantic Adam and the infernal pageants, it does not absolutely follow that these are monkish interpolations. The question may perhaps be asked how a rustic like Thurkill could have known anything of a Latin composition like the *Vision of Gunthelm*, but the answer is not far to seek. These works were not only read in the cloister, but preached in the parish church. An instance occurs in No. 4 of the *Homilies*, edited by Dr. Richard Morris for the Early English Text Society (1867). The whole *Homily* is little more than a twelfth century version of the *Vision of St. Paul*, in which that saint, accompanied by St. Michael, visits hell, and obtains rest for it on Sundays. This or a similar homily may very well have been preached in Stisted Church, in the ears of Thurkill. At all events he was acquainted with the legend of the Sunday rest, and we shall presently see how it affected his rustic imagination.

¹ "Post hæc vident diversas personas religiosas monachorum, monialium, episcoporum: quorum quidam ridebant et cachinnabantur, alii convitiabantur, alii studebant gulæ satiandæ, alii libidini explendæ: non quod istæ voluptates post mortem sint, sed ad majorem confusionem et exereuciationem, similitudines præteritorum peccatorum in ipsis suis cruciatibus representant, demonibus ad hoc eos cogentibus: qui etiam postea eos percutiebant de fustibus per media capita usque ad excussionem cerebrorum, et ejectionem oculorum, et hoc incessabiliter." From Helinand in Migne's Latin *Patrologia*, tom. 212, col. 1063.

And now I think that I cannot better introduce the full Latin text of our *Vision* than by offering an abstract of it, with illustrative *remarks* inserted here and there.

THE PREFACE.

The Preface, beginning with the opening words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, is to the following effect: "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers in the prophets", was often wont to speak obscurely, especially with regard to the future glorification of the renewed bodies, of the state of the souls and their mode of expiation, of the site and nature of the penal places, and of the wonderful variety of the infernal torments. But the Son of God has thought fit to make these things clearer to us, both by the words of the Gospel and also by direct revelations, and these revelations have been repeated from age to age. The holy Pope St. Gregory has described those of his own time in the fourth book of his *Dialogues*, and other fathers have written in like manner; and the nearer we have drawn towards the end of the world, the more frequent have the visions become. A certain monk has told us of an Irish knight named Owen, according to the account of other monks who were long familiar with the knight, what torments he beheld with his own bodily eyes when he had entered the Purgatory of St. Patrick; and some of the Irish abbots who assembled at the general chapter of the Cistercians having been asked about the nature of this Purgatory, confirmed the knight's account of it. And there was another vision lately seen by another knight in Ireland,¹ who left the body for three days and nights, and afterwards related the horrors revealed to him. And yet another vision has been clearly recorded, which was seen in the monastery of Einesham in the year 1196; and Adam, the subprior of the monastery, a most grave and religious man, wrote this narrative in an elegant style, even as he heard it from the mouth of him whose soul had been disembodied for two days and nights. I do not believe that such a man, so religious and so learned, would have written these statements until they had been sufficiently tested; he being at that time, moreover, chaplain to Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, a most holy man; and Thomas, Prior of Binham,² who was then Prior of Einesham, and who examined the evidence closely, has since assured me that he feels no more doubt of the truth of the vision than of the crucifixion of our Lord Jesus Christ. And so much I have wished to say because many of the Einesham monks decry the vision; but every revelation is doubted of by some. And what is to be said of the monk of Stratfleur in Wales,³ and of the monk of Vancelles, whose lately seen visions have been praised by some of their fellows, and condemned by others as vain and frivolous? And, indeed, one cannot wonder, seeing what is written of our Lord himself, how some said he is a good man, and others, nay, but he deceiveth the people:—one cannot wonder, I say, if a certain Vision which happened in our own parts, in the year 1206, should be doubted of by some, and treated with derision. But

¹ Tundal.

² Binham Priory, in Norfolk, was a cell to St. Alban's.

³ Called in the text "*Strethur in Gualiiis*", a Cistercian abbey in Cardigan-shire.

since many others of healthier mind, keener intellect, and more religious life, have put faith in this Vision, partly because of the simplicity and innocence of the man who saw it, partly because many of his hearers have profited much by it; and since I have been urged by some of my fellows,—nay, driven by their importunity; I have striven to write down the Vision of this simple man in simple speech, just as I heard it from his own mouth.

REMARKS.—The first three *visions* mentioned above I have already described. That of Vaucelles (near Cambray) I have not been able to identify; but I have just discovered an account of the *Vision of Stratfleur* in the *Chronicle* of Ralph of Coggeshall, of whom I shall speak in my *Concluding Remarks*, as the probable author of the present Vision. The passage (entered under 1202) runs thus:—"Hoc anno quædam mirabilis visio contigit cuidam monacho de Streflur in Guallis, in die pentecostes, de tribus angelis qui thurificabant altare dum laudes matutinales canerentur, et quomodo unus eorum ignitum carbonem de thuribulo accipiens, jactavit subito in os aspicientis monachi, et in exthasi mentis factus, raptus est ab angelo, et inter alas ejus ut sibi videbatur in aera sublatus, ferebatur ab angelo versus orientem, una die et nocte in revelationibus variis sic permanens, corpore ejus in infirmatorium a monachis interim delato." (See Cott. MS., Vesp. D. x, fol. 102.)

INTRODUCTION.

In the bishopric of London, in the village called Stidstede,¹ there was a simple rustic named Thurkill; industrious at his work, and given to hospitality, as far as his means allowed him. It happened that after the hour of vespers on the vigil of St. Simon and St. Jude, which was then a Friday, he was trenching his little field which he had sown on the same day, in order to drain off the waters of a flood of rain. Suddenly, raising his eyes, he sees a man a long way off coming up to him. And he had even then just begun to repeat the Lord's Prayer: and he wondered to see the man instantly stand before him. And the stranger bade him finish his prayer: and then they began to talk together. The stranger asked where he could pass the night: and Thurkill began to name this or that neighbour, but ended with proffering his own hospitality. Then the stranger answered, "Thy wife has already received two poor women: and I do not yet seek to be housed, for I am bound for the province of Danesei."² And I shall return thence to-night; and then I will visit thee, and lead thee to thy lord, St. James, to whom thou hast already turned in prayer. I am Julian the Harbournour:³ and I am sent to fetch thee, and to show thee secret mysteries. Hasten home, then, and make ready for thy journey." And with that he vanished. Thurkill went home at once; and he washed his head and feet, though against the will of his wife, the day being a Friday. And he found the two women lodged in his house. Then he lay down in a bed outside his bedroom, which he had already used for a month,

¹ Stisted in Essex, three miles north-east of Braintree: corrupted into *Tidstude* in the *Chronicles* of Wendover and Matthew Paris.

² "Danesei" (*Danes' Island*), now the Hundred of Dengy (co. Essex), between the rivers Crouch and Blackwater.

³ St. Julian the *Good Harbournour*, the patron of hospitality.

and fell asleep. And when all were asleep in their beds, St. Julian stood by Thurkill, and awoke him, saying "It is time to depart". And when Thurkill began to rise, the saint said "Let thy body rest here awhile, only thy Soul will depart with me. But that thy friends may not think thee dead, I will send a breath of life into thee". And so saying he breathed into Thurkill's mouth: and then both, as it seemed to the man, left the house, and set forth straight towards the east. And thus for two days and nights the body of the man lay senseless and motionless, as if it were sunk in a deep sleep. His wife rose early the next morning, to go to church on such a holy day, and wondered why her husband was not already up, as he was wont: but thinking he was over-tired with his yesterday's work, she did not awake him. But when she came home from Mass, and found him still snoring, she ran up to the bed with feminine excitement, and called him loud and shook him hard:—but all in vain. And the news soon spreads through the neighbourhood: and young and old rush in and bawl and shriek, and try to arouse him. But there was no voice nor feeling in him; nor any motion, except that of heavy incessant slumber. And the Deacon of the parish church was there, calling him by name continually, and trying to make him receive the *viaticum*, lest he should die without it. At length, despairing of any human aid, they appealed to divine mercy. And next day, being Sunday, the parish Priest exhorted his congregation to pray fervently for the man, that he might have time for confession. And about the hour of Vespers, some of those who watched him agreed together, that they should force his mouth open with a wedge, and pour in it some holy water to refresh his heart. And this they did: and instantly the man sat up in bed, and said "Benedicite";—a word he had never used before. Then he leaped out naked, and ran to open a window, not perceiving the people in his house and all around him. They were afraid he was mad, and were just about to bind him: but then he ran back and covered his nakedness, and talked quietly enough. He asked them the time of day, and what they were doing there; for he thought he had only slept a single night. But as he began to remember his vision, he perceived how long he must have slept, but complained that they had awoke him too soon. They pressed him to eat his supper: but he declared that he was fresh and vigorous; and that he would go to church in the morning, and attend the service, and speak to the Priest, before he broke his fast. They asked what he had seen in his trance: and he told them a few things, not in any order, but just as they occurred to his mind: and many things he kept entirely to himself. And on the morrow he attended Mass; and then he talked more fully with the Priest and also with his neighbours. But he still refrained from telling his whole story, being checked by his rustic bashfulness. But lo, St. Julian appeared to him again at night, and ordered him to publish his Vision in the church on the next holy day; for this had been the purpose of the revelation. And he obeyed the order: and thus, on the day of All Saints and on the day of All Souls, he proclaimed all that he had seen, consistently and clearly, in the English tongue; in the presence of Osbert de Longchamp, the lord of the village, and his wife,¹ and the rest of the parishioners; all being utterly astonished at the unwonted eloquence of the man, who had always before been bashful and nearly

¹ The Lady Avelina. See the *Remarks*.

tongue-tied. He confessed also before all the people how he had tithed his harvest unfairly, and how he had suffered from a stifling stench for this transgression: and he charged the Priest to scourge him before absolution, in accordance with the commands of St. Julian. And when he had described all the places of torment and the mansions of the Just, he told all the parishioners of the state of their fathers and mothers, and their brothers and sisters; and for how many suffrages and how many masses they could be redeemed from Purgatory. What more? That simple man moved them all by his narrative, till they broke into sighs and tears. And afterwards, invited to many churches and religious houses, and other assemblies, he continued to proclaim his Vision; some believing, but others deriding and laughing in their sleeves.

REMARKS—The Danish name Thurkill was at this time very common in the eastern counties, and several Thurkills had previously held lands of their own in Essex. The Danes had now long been Anglicised, but they doubtless preserved a few reminiscences of the old stock, that still to some extent bound them together. The fact that St. Julian is here said to be about to visit “Danesei” (or Dengey) may have nothing to do with our Thurkill’s origin: it may only indicate that the saint had some now forgotten Cell in that Hundred: but, for myself, I cannot help thinking that the visionary had good friends and perhaps kinsfolk in “Danesei”, and thus connected it with St. Julian, the patron of hospitality. Thurkill’s father, on the other hand, bore the Saxon name of Wulfric. This I have discovered from a Cottonian manuscript, partly burned; where it is stated that William Picott of Stisted granted the land held by “Turk (*illus filius*) Wlferici” to the priory of Colne in Essex, for the benefit of his parents’ souls. Now, if the reader will turn to section 17 of this *Vision*, he will see that Thurkill’s late landlord, Roger “Picoth”, sent a message back to earth, begging his son William to pay certain debts, and also dues to St. Osith’s Abbey, left unpaid by him. It is clear, therefore, that “Turk(*illus*)” is our Thurkill; and, if he was still alive, he thus became a tenant of the priory of Colne. Amongst other witnesses of the grant are William Picott’s eldest son Robert, and his three other sons, William, John, and Roger (the last named after his grandfather). The Cottonian manuscript only gives an abstract of the grant, copied from the priory registers in the middle of the sixteenth century; and some words are omitted (including *tenet* or *tenuit*), and others injured by fire: but the most important words are plain enough, except the second half of “Turk[*illus*]”, which has been burnt away from the margin. It runs thus: “Willelmus Picott de Stisted assensu heredis sui concessit [pro] salute parentum, etc., illam terram in Stisted quam [*tenet* or *tenuit* omitted] Turk[*illus filius*] Wlferici scilicet ad sacristarium ejusdem loci. Testibus Ricardo [de] Gosfeld Waltero de Crepping Willelmo filio suo Roberto filio [—] Ricardo filio suo Roberto primogenito meo Willelmo Johanne Rogero f[*iliis meis*].” (Tiberius E. ix, fol. 14 b.)

The Picotts (or Pigotts) gave their name to several manors in Essex, three of which were at Saling, at Ardleigh, and at Pattiswick. Morant, in his *Essex* (vol. ii, p. 411, and vol. i, p. 432) speaks of the main line as established at the two former places in the twelfth century: but he is unable to say when a branch of the family first settled at Pattiswick. He can only quote documents to show that “the subordinate maner” at Pattiswick, that long afterwards went by the name of *Picotts*

was held at some early period by a William Picott, and that a "Robert Pigott" was there (or thereabouts) in King Henry III's reign (vol. ii, p. 173). But from the abstract of the grant to Colne, and from an original charter which I shall presently give in full, and from the statement in Section 17 of our *Vision*, it is evident that a William Picott and his son Robert held lands at Stisted in King John's reign, and that William had been preceded by his father, Roger Picott: and it is probable that they all held the manor of Picotts at Pattiswick, which lies close to Stisted.

Osbert de Longchamp was one of the brothers of William, Bishop of Ely, the famous Chancellor of Richard Cœur de Lion. An account is given of the whole family by William Stubbs in his *Preface* to the *Rolls* edition of Roger de Hoveden's *Chronicle*, vol. iii (1870). Osbert is there mentioned as being made Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1190 (p. xlv), Sheriff of Yorkshire and Westmoreland (p. xlvii), as being a hostage for the Chancellor at the time of his fall (p. lxxxi), Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1194 (p. ci), as being in disgrace, together with his brother Henry, in 1198 (p. ci), and as having died in 1207, leaving a widow, Avelina (p. ci). The manor of Stisted was apparently devised for life by the priors of Christ Church, Canterbury, to Osbert de Longchamp, and the grant renewed to each of his successors. The last grant that I know of was in favour of Henry de Longchamp in 1342 (see Add. Charter 15,457 at the British Museum). As for Osbert's widow, there is a Harleian charter (112, B. vii), undated, but written about 1210-20, which is a grant of lands from Avelina de Longchamp to John Miller of Stisted, in exchange for other lands. The second and twelfth witnesses are William Picott and his son Robert. The charter is as follows: "Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Auelina de longo campo dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi. Johanni molendinario de stisted pro homagio et servicio suo tres acras et dimidiam terre in campo meo qui uocatur Meldfeld. scilicet in parte illa que uocatur Sawinesdune in escambium illius terre que uocatur hakettesland. vnde curia de stisted recognouit predicto Johanni ius suum. et prenominate acre iacent iuxta terram predicti Johannis molendinarii et se extendunt a uia moleudine usque ad alnetum quod uocatur mannothesfan sicut fossato et sepe includuntur. habendas et tenendas tres predictas acras terre et dimidiam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis de me et de heredibus meis illi et heredibus suis. hereditarie libere et quiete. bene et in pace. integre et honorifice. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis. quindecim denarios scilicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis tres denarios et obulum. et ad Nathale tres denarios et obulum. et ad pascha tres denarios et obulum. et ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste quatuor denarios et obulum. pro omnibus serviciis et consuetudinibus et demandis. pro hac autem donatione et concessione et huius presentis carte mee confirmatione dedit mihi predictus Johannes quindecim solidos in Gersumiam. Et ego predicta Auelina et heredes mei warrantizabimus predicto Johanni et heredibus suis. tres predictas acras terre et dimidiam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. contra omnes homines et contra omnes feminas. Hiis testibus. Ricardo de Gosfeld. Willelmo picot. Roberto de stisted. Gilberto filio Alexandri. Rogero filio ailmeri capellani. Rogero del frid. Albrico de stisted. Hugone de Suleride. Radulfo de labocland. Oseberto coco. Symone Benn. Roberto filio Willelmi picot. Radulfo de Feringes. et multis aliis."

Before continuing my abstract, I wish here to notice the principal point of difference between the present Latin text and that of the Cottonian MS., Julius D.V. One of the leading personages in the Cottonian MS. is called "S. Dominus". In Wendover and Matthew Paris he is called "S. Domnius". There were saints of both these names, but I cannot discover why they should be introduced here. Our own text (from Royal MS., 13 D.V.) reads "S. Dominicus". Of course we are not to suppose this to be the most famous saint of that name, who in 1206 was only thirty-six years old, and had not founded his great Order. But I am convinced that the personage here introduced is the earlier Spanish Saint Dominick, who died in 1109, and gave his name to the little town of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, lying on one of the high roads to Compostella.

We have seen that when Thurkill is first summoned, St. Julian says, "I will come and lead thee to thy lord St. James, whom thou hast already sought in prayer" (*quem devote jam requisisti*): and we shall presently find that in the Basilica dedicated to the Virgin St. James appears, wearing a mitre, and greets Thurkill as his *pilgrim*, and so commends him to the guidance of St. Dominick. The Latin phrase just quoted, taken in connection with the greeting, implies to my own mind that Thurkill had already made a sort of pilgrimage to St. James, if only as far as the abbey of Saffron Walden, which was dedicated to the Virgin and St. James. He might there have learned much about the headquarters of the saint: and the spiritual "*Mons Gaudii*", with the church on its summit, which figures so largely in his narrative, may thus be derived from the *Mons Gaudii* at Compostella, with its church of the Holy Cross.¹ At all events he could not have failed to hear in Saffron Walden of St. Dominick of the Causeway, who had built the great bridge and repaired the road for the pilgrims. A grotesque legend was very long connected with this saint. Three pilgrims, father, mother, and son, pass a night in the town of Santo Domingo. Next morning the youth is falsely accused of theft, and rashly hung. The parents proceed to Compostella: and on their return homewards the mother

¹ The Church of the Holy Cross was built on the *Mons Gaudii*, at Compostella, by Bishop (afterwards the first Archbishop) Diego Gelmirez in 1105. See *Historia Compostellana* (forming tom. xx of the *España Sagrada* of Florez), p. 54.

finds her son still hanging on the gibbet, but alive and well. She rushes to the judge, who is just sitting down to dinner : and he answers, "I shall believe your story, when the two fowls in the dish before me begin to crow". And hereupon the fowls stand up and crow. The legend has been versified in doggrel rhymes by Southey, under the title of *The Pilgrim to Compostella*. The two marvellous birds put forth white feathers, and had a white progeny. Even so late as 1542, Andrew Borde, in his *Introduction to Knowledge* (ch. xxxii), speaking of "a nother towne" in Navarre "called saynt Domingo", and of this legend, says that "euery pilgrime that goeth or commyth that way to saynet James in Compostell, hath a whit feder to set on hys hat : " see F. J. Furnivall's edition of Borde's *Dyetary*, etc., Early English Text Society, Extra Series (1870), p. 202-4. But I trust that I have now sufficiently identified the St. Dominick, to whose care Thurkill was committed by St. James.

And now it is time to turn to the Vision itself.

THE VISION.

Section 1.—Thurkill's spirit, being now freed from the flesh, followed St. Julian in the likeness of his body, clad in its usual clothes. He only remarked one change in himself, that he breathed quicker than usual. They journeyed toward the east, as far as the middle of the world. Here they entered a Basilica, the pediment of which was supported by only three columns. The Basilica was large and fine, but without any solid walls, the sides being arched like a monastic cloister. But against the northern side there stood an outer wall, though not more than six feet high. There was a fabric in the middle of the Basilica, which looked like a vast font : and out of it arose a great flame, not heating the place, but lighting it up throughout with the splendour of noonday. This illumination proceeded from the titlings of the Just. Here St. James, wearing a mitre, received Thurkill as his pilgrim ; and calling up St. Dominick, the warden of the Basilica, he bade him join St. Julian, and show to this man, his pilgrim, the habitations of the wicked and the good. And having so said he vanished. "This Basilica", said St. Julian, "is the assembling place of all departed spirits, founded at the intercession of the Virgin, and dedicated to her : and it is called the Congregation of Souls." Within it the man saw many white Souls, with youthful faces : and their feet never wore nor withered the green grass that formed its floor. But outside, when he was afterwards led beyond the northern wall, he saw many spotted Souls striving to reach the wall ; and the whiter they were, the closer they could come to it : and in the distance he saw many Souls that were black all over. Now there was a pit near this wall, and it vomited a stifling smoke, fed by the titlings of the Unjust : and twice, as Thurkill passed the pit, he was stung by the smoke, so that

he coughed in great pain. And twice, at the same hour, the body that he had left behind him coughed, as those who were watching around it testified. "Methinks", quoth St. Julian, "thy crops are not fully tithed." Thurkill pleaded his poverty, but the Saint replied that full tithings bring full harvests.

From the east end of the Basilica he saw two walls stretching, with fierce purgatorial flames between them. This fiery passage leads to an immense pool; and here all the Souls that have just emerged from fire are plunged into the coldest and saltiest of all waters. Last comes a long bridge, bristling with stakes and nails, which every soul must cross before reaching the Mount of Joy. And high aloft upon this Mount there stands a wonderful church, that seems large enough to hold all the people in the world.

2. *The Weighing of the Souls.*—But now let us return to the Basilica. St. Dominick sprinkled the Souls there with holy water, and they were even whiter than before. And lo, about the first hour of the dawning Saturday, Michael the archangel appeared, together with St. Peter and St. Paul. And St. Michael led the white Souls along a narrow grassy path, between the flames and across the pool, and over the bridge, up to the Mount of Joy. But St. Peter went to a gate in the northern wall, and admitted the spotted Souls, that they might make their way to the Mount through the fire and the water. Meanwhile St. Paul seated himself at the furthest end of the northern wall within the Basilica: and outside the wall sat Satan, with the pit at his feet. And a balance was fixed upon the wall, with the scales hanging, one before the Saint, and the other before the Devil. And the Saint had two weights beside him, like hammers of gold, a greater and a lesser one. And the Devil had also two weights, like hammers of rusted iron, a greater and a lesser one. And the black Souls came trembling one after another; and as each stood by the balance the weights answered to his deeds, whether good or evil. And thus his deeds were weighed. When the balance inclined towards the Saint the black Soul was admitted to be purged: but when it inclined towards the Devil he seized the Soul and hurled it down into the pit. And sometimes the lesser weight on one side out-balanced both weights on the other side: but sometimes the balance stood even, and then there was some contention. And among the rest there came a Priest, whom St. Paul regarded with a stern eye: and both the bright weights together were of no avail: when suddenly St. Paul, moved with pity, snatched up the aspersorium, full of holy water, and cast it into his scale: and the other scale kicked the beam so hard that the weights flew out, and one of them fell on the Devil's foot. And the Devil roared with pain and indignation, and held forth the roll, on which the sins of the Priest were registered. But the writings of the enemy prevailed not against the mercy of the Apostle, and the Priest was admitted, and sent onwards into purgatory.¹

This weighing of the Souls lasted from the first hour of the Saturday down to the ninth hour. And whilst it was still going on, St. Julian led Thurkill unhurt, over the grassy path, between the purgatorial flames. And some Souls, said the Saint, remain there for years, if they are un-

¹ In many old wall-paintings, etc., a soul is placed in one scale while the Devil sits in the other, or tugs at it; but the balance is always held by St. Michael. This is the only instance known to me of St. Paul acting as weigher of souls.

aided by former acts of mercy, or by masses said for them. And others stand for years in the icy pool up to their chins, or to their waists, or only to their ankles, according to the orders of the guardian there, St. Nicholas. And when they have gained the bridge, some speed across it lightly : but others halt and stumble, and fall upon the stakes and nails, and cut their hands and knees, and even their whole bodies, and crawl with long-drawn misery towards the Mount of Joy.

About the ninth hour St. Julian and Thurkill returned to the Basilica, and found the trial not yet closed, and St. Paul still sweating (as it were) with the ardour of the contest. And in saying this we do not mean to imply that St. Paul could sweat for anguish, but only that he thus displayed his zeal for man's salvation. And at the ninth hour the Souls had all been judged, and the Apostles departed. And lo, about Vespers, on the Eve of the Sunday, as the two Saints, Julian and Dominick, were standing together with Thurkill in the Basilica, a Fiend came galloping a black horse over stock and stone, amid shouts of triumph from a crowd of his brother Fiends. St. Dominick called out, bidding him say whither he was speeding so fast, and what was the creature he was riding. The Fiend merely jeered at first, but St. Dominick sprang forth after him with a great scourge, and whipped him howling up to the wall. Then the Fiend cried, "This was one of the Barons of England, who died last night without confession. He has been cruel to all, and most cruel to his own men ; and he has brought many others to ruin by false accusations, to satisfy his own greed, and that of his wicked wife. And thus his Soul is in my power, and I have changed it into a horse ; and I would ride it into the gulf itself, only now it is the Eve of Sunday, and our theatrical games are at hand." And with that the Fiend gazed hard at Thurkill, and said to the Saint, "Who is this rustic at thy side ?" "Dost thou know aught of him ?" inquired the Saint. "I have seen him", quoth the Fiend, "in the church at Stisted, on the feast of its dedication." "And how", demanded the Saint, "didst thou enter the church ?" "I was in the guise of a woman", replied the Fiend, "and I got as far as the baptistery : but there the deacon met me with his aspersory, and dashed me with the holy water : and I gave a yell, and made one leap out of the church into the fields, a quarter of a mile away." And many of the parishioners can testify that they heard this yell, but they knew not the cause of it, until Thurkill told them.

3. *The Theatre*.—When this talk was over, St. Dominick said, "We desire to go with thee and see your games." "Come then", quoth the Fiend, "only beware of bringing this rustic with you : or he will disclose our secrets to his friends, and thus hinder our work upon earth, and save some from the seats that are even now prepared for them." "Go forward", rejoined St. Dominick, "and St. Julian and I will follow thee." And thereupon they climbed up a high hill, and saw a northern plain before them. And the two saints kept Thurkill concealed between them. And on the further slope of the hill they saw a huge round building, enclosed with dark and antique walls. And inside the walls there were many yards railed off, and innumerable beings of either sex sat on round seats in every yard, in cages full of spikes with the points turned inwards ; and the seats and the spikes were all of red hot iron. And above them were other seats, fixed into the walls, where the Fiends sat grinning, as if at some merry show ; taunting the

poor wretches, and bawling out their sins at them. On the slope of the hill near the entrance was a wall, about five feet high : and here a clear view could be gained of the scene inside. The Saints stood looking over the wall ; and Thurkill crouched behind it, that the Fiends might not spy him : but every now and then, at a nod from St. Dominick, he raised his head, and saw what was going on.

4. *The Proud Man*.—And now that all the spectators are assembled, the Prince of the accursed cohort cries aloud, “ Pluck the Proud Man from his seat, and set him up in the midst, to play before us.” Then the Proud Man is dragged forth : and in his filthy robes of black he makes a display of all his vanity. He stiffens up his neck, tosses his chin, arches his brows, looks askance, shrugs his shoulders, and struts about on tiptoe. The Fiends shriek with laughter. Then his breast swells, his cheeks glow, his eyes sparkle, and striking his nose with his finger he threatens mighty things. Presently, with an air of fashion, he draws out a needle, and loops up his hanging sleeves. But then his clothes burst into flame, and his whole body is set on fire. Fiends whirl around him, tearing him with red hot hooks and prongs : and one of them keeps drenching him with pitch and grease, and at every drench his limbs hiss and crackle, like a frying-pan when cold water is dropped in it. “ And this”, said the Fiend, who had guided the Saints, and who now sat just before them, “ is the worst of all his torments.” Then they piece his torn body together, and nail it down upon his seat again.

5, 6. *The Priest and the Knight*.—Next comes a Priest who has neglected his flock, and his tongue is wrenched out of his mouth. The next is a Knight who has spent his life in slaughters and robberies and tournaments. The Fiends set him on horseback and bait him, till he raves with impotent fury. He careers about and brandishes his spear. But the more he spurs his steed, the more it snorts forth clouds of sulphurous smoke around him ; and his armour burns him to the bone.

7. *The Justiciary*.—But now Thurkill sees a notable figure, who has to act sins that have been committed in a high station. All England knew the man once, as one of the Chief Justiciaries ; most profound in law, most eloquent in speech, but most corrupt in his dealings. He died in this very year, suddenly, without a will ; and all his ill gotten wealth has been dispersed and squandered. He is placed on a mock tribunal. The Fiends flock around him, pleading a cause, and urging it with statement and counterstatement. He shifts from right to left, listening, noting, taking money from both sides, and fingering and counting the bribes incessantly. But the coins glow in his clutches, and he is forced by the Fiends to cram them down his greedy throat. Then they roll an iron cartwheel up and down his back, pounding him with the massive studs upon it, till he disgorges what he has swallowed. And at a sign from their Prince the Fiends pick up the coins, and keep them for another time.

8, 10-13.—Many other actors play their parts ;—the Adulterer and Adulteress, the Robber of churches, the brutal Herdsman, and the dishonest Tradesman. The knavish Miller is not forgotten, that favourite butt of the middle ages. He is forced to act his thefts again, and he is smothered and burned in the stolen flour.

9.—Among the rest are two Backbiters. The Fiends set them face to face, thrust the two ends of a flaming spear into their mouths, and

pit them against each other. The two wretches gnaw and crunch the spear; till they meet in the middle of it, and bite each other's faces.

REMARKS.—It has been urged upon me that this remarkable account of the Infernal Drama must have been concocted by the monkish Writer. As far as the Actors are concerned, their performances are very similar to those in the Church Plays, which Thurkill may himself have seen. The *Vision of Gunthelm*, moreover, supplied him with the leading idea.¹ But the circular stone building, with its seats all round, and its arena in the middle, seems certainly too Roman for a rustic dreamer in Essex, in the year 1206. Its position, too, on the slope of a hill, reminds one vaguely of the site of a Grecian theatre; such as a monk might read about in some Latin author. In the present case indeed the site may only have been chosen, in order to convey the idea (not clearly expressed) that the wall on the upper side was so low, that Thurkill could look over it, and down into the roofless building.

14. *The vacant Seats*.—When the Plays were ended, the Fiend in front of St. Dominick pointed out many vacant seats of torment, some of them only half formed, and others half broken away. He explained that the seats were daily being formed for men still alive, by the action of their own sins; and that they were sometimes broken, or even demolished, by the penances and alms of the sinners; but were often renewed by their relapse into sin. He named many names: and Thurkill knew some of them, and warned the men when he returned to earth.

15. *The four Yards*.—At the lower end of the yards already described were four other yards, that crossed them at right angles. The first of these contained tanks of boiling pitch, in which Souls like black fishes were bubbling up and down. The second had tanks of ice and snow, in which other Souls were freezing. And every eighth day the Fiends tossed them from the one yard to the other. The tanks of the third yard were crammed with seething sulphur and foetid herbs, expressly prepared for those who had lived in luxury. And in the last yard were tanks full of the very blackest and saltiest water, that would peel the hardest log of wood in an instant. And here there were swarms of Thieves, Murderers, and Witches. And every Wednesday those who sat in the first mentioned yards, nearer the entrance, were plunged into one or other of these tanks.

16.—*The Return to the Basilica*.—And now, when the Sunday was dawning upon earth, the Saints brought Thurkill back to the Basilica. He took no count of time himself, but he learned the hour from the Saints. St. Dominick received his *aspersorium* again on entering, and sprinkled the new Congregation, and the Souls were whiter than before. Then Thurkill was led over the grassy path, past the fires and the pool, and over the bridge, and up the Mount of Joy, till he reached the forecourt of the Church upon its summit. The beautiful gate of the West front stood always open: and through this gate St. Michael led the pure white Souls. But in the forecourt stood the Souls who had completed their purgatorial penances, each eagerly waiting for his own turn of admission.

17, 18. *The Souls on the South side of the Church*.—Presently St. Michael turned to Thurkill, and took him round the Church to the

¹ See the account of Gunthelm, p. 424.



South side of it. Here he saw multitudes of Souls, with their faces turned fixedly towards the church, and all wearied, as it were, with long waiting for the suffrages of their living friends. And the more these suffrages increased in number, the nearer they drew towards the gate of the church. Amongst many whom Thurkill recognised, he saw his former lord, Roger Picoth, who was barred from approaching the entrance, because of a sum of forty *denarii* that was still owing to his labourers; and also because he had retained a certain annual rent, due to the canons of St. Osith. And Roger sent word to his son William, charging him to clear off the debts, and thus bring him nearer to his place of rest. And here Thurkill recognised a monk of a neighbouring Cloister, who had led a godly life from his childhood. But journeying one day on Convent business, he came with a London citizen to a Grange, where he feasted too heartily, though without drinking, and died in sleep after dinner. And some said that he had died by the wrath of God. But now he was released from purgatorial pains: yet he could not hope to reach the gate speedily, except by the suffrage of forty masses. And whenever Thurkill recognised any of the Souls waiting here, St. Michael told him how many masses would help them to reach the gate.

19. *The Souls on the North side of the Church.*—And now Thurkill longed anxiously to see his Father and his Mother, but he could not find them. Then St. Michael took him to the North side, where crowds of Souls lay on their faces, with their arms stretched out towards the Church; grovelling upon sharp flint stones, and swept by the blast of a dismal wind. St. Michael commanded them all to stand up. And then Thurkill saw his Father's face, pale, worn, and haggard. And the Father beholding him made full confession to his son, how he had cheated men in certain bargains. And St. Michael said that thirty masses were required to free him. But after a while two thirds of them were remitted, on the score of poverty. And Thurkill joyfully consented; and bound himself to pay the masses. And St. Michael led the Father away at once. And the son followed him, and never lost sight of him, till he was ushered into glory. And Thurkill saw many other faces which he knew. But his Mother's face was not there. And he never saw her anywhere, nor learned any tidings of her state.

20. *The Church on the Mount of Joy.*—And St. Michael allowed the Man to visit the church. And he saw throngs of pure white Souls; and looking up the steps towards the East end, he saw them whiter and more shining still. And here the souls abide: and every day, at certain hours, they hear the music of heaven; and this music is their food. And there are many shrines in the church, where the saints gather their votaries, in order to present them hereafter before the throne of God.

21. *The Souls in the Pool.*—Then St. Michael brought Thurkill back once more to the purgatorial pool. And the whole place was drained: and the steps in the bed of the pool, that had made the water lie in different depths, were now dry and clean: and the Souls stood on their appointed steps as if they were at church. For the angel St. Uriel, whose name means the *Fire of God*, and who watches over all the Souls in Purgatory, lest evil Spirits should come and increase their torments;—this angel, I say, opens a certain sluice after the ninth hour of every Saturday, that the Souls may be left in peace throughout the Sunday.

But when Monday dawns, he opens another sluice towards the north ; and the pool is soon filled to the brim with the cold salt water. And here Thurkill saw Robert de Cliveland, who might be redeemed for fifty masses ; and others who required more than a hundred ; and one who required even two hundred and forty masses.

REMARKS.—The *Vision of St. Paul* (described by me just before I began my abstract) was here evidently working in Thurkill's brain ; though he has terribly limited the extent of the Sunday rest, which had been obtained by St. Paul for the whole of Hell itself. But the details of Thurkill's adaptation afford a curious little bye-proof of the genuine rustic origin of the present Work : for Thurkill, it may be remembered, when he first encountered Julian the Harbournier, was employed in finishing his drains, to clear his fields from an inundation.

22. *Our First Parent*.—And now the Saints and Thurkill left the pool again and passed the Church. And proceeding eastwards they reached a pleasant dale, glowing with flowers and herbs, and watered by a bright fountain. And four springs, each of a different kind and colour, gushed out of the fountain, and ran far away, until they joined again in one full stream. And above the fountain stretched a vast and vigorous tree, that bore every sort of flower and fruit. And beside the fountain reclined a man, of gigantic form and noble aspect, decked in a many-coloured garment from his feet up to his breast. And he seemed to laugh with one eye, and to weep with the other. "This man", said St. Michael, "is the first Parent of the human race, even Adam. And his laughing eye shows the joy that he feels in his children who are saved ; and his weeping eye shows his sorrow for those who are lost. And the garment that clothes him, but not as yet entirely, is the robe of immortality and glory, which he forfeited by his primal sin. But from the time of Abel even until now he has been recovering his robe, through the merits of the Just. And as the lives of the Elect shine with many virtues, so doth this robe shine with as many colours. And when the number of the elect is complete, then will Adam be entirely clothed with the robe of immortality and glory. And then will be the end of the World."

23. *The Three Virgin Saints*.—And now going a little further on, they came to a temple of gold, having a gate set with precious stones. And this temple excelled all that they had seen in beauty and brilliance. And within it was a shrine, where three Virgin Martyrs were enthroned : and their names were St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and St. Ositha. But now, when Thurkill was most eagerly gazing at their beauty, suddenly St. Michael said to St. Julian, "Take this man back to his body ; or the cold water, which those around him are pouring into his mouth, will choke him to death." And lo, at once he was in the body again, he knew not how, and sitting up in bed he said, "Benedicite !" And he afterwards described all the sights that the divine mercy had shown him : even as in this simple page we have written them ; for the behoof of simple souls, who often profit more from revelations of this kind, than from the profound and laboured dissertations of theology.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.—Thurkill was a true son of Essex. By the side of St. Catherine and St. Margaret he saw the Virgin Martyr of his own county : and no doubt he thought

her the most beautiful of the three. I will only add that if St. Osith stood before Thurkill as she stands on her abbey seal, with her severed head in her hands, she must have found it hard to smile upon him graciously.

Wendover probably formed his Abridgment from an earlier MS. than ours, though this may possibly have been transcribed at St. Alban's before he died (1236). It may be to him that we owe the preservation of one important point, the name of the Visionary: for the word "Turchillus" only once appears in our MS., and there it is supplied in the margin in a somewhat later hand. The credit of the Abridgment used formerly to be given to Matthew Paris (died 1259); but in this part of his *Chronica Majora* he follows Wendover almost verbally; and though he must have been acquainted with our MS., he did not even correct *Tidstude* into Stisted. The principal scenes of the Vision itself are preserved in Wendover's Abridgment: and thence came Warton's account of the *Infernal Pageants* (*Hist. of Poetry*, section xxvii, under the heading of *Kalendar of Shepherds*); thence Southey's specimens of Western legends, compared with Mohammedan ones, about *Adam* and about the *Weighing of Souls* (*Thalaba*, book vi, note 1, and Book x, note 4); and thence Thomas Wright's amusing little sketch of Thurkill's ghostly adventures (*St. Patrick's Purgatory*, p. 41-5). But Wendover has despised nearly all the personal details, that bring the poor rustic so vividly before us:—his allusion to *Danesei*; his long snoring sleep amidst the hubbub all around him; his starting up with the holy water in his throat, and with the cry of *Benedicite*, the first Latin he had ever spoken; and his declarations made before Osbert de Longchamp and his lady; and again, in the Vision itself, his quickened breath when he leaves the body; his observing how St. Paul sweated in his zeal for sinners; his ducking up and down behind the theatre wall, at signs from St. Dominick; his meeting with his old landlord, "Roger Picoth"; his interview with his father, and his vain search for his mother; and his view of the drained torture-pool, after the lower sluice had been opened;—all these incidents are omitted in the Abridgment. Other passages have been omitted, perhaps to spare the dignity of the church: such are St. Paul's device for saving the wicked priest; the sudden death of the monk, after feasting with the London citizen; and

various particulars about the number of masses, and about the dues to St. Osith's Abbey. It must be owned that Thurkill had lived too much among monks, before his story was turned into Latin. He told it by snatches at first : and no doubt it grew. One can imagine his telling a monk of St. Osith's how Roger Picott lamented his standing debts to his workmen (an idea that would naturally occur to a humble tenant of the Picotts), and the monk's rejoining, "did he say nothing of his dues to St. Osith's?" One knows how such suggestions would work on the mind of a credulous dreamer. And finally, he found an historian, whose taste was not so squeamish as that of Wendover.

The writer of this Latin *Vision*, I may almost assert, was Ralph of Coggeshall, whose *Chronicle* of his own times (1187-1224) has been published (from the Cottonian MS., Vesp. D. x.) by A. J. Dunkin in 1856, and is about to be re-edited for the Master of the Rolls by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson. Our *Preface*, it may be remembered, after mentioning the Visions at Stratfleur ("Strethur in Gualis") and at Vaucelles, turns to the present Vision, as having occurred in 1206 "in partibus nostris". Now, Coggeshall is only about three miles from Pattiswick, and about four miles from Stisted ; and the chronicler tells us, under the year 1207, that he had been a monk of Coggeshall, and was in that year elected abbot ; and that, besides his *Chronicle*, he had written certain *Visions*. The passage is as follows :—
 "MCCVII. Obiit dominus Thomas Abbas quintus de Cogeshala, cui successit dominus Radulfus monachus ejusdem loci, qui hanc cronicam a captione Sanctæ Crucis [1187] usque ad annum undecimum [last word written over an erasure] Henrici Regis III, filii Regis Johannis descripsit, ac QUASDAM VISIONES quas a venerabilibus viris audivit, fideliter annotare ob multorum ædificationem curavit."

The phrase "visiones", taken by itself, might be not inaptly applied to Thurkill's Vision alone ; as indeed Coggeshall applies it to the Vision of the monk of Eynsham (under the year 1196), saying "Postmodum autem visiones suas...fratribus reverenter ac seriatim enarravit." And again, "preclaras illas visiones preclaro atque eleganti stilo illustrarunt" ; (our *Preface*, by the bye, says "eleganti stilo", when speaking of the *Vision of Eynsham*). But this interpretation of "visiones" seems to be barred, in the present in-

stance, by the next words, "quas a venerabilibus viris audit": so we must presume that besides the present *Vision*, Coggeshall wrote at least one more. In my *Remarks* on the *Preface* I have inserted the account given by Coggeshall (under 1202) of the Vision seen at "Strethur in Gualis", which I have failed to find noticed elsewhere: and it strikes me that this may be one of Coggeshall's "visiones." Unfortunately, the entries immediately following 1205 in the Cott. MS. (Vesp. D. x, fol. 112), are very scanty indeed; and thus there is no allusion made to Thurkill. They are not written in a set hand, like the preceding entries, and they may very well have been jotted down, in after years, by Coggeshall himself. He was compelled by sickness to resign his abbacy in 1218, and he may have resumed the *Chronicle* in that year. I have only come across this *Chronicle* at the last moment, and it is too late for me now to examine it minutely. I shall be very glad to study it, in the forthcoming edition by Mr. Stevenson. Meanwhile I feel persuaded that, whatever other "visiones" Coggeshall may have written, one of them at least was the *Vision of Thurkill*.

I wish that I could print the story of Thurkill, son of Wulfric, word for word, as he told it. But though the Saints gave him speech they did not give him clerkship. So now we must be content to turn to the Work of his Latin scribe, Ralph of Coggeshall.

PREFACE.

"Incipit prefatio De subsequenti visione quæ contigit in Estsexia.

"Multifarie multisque modis olim deus loquens patribus in prophetis sub quodam tegumento occidentis litteræ ac sub obscura et velut enigmatica locutione multociens loquebatur ad eos precipue de corporum resurrectorum futura glorificatione, de statu animarum atque earum post mortem expiatione, de locorum pœnarium situ et qualitate, de infernorum tormentorum genere atque diversi generis ineffabili multiplicitate. sed novissime unigenitus dei filius, per quem facta sunt et sæcula, pro redemptione humani generis particeps affectus nostræ humanitatis multo clarius multoque evidentius omnia hæc nobis manifestare dignatus est, tum per evangelicam doctrinam tum per apostolorum predicationem necnon et per miraculorum ac revelationum exhibitionem, quatinus ob metum interminabilis pœnæ sese in presenti homines a peccatis et vitiis custodiant, atque ob cœlestium premiorum desiderium bona opera indesinenter exerceant. Sed, quia humana protervitas ad peccandum prona atque ex calle pravæ et inveteratæ consuetudinis nimis est obdurata, verba cœlestis predicationis per aures multociens inaniter demissa segnius irritant animos, ut nec pro commi-

natione suppliciorum nec ambitu præmiorum divinis velint homines obtemperare mandatis, immo exigentibus culpis non nulli justo dei judicio ad tantam perveniunt cordis cæcitatem, ut dictis sanctorum non credant nec ex auditu cœlestis doctrinæ aliquatenus proficiant. Siquidem valde durum videtur hominibus qui in delictis et deliciis sunt nutriti et idcirco velut insensibiles per cordis malitiam effecti, ut aliquatenus vera esse credant quæ corporeis optutibus non subjacent. Perinde omnipotens deus, ut tolleretur occasio malignis hominibus ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis, multos contra eos per diversa tempora per singulas fere generationes instauravit testes, ut sint omnino suæ incredulitatis inexcusabiles quibus incerta et occulta sapientiæ suæ manifeste revelare dignatus est, ut non tantum ex auditu sed etiam ex visu tormenta reorum ac lucidas mansiones justorum aperte et dilucide cognoscant, et quis sit status animarum post corporum depositionem, et quæ loca penalia quæve pro singulis peccatis maneant tormentorum genera, quibus etiam suffragiis post mortem expiari possint. Multa præclara de hujusmodi revelationibus quæ temporibus suis contigerunt Beatus papa Gregorius in quarto dialogorum libro veraci stilo conscripsit, cujus scriptis fidem non accomodare fidei derogare est, plura de his visionibus patres alii conscriperunt. Temporibus etiam nostris plures et insolite in diversis provinciis fiunt revelationes de statu animarum, et quanto magis finis sæculi presentis et vicinitas generalis resurrectionis appropinquat tanto clarius et frequentius fient passim miræ revelationes ut occulta in lucem prodeant et quæ dubia erant certa et evidentiæ fiant, quatinus fides vacillans certis roboretur argumentis et caritas pene refrigerata frequentium visionum inflammetur incitamentis. Scripsit quidam monachus de quodam milite Ybernensi nomine Audoeno, sicut ab illorum monachorum relatione cognoverat, qui cum prædicto milite diutius conversati sunt, horrenda tormentorum genera, quæ in purgatorio sancti Patricii oculis carneis conspexerat. Super purgatorio hoc abbates Ybernenses ad capitulum Cisterciense euntes interrogati, nonnulli eorum respondent omnia vera esse quæ de prædicto purgatorio narrantur. Exstat alia quedam visio quæ similiter in Hibernia contigit, de quodam milite qui per tres dies cum totidem noctibus eductus a corpore mira et nimis horrenda suppliciorum genera ad corpus rediens narravit. Est et alia visio diligenti narratione luculenter exarata, quæ in monasterio de Einesham anno verbi incarnati MXXCVI contigit, quam dominus Adam supprior ejusdem cenobii vir valde gravis ac religiosus eleganti stilo conscripsit, sicut ab ejus ore audivit, qui a corpore per duos dies et noctes eductus fuerat. Non credo tantum virum, tam religiosum ac tam litteratum, nisi comperta et probabili auctoritate subnixâ voluisse scripto mandare, maxime cum tunc temporis extiterit capellanus domni Hugonis Lincolnensis episcopi sanctissimi viri. Interrogatus autem a nobis dominus Thomas prior de Binham qui illis diebus extitit prior de Einesham, et qui diligenti scrutinio omnia examinaverat de monacho educto, et quæ de ejus visione perscrutanda erant, quidnam super his sentiret, respondit se non amplius de veritate hujus visionis hesitare, quam de domini nostri Ihesu Christi crucifixione. Multaque alia nobis retulit probamenta ad commendationem predictæ visionis. Hæc iccirco dixerim, quia multi contubernalium suorum huic visioni contradicunt, sicut fere de omni revelatione a quibusdam dubitatur. Quid dicendum de visione monachi de Strethur in Gualis, et de monacho Vaucellensi, quorum

visiones nuper ostensæ a quibusdam approbantur, et a quibusdam eorum sociis iuanes et frivola judicantur? Sic curre per omnes divinas paginas, per miracula, per revelationes, et invenies fere tot calumniatores ac incredulos quot approbatores et credulos. Nec mirum, cum de domino salvatore tot miracula in terris faciente scriptum sit, quod quidam dicebant quia bonus est, alii autem non, sed seducit turbas. Perinde non admirandum si cuidam visioni quæ anno verbi incarnati M^o.CC^o.VI^o in partibus nostris contigit a quibusdam contradicatur, et velut nugatoria habeatur. Sed quia plurimi quorum mens est sanior, intellectus acutior, vita religiosior, huic visioni fidem adhibent, tum pro simplicitate et innocentia viri cui hæc visio contigit, tum quia plerique audientium ex relatione predictæ visionis non minimum profecerunt, emendatiorem vitam eligentes, rogatus a quibusdam sociis immo eorum importunitate compulsus, visionem simplicis viri simplici eloquio, sicut ab ejus ore audivimus, scripto summatim mandare curavi. explicit prefatio. Incipit series visionis.

INTRODUCTION.

"Igitur¹ in episcopatu Londoniensi in villa quæ dicitur Stidstede vel Sticstede² erat quidam simplex, rurali operi assuescens, et juxta mediocritatem facultatis suæ elemosinis atque hospitalitati deditus nomine Thurkillus.³ Hic autem dum post horam vespertinam in vigilia apostolorum Symonis et Judæ, quæ evenit vi^a feria, agellulum suum quem eadem die seminaverat ab inundatione aquarum pluvialium per rivulos evacuaret, subito sursum oculos deflectens conspicitur eminus virum quendam ad se usque properantem. Cumque a longe eum aspexisset et dominicam orationem inchoasset, ecce statim velut in momento ei propius astitit, intuentemque se et admirantem exhortatus est ut precem quam inchoaverat compleret, sicque cum illo loquatur. Qua completa se adinvicem salutaverunt; deinde ille qui supervenerat percunctatur utinam posset nocte illa congruentius inter vicinos hospitari, cumque requisitus quorundam vicinorum collaudasset hospitium et hospitalitatis sedulitatem, mox requisitor quorundam quos nominaverat hospitalitatem approbavit, quorundam vero improbavit. At homo ille, intelligens virum qui advenerat vicinorum suorum habere noticiam, optulit ei devote hospitium suum. Cui peregrinus ille respondens ait "conjux tua duas pauperulas mulieres in hospitio tuo jam recepit, et ego necdum⁴ hospitari queo: quia ad provinciam de Danesei festino, et cum inde hac nocte rediero ad domum tuam divertam, ut te ad dominum tuum sanctum Jacobum deducam, quem devote jam requisisti. Ego sum Julianus hospitator, qui missus sum propter te, ut quædam secreta quæ homines adhuc in carne degentes latent tibi ostendantur. Perge ergo quantocius ad domum propriam et ad iter te preparare stude." Quo dicto is, qui loquebatur, ilico disparuit. Vir autem ille concito gradu domum perrexit, caput et pedes etiam⁵ contra voluntatem uxoris quia vi^a feria erat lavari fecit, duasque mulieres in hospitio recepit, sicut Sanctus Julianus dixerat, repperit. Deinde in stratu suo

¹ Here Wendover begins, under the year 1206, "Hoc anno, vir quidam in episcopatu Londoniensi in villa quæ Tidstude dicitur degens, simplex operique assuetus rurali, et juxta facultatum mediocritatem hospitalitati deditus," etc.

² "Vel Sticstede", from the margin, in another hand.

³ "Nomine Thurkillus" also from the margin.

⁴ "Necdum...cum inde" omitted by W.

⁵ "Etiam...feria erat" omitted by W.

quem sibi seorsum ab uxore ob continentiam jam per mensem preparaverat in domo extra thalamum se recollocans obdormivit, nichil uxori suæ aut filiis de iis quæ audierat et viderat intimare volens. Cum autem omnes se lecto recepissent et membra sopori dedissent, affuit Sanctus Julianus virumque a somno excitavit dicens "Ecce assum sicut promiseram. Tempus est ut jam progrediamur." Cumque¹ ille surrexisset et se ad procinctum itineris corporaliter preparare vellet, dixit ei Sanctus: "Quiescat interim et pauset in stratu quietis corpus tuum; sola enim anima tua mecum abibit. Sed ne corpus tuum extinctum putetur, vitalem in te flatum dimittam." Et his dictis paululum insufflavit in os quiescentis, sicque ambo, ut sibi videbatur, a domo illa recesserunt, rectoque itinere versus orientem profecti sunt. Sicque² per duos dies cum totidem noctibus, id est, usque ad vesperam dominicæ diei, corpus viri insensibile et immobile quasi gravi sopore depressum jacuit. Porro uxor ejus mane consurgens ut ad ecclesiam procederet pro tantæ diei sollemnitate, mirabatur valde quare vir ejus nondum surrexisset, sicut moris habebat. Reputabat vero intra se quod pro nimia laboris fatigatione procedentis diei sic fessus jaceret, unde ad ecclesiam illa progrediens, virum excitare noluit. Post missam autem ad domum rediens, repperit virum adhuc stertentem, quæ, ulterius moram non passa, accessit propius ad lectum ejus turbida indignatione, et cum clamosa voce et muliebri procacitate nomen ejus crebro ingeminans et membra singula cum motu concutiens, excitare eum voluit, sed nil proficere potuit. Statimque exiit rumor inter vicinos et notos quod homo ille tanto sopore deprimeretur quod a nullo expergisci potuerit. Accurrunt vicini et parrochiani, senes cum junioribus, utriusque sexus. Omnes nomen viri repetitis et clamoris vocibus personant, omnes excitare conantur. Sed non erat vox neque sensus aut motus aliquis membrorum, nisi gravis et continuus supor. Affuit et diaconus parrochialis ecclesiæ diligenter explorans, utrum viaticum dominici corporis antequam ex toto expirasset suscipere posset, frustra nomen ejus frequenter inclamitans. Denique cum omnis conatus humanæ subventionis prorsus defuisset ad divinæ miserationis concurrirur auxilium. Nam presbiter ejusdem ecclesiæ dominica subsequenti parrochianos admonere curavit ut pro incolumitate viri decumbentis sic preces effunderent quatinus divina pietas eidem largiri dignaretur tempus confitendi, et ut exitum suum vivifico sacramento dominici corporis secundum morem universalis ecclesiæ posset munire. Circa igitur horam vespertinam quidam assistentium circa corpus ejus consilium inierunt ut os ejus cum cuneo violenter aperirent, atque aquam benedictam ad cor ejus refrigerandum injicerent. Quo facto mox ille expergefactus est, et super lectum resedit, residensque "benedicite" dixit, quod antea minime dicere consuevit; sicque nudus de accubitu suo exiliens ad quandam fenestram, quæ erat ad caput ejus, voluit eam aperire, nondum advertens de turba quæ in domo ejus confluerat, et quæ circa lectum ejus assistebat. Quod illi ceruentes, estimabant eum incurrisse amentiam, et ligare eum decreverunt. Quos cum advertisset, ad lectum regreditur nuditatemque suam honesto

¹ "Cumque...sanctus" omitted by W.

² The rest of the *Introduction*, from "Sicque" to the end, omitted by W., with exception of a few passages describing the length of Thurkill's trance and his public declaration of the Vision, which are placed by W. at the end of the whole narrative.

tegens cum eisdem sane rationabiliter sermocinatur interrogatque quænam sit hora dici, aut cur ibidem convenissent. Non enim tunc arbitrabatur se amplius dormisse quam per unam noctem. Sed cum recordabatur visionis intellexit verum esse quod presentes asserebant de mora dormitionis suæ, plurimumque conquestus est se tam cito expergefactum fuisse; cui tanta adhuc revelanda fuerant et testimonium visionis suæ accepturum. Interea rogabant eum ut pranderet pro diutino jejuniis ut natura paulisper ex cibo confortata redderetur alacrior. Respondit se sanum et vegetum esse nulloque cibo adhuc indigentem, dixitque se prius visitaturum ecclesiam et deo gratias redditurum, divinumque officium in crastino auditurum, necnon et cum presbitero locuturum antequam corpus alimento aliquo reficerat. Interrogabant eum interea circumstantes quænam sub tanta mora suæ educationis vidisset; ad quorum instantiam quædam narrabat non tamen seriatim sed quasi intercese nunc ista nunc illa commemorans, plurimamque omittendo et reticendo. In crastino autem sanus et alacer ad ecclesiam perrexit, ac post missam cum presbitero et vicinis qui ad eum visendum convenerant, satis collocutus. Dissimulabat vero narrare pro simplicitate et rusticana verecundia seriatim quæ audierat et viderat; unde nocte subsequenti cum membra sopori dedisset, ecce iterum Sanctus Julianus adest, precipiens ei sub terrificâ comminatione ut seriatim et palam cunctis in ecclesia die proxima sollempni publicet visionem, nec vereatur faciem alienjus, aut personatum, sive communicationem aut derogationem, quin cuncta revelet quæ ei revelata fuere, quia ad hoc eductus est ut visa publicaret. Qui jussis ejus obtemperans in die omnium sanctorum atque in die animarum cuncta quæ viderat constanter et satis luculenter in Anglicana lingua coram Osberto de longo campo domino ejusdem villæ et uxore ejus et cunctis parochianis enarravit, omnibus admirantibus et stupentibus de insolita eloquentia viri, cum antea fere elinguis et verecundus præ nimia simplicitate semper extiterit. Confessus est etiam coram omni populo reatum suum quem contraxerat de injusta decimatione messis suæ, et quam teterrimum putorem pro hac transgressione sustinuerit, pro qua absolutionem a sacerdote verberatus expetiit, quia et hoc in mandato a sancto acceperat. Explicat cunctis quæ loca pœnalia quæve tormentorum genera, quas mansiones justorum, quanta gaudia in illis mansionibus degentium conspexerat; ostendit singulis de statu patrum et matrum, fratrum et sororum, parentumque suorum atque omnium illorum de quibus in presenti vita aliquam habuerat noticiam, utrum adhuc in pœnis sive in requie detinentur, quibusve suffragiis et quot missarum officiis a locis pœnalibus possent eripi, et ad requiem eternæ beatitudinis transferri. Quid multa? Non destitit vir ille simplex ab inspectæ visionis narratione donec corda obdurata et fere insensibilia emolliret atque ad lamenta et gravia suspiria commoveret, illo nimium interius operante qui convertit petram in stagna aquarum, et rupem in fontes aquarum. Postmodum supradictus vir a multis invitatus in pluribus ecclesiis atque hominum conventiculis ac in religiosorum domibus visionem suam constanter prædicavit, aliis credentibus, aliis vero irridentibus ac subsannantibus. Sed jam tempus est ut prælibatæ visionis summam aggrediamur.

VISION.

(1.) De quadam Basilica ad quam animæ congregabantur.

Igitur vir ille, a corpore eductus eo ordine quo superius jam diximus, sanctum Julianum præeuntem alacriter sequebatur in¹ tali membrorum effigie et tali habitu sicut ceteris diebus incedere solitus erat, excepto duntaxat quod crebrius solito, ut sibi videbatur, hancitum attrahebat et expirabat. Perexerunt ergo contra orientem usque ad mundi medium ut ductor ejus fatebatur intraveruntque quandam Basilicam miræ structuræ quæ tribus tantum columnis in fastigio tecti fulciebatur. Eratque Basilica nimis spatiosa et grandis, sed absque² parietibus per girum dependens sicut claustrum monachorum. Verum in aquilonari parte murus erat non nimis altus sed quasi sex pedum Basilicæ a fastigio per tres columnas dependenti conjunctus. In medio Basilicæ erat quasi quoddam ingens baptisterium, de quo maxima flamma, non comburens sed totam domum et vicina loca per circumitum mirabiliter quasi meridianus fulgor illustrans, indesinenter consurgebat. Hic autem splendor illuminans de decimatione justorum proveniebat sicut a sancto edoctus est. Intrantibus illis basilicam occurrit eis sanctus Jacobus quasi infulatus, qui videns peregrinum suum pro quo miserat, ait sancto Juliano et sancto Dominico, qui custos³ ejusdem erat loci, quatinus ostenderent peregrino suo loca pœnalia reorum necnon et mansiones justorum, et his dictis pertransiit. Sanctus Julianus intimavit educto illi hanc basilicam esse locum omnium animarum a corpore nuper exeuntium, ut ibi sortiantur mansiones et loca, secundum merita sua sibi divinitus destinata, tam damnandæ quam per purgatorias pœnas salvandæ. Locus enim iste per intercessionem gloriosæ virginis MARIE a domino salvatore misericorditer est constitutus, quem multis et assiduus precibus a filio suo obtinuit, ut ibidem omnes animæ in Christo renatæ mox ut a corpore exierint pariter absque aliqua demonum invasione conveniant et judicium secundum opera sua recipiant. Ideoque locus ille appellatur basilica sanctæ Mariæ atque animarum congregatio. In hac autem basilica intuitus est plurimas justorum animas, ex omni parte candidas, vultusque quasi adolescentium habentes. Quæ⁴ cum incederent per gramineam aream basilicæ, herba sub vestigiis assidue transeuntium non marcescebat, nec attrita terebatur, sed nativum virorem inflexibiliter semper conservabat. Extra murum aquilonarem deductus, conspexit animas quam plurimas muro vicinias assistentes maculis albis et nigris aspersas quarum quædam plus candoris quam nigri coloris speciem præferebant. quædam vero e contrario. Illæ vero quæ candidiores cæteris erant muro prædicto vicinias adhærebant, alias vero animas longius a muro distantes conspexit quæ nil omnino candoris in se habebant, sed ex omni parte nigre et deformes apparebant. Erat etiam juxta murum puteus gehennalis

¹ "in tali...expirabat" omitted by W.

² Compare this passage, "absque...monachorum", with that in *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (according to the text chosen by Wendover), which describes Sir Owen's first view of the lower world: "Aula parietes non habebat, sed columnis erat per gyrum subnixa, ut claustrum solet monachorum."

³ Wendover speaks of St. Julian and St. Dominus as both being "custodes". Probably a misinterpretation of the original text.

⁴ "Quæ...conservabat" omitted by W.

introitus qui indesinenter fumum cum teterrimo fœtore circumquaque per quasdam cavernas in vultus astantium exalabat, qui fœtidus fumus proveniebat ex decimis injuste detentis et de frugibus non recte decimatis, qui fœtor incomparabilem angustiam ingerebat circa præcordia omnium qui tali reatu culpabiles erant. Unde et isdem qui eductus erat bis eundem fœtorem sensit, qui tantum ei molestiæ intulit, ut bis cogeret eum angustiosius tussire, corpore ejus similiter eadem hora bis tussiente, sicut assistentes circa corpus asserebant. Cui sanctus Julianus "Apparet," inquit, "te non recte messem tuam decimasse, ideo fœtorem hunc sensisti." Cumque ille causaretur paupertatem ac victual-[i]um paucitatem ad familiæ suæ sustentationem, ait sanctus agrum suum multo uberiorem fructum annuatim perlaturum si plenarie decimas persolvisset. Præcepitque ut hunc reatum coram parrochianis in ecclesia confiteretur, atque absolutionem pro tanta transgressione a sacerdote palam cunctis expeteret. Quod ipse postmodum, sicut jam diximus, adimplere devote studuit. In orientali parte prædictæ basilicæ erat quidam ignis purgatorius permaximus inter duos muros circumfusus. Murus enim unus a septentrionali parte consurgebat et alter ob australi ab invicem amplo spatio in latitudine distantes qui diutius in longitudine protendebantur versus orientem usque ad quoddam stagnum multa capacitate amplissimum, in quo inmergebantur animæ per ignem purgatorium transeuntes, eratque aqua stagni illius incomparabiliter frigida, et salsissima, sicut viro illi postmodum ostensum est. Deinde restabat pons magnus aculeis et sudibus per totum affixus quem pertransire quemlibet oportebat antequam ad montem gaudii perveniret. In quo monte gradatim sita est quædam tam grandis ecclesia mirabilis structuræ, quæ sufficeret capere omnes habitatores orbis ut sibi videbatur cum in eam introduceretur.¹ Ecce, loca pœnalia per quæ transitus erat animarum purgandarum a basilica Beatæ MARIE usque ad montem gaudii breviter perstrinxi ut perspicacius intelligantur quæ dicenda restant. Nunc ergo ad basilicam prædictam a qua series narrationis paulisper digressa est, stilus rever-tatur.

(2.) De expiatione et libratione animarum. Igitur cum sanctus Dominicus cum sancto Juliano et vir ille eductus cum candidis animabus quæ nuper advenerant in basilica beatæ MARIE subsisterent, animæque aqua benedicta a sancto Dominico aspergerentur, ut candidiores efficerentur, ecce circa horam primam illucescentis sabbati sanctus Michael Archangelus et duo principales apostoli, scilicet Petrus et Paulus, affuerunt in basilica, ut animabus quæ intus vel extra basilicam constiterant loca sibi divinitus pro meritis destinata largirentur. Sanctus enim Michael omnes animas candidas, quæ in basilica convenerant, quæ paucae erant numero respectu cæterarum, per medias flammæ ignis purgatorii et per cætera loca pœnalia illesas transire fecit usque ad introitum illius magnæ ecclesiæ quæ sita est in monte gaudii, habens portam semper patentem a parte occidentali. Nam² via recta et graminea orientis tramite a basilica beatæ MARIE per medium ignem et stagnum et pontem usque ad introitum ecclesiæ predictæ protendeba-

¹ Wendover here inserts a passage, taken from the middle of *Section 2*, describing how St. Julian leads Thurkill across the bridge. See the footnotes further on.

² "Nam via...transibant" omitted by W.

tur, per quam animæ candidatæ illesæ transibant. Animas autem maculis albis et nigris respersas, extra basilicam muro septemtrionali innitentes, sine aliqua operum discussione per quandam portam, quæ imminabat in orientali parte basilicæ, Beatus Petrus introduci censuit in ignem purgatorium ut a maculis, quæ ex contagione peccatorum contraxerant, per purgantis incendii adustionem emundari possent. Beatus vero Paulus ad finem muri septemtrionalis intra basilicam residere cœpit. At extra murum ex opposito apostoli residebat diabolus cum satellitibus suis. Puteus autem flammivomus qui erat os putei gehennalis erumpebat secus pedes diaboli. Quædam vero trutina, æqua lance dependens, affixa erat super murum inter apostolum et diabolum, mediaque pars trutinæ dependebat ante conspectum beati Pauli interius, altera pars dependebat ante conspectum dæmonis exterius. Apostolus duo pondera habebat juxta se, majus ac minus, quæ velut mallei aurei ac valde nitidi esse videbantur. Similiter et dæmon duo habebat pondera, majus et minus, fuliginea et subobscura, instar malleorum. Accesserunt interim animæ ex toto nigredine respersæ ad libram cum magno timore et trepidatione, una post alteram, singulæ ibidem visuræ ponderationem actuum suorum, tam bonorum quam malorum. Nam pondera predicta in utraque parte appensæ stateræ ab apostolo et a dæmone deposita ponderabant singularum animarum opera secundum earum merita; unde contingebat quod pondera apostoli bona opera astantis animæ ostendentia aliquando præponderabant, atque pondera diaboli alterius alicujus mala significantia iterum præponderabant, et totam stateram cum ponderibus apostoli ad partem dæmonis attrahebant. Cum ergo statera se inclinaret versus apostolum per librationem suorum ponderum, tollebat apostolus animam illam quæ presens astabat tremens sub incerta expectatione et introduxit illam per portam orientalem, quæ conjuncta erat basilicæ, in ignem purgatorium ut illic crimina expurgaret. Cum vero pars stateræ ad diabolum se inclinaret per malleorum suorum depositionem et præponderaret, mox ille cum satellitibus suis qui huic librationi assistebant animam miseram nimis ejulantem, patremque suum ac matrem, qui eum ad æterna tormenta generant, maledicentem, rapientes cum multo cachinno et irrisoria subsannatione præcipitabant in foveam profundam et flammivomam quæ extitit secus pedes diaboli librantis. In¹ hac autem animarum vel potius meritorum libratione nonnulla erat diversitas, quia aliquoties apostolus minorem ex duobus malleis in statera solummodo deposuit et præponderabat contra utraque pondera inimici; aliquoties vero immo multociens duo deponens pondera, minus scilicet et majus, nonnunquam ponderabant et nonnunquam aliquid ponderare valebant, sed omne pondus ad perpendicularum diaboli deflectebatur. Inter cæteros quidam sacerdos ex toto nigerrimus ad libram accessit, cujus operum nigredinem beatus Paulus quasi protervo oculo intuens, zelo legis divinæ, quo semper fervebat, accensus durius vitam indigni sacerdotis redarguebat, attamen miseratus hominem ambo pondera apposuit in lance. Quibus non præponderantibus aspersorium in aqua benedicta intinctum in statera tam violenter deposuit ut malleos inimici in sub-

¹ "In hac autem...duo prædicti apostoli" (containing the conclusion of the *Weighing of Souls*) omitted by W., who supplies the place of the whole passage with the words, "De hujusmodi libratione bonorum et malorum in sanctorum patrum scriptis sæpius reperitur".

lime sustolleret, unusque ex eis ex libra decedens pedem diaboli contereret, ex qua læsione dæmon rugitum emittens procaciter contra apostolum reclamabat et se prejudicium fuisse perpassum asserbat, descriptaque peccata hominis illius in medium proferebat sicut et aliorum peccata in scriptis nequiter redacta recitare solitus erat. Sed scripta inimici nichil prævalebant, ubi bonorum operum merita præponderabant, sicque miseratione apostoli presbiter ille a potestate inimicorum liberatus in purgatorium salvandorum missus est. Sicui autem absurdum et incredibile videtur quod hic de meritum libratione narratur, legat narrationem Sancti Johannis patriarchæ Alexandrini de quodam elemosinatore, Petro scilicet theloneario, quomodo opera ejus omnia in libra appensa sunt, et qualiter siligo quam cuidam pauperi importune exigenti violenter jactaverat contra omnia mala æqua lance ponderavit, quod etiam in aliis visionibus frequenter reperitur. Huic vero examinationi a prima hora in sabbato usque ad nonam affuerunt duo predicti apostoli. Dum¹ hæc ita agerentur, beatus Julianus per aliquam horam duxit virum predictum per ignem purgatorium illæsum usque ad stagnum superius memoratum, incidentes pariter ab igne illæsi per viam gramineam quæ per medias flammæ a basilica usque protendebatur. Non autem aliquid lignorum aut hujusmodi materia fomentum igni predicto ministrabat, sed flamma quædam exurens, sicut in clibano vehementer succenso cernitur, per totum illud spatium æqualiter diffundebatur quæ animas nigras et maculosas secundum culpæ modum brevis aut diuturnius exurebat. Animæ vero, quæ jam ignem evaserant, in stagno illo frigidissimo et salsissimo ad nutum Beati Nicholai, qui huic purgatorio præfuit, descendebant. Quarum quædam usque ad verticem, quædam usque ad collum, nonnullæ usque ad pectus et brachia, aliæ ad umbilicum et renes, quædam usque ad genua, et nonnullæ vix usque ad cavillam pedum, immersæ fuerunt. Erant² enim in stagno quidam gradus, quidam inferiores, quidam superiores, unde et quædam animæ stabant in imis gradibus et in profundis aquarum totæ immersæ, quædam in mediocribus, quædam in superioribus jam paratæ per³ pontem transire ad atrium quod est ante faciem ecclesiæ predictæ in occidentali parte. Sed pontem huic quædam nimis laboriose et tarde, quædam levius atque velocius, aliæ libere et ocius pertransibant, nullam moram nullamve angustię pœnam in transiendo sentientes. Nam quidam per ignem et aquam diutius transientes, immo multis annis immorantes, et qui nullis specialium missarum ac elemosinarum suffragiis adjuvantur, et qui nullis misericordiæ operibus erga pauperes et egenos studuerant peccata redimere, dum adhuc viverent, ii nimirum cum ad predictum pontem pervenerint, ad requiem destinatam omnimodis transire cupientes, nudis plantis per sudes et clavos longos et peracutissimos ponti affixos nimis angustiose incedunt et cum vehementer doloris cruciatum in plantis pedum diutius sufferre nequeant, manus suas super clavos quasi adjutrices deficiendo imponunt. Quibus statim perforatis, ex vi acri doloris ventre ac

¹ This passage, "Dum hæc...immersæ fuerunt", slightly altered by W., and inserted by him, together with another passage further on, before the *Weighing of Souls*. See the footnote at the end of *Section 1*.

² "Erant...jam paratæ" omitted by W.

³ This passage, "per pontem...beatæ MARIE," slightly altered by W., and inserted by him before the *Weighing of Souls*. See the footnote at the end of *Section 1*.

toto corpore simul super clavos rependo volutantes, paulatim ad pontis ulteriora repunt, ex omni parte transfixi et cruentati. Sed cum ad atrium ecclesiæ predictæ pervenerint, felicem introitum ibidem iterum præstolantes omnium cruciatuum vehementiam obliviscuntur. Hiis igitur inspectis, redeunt denuo per medium flammæ sanctus Julianus et vir ille quem secum ducebat ad basilicam beatæ MARIE a qua¹ digressi fuerant, inveniuntque adhuc beatum Paulum circa animarum examinationem nimis sollicitum et præ nimia justæ ponderationis sollicitudine et altercationis conflictu, quem gerebat adversus diabolum, quasi desudantem. In quibus non dicimus apostolum aliquam desudationis angustiam tolerasse sed ut per hoc ejus pietas et nimia dilectionis sollicitudo circa salvandos nobis innotescat, adhuc quodam modo affectu et effectu quantum in se est replicans quod olim in carne constitutus dixerat "Quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur et ego non uror?" Omnibus ergo animabus, quæ ad hanc basilicam tunc temporis convenerant, sua loca sortitis, post horam nonam discedunt sancti apostoli redeuntes ad dominum qui eos ad tam necessarium humanæ salutis ministerium misericorditer miserat. Nec est absurdum credere si sancti apostoli aliquotiens mittuntur in hujusmodi salutare ministerium, cum constet sanctos angelos ad tale ministerium fore destinatos, apostolo teste qui ait "Nonne omnes sunt administratorii spiritus missi in ministerium propter eos qui hereditatem capiunt salutis?" Nec mirum si humanæ serviant saluti, cum ipse dominus rex angelorum ad terras pro redemptione humani generis descenderit, veniens quærere et salvare ovem centesimam quæ a pascuis cælestibus, suadente diabolo, deviaverat. Circa ergo horam vespertinam subsequenti dominicæ diei, dum esset sanctus Dominicus cum sancto Juliano in prefata basilica, ecce ab aquilonari parte venit quidam dæmon, equum nigrum præcipiti cursu obequitans, ipsumque per multos anfractus cum multo irrisionis applausu deducens. Cui multi malignorum spirituum cum magno tripudio processerunt obviam de abducta præda ad invicem cachinnantes. Sanctus vero Dominicus mandat dæmoni equitanti quatinus ad se quantocius veniat et ejus sit anima, quam abduxerat, enarret. Quo diutius dissimulante et mandatum sancti contemnente præ gaudio quod habebat de misera anima abducta, sanctus confestim flagellum quoddam arripuit atque ad dæmonem cum anima ludentem properavit, ipsumque cum flagello tam graviter verberavit ut ululatum² plangentis emitteret, sicque sanctum secutus est usque ad murum aquilonarem ubi animarum libratio extiterat. Porro sanctus interrogat dæmonem ejusnam sit illa anima quam inequitaverat. At ille ait hunc fuisse ex proceribus regis Anglicæ qui nocte præcedenti subito absque confessione et dominici corporis viatico obierat multaque flagitia commiserat, præcipue erga homines suos durus et crudelis existens, multosque ad extremam inopiam redigens, per indebitas exactiones atque injustas calumnias; quod maxime fecerat instigatione pessimæ uxoris suæ quæ eum semper ad crudelitatis rapacitatem instigavit. Ideoque merito anima ejus ex toto potestati meæ est tradita ut eam in baratri suppliciis inde sinenter torqueam. Nec mireris, inquit, quod eam in equinam formam transformaverim ut illam usque hac inequitarem quia damnatorum

¹ "A qua digressi fuerant, inveniuntque...deviaverat" omitted by W.

² The howl of the Fiend omitted by W.

animas licet nobis in quaslibet formas et species transformare pro libitu. Et nunc descendissem utique cum ea in baratri voraginem, poneremque in supplicium æternum sibi præparatum, nisi nox dominica instaret in qua ludis nostris theatralibus vacare nos oportet, et cruciatis animabus vehementiores cruciatus accumulare. Siquidem¹ per totum hujus noctis spatium representabunt in præsentia nostra solitos gestus et modos peccatorum quæ perpetraverunt pro quibus nostræ potestati traditæ sunt." Cumque hæc diceret, defixit aspectum suum attentius in virum illum qui eductus erat dixitque sancto "Quis est iste agrestis qui vobiscum præsens astat." Cui sanctus "Cognoscis" inquit "illum"? At ille "Vidi hunc hominem in Estsexia in ecclesia de Stistede in quodam festo dedicationis ejusdem basilicæ." At sanctus "In quali" inquit "habitu ingressus es ecclesiam?" "In muliebri" inquit "habitu et cum processissem usque ad baptisterium volens in cancellum intrare, obvius mihi factus est diaconus ecclesiæ cum aspersorio aquæ benedictæ qui me per aspersionem aquæ tam velociter effugavit ut clamorem horridum emittens saltum fecerim de ecclesia usque ad pratum quod subterjacet eidem ecclesiæ fere per duo stadia." Dicit vir ille eductus, sed et plerique parrochianorum hoc idem testantur se clamorem illum tunc temporis audisse sed causam clamoris tunc ignorasse.

(3.) De theatrâli ludo dæmonum et cruciatu animarum.

Post hæc verba, ait sanctus Dominicus ad dæmonem "Volumus tecum ire ut ludos vestros prospiciamus." Cui dæmon, "Si vultis mecum pergere, cavete omnino ne virum hunc vobiscum adducatis quia cum suis redditus esset actus nostros ac secreta pœnarum genera apud viventes detegeret, et sic multos ab operibus nostris revocaret, sedesque Tartareas quas sibi nonnulli jam paraverunt destrueret." Dixit ergo sanctus dæmoni "Festinanter procede, et ego et sanctus Julianus te subsequemur." Procedente ergo dæmone, sequebantur duo sancti, scilicet Sanctus Dominicus atque sanctus Julianus, virum illum medium inter eos latenter secum deducentes. Perrexerunt ergo ad plagam aquilonalem, quasi montem ascendendo, et ecce in descensu montis erat domus amplissima et fuliginosa muris veteriosis circumdata erantque in ea quasi multæ plateæ innumeris ignitis et ferreis sedibus circumquaque repletæ. Sedes vero ex candentibus ferreis circulis et ex omni parte clavatis, superius et inferius, a dextris et a sinistris, exstructæ erant, atque in eis homines diversæ conditionis et utriusque sexus miserabiliter residebant, dum ex omni parte candentibus clavis transfigerentur atque ex ignitis circulis undique constringerentur pariter et exurerentur. Tanta erat multitudo sedium ignitarum ac hominum in eas residentium quod nulla lingua eas dinumerare sufficeret. Erant muri ferrei et fuliginei in circumitu platearum et sedes aliæ juxta muros in quibus residebant dæmones per circumitum quasi ad lætum spectaculum de cruciatibus miserorum ad invicem cacinantes et miseros subsannantes atque peccata² improperantes. Juxta introitum hujus lamentabilis spectaculi in descensu montis sicut diximus erat quidam murus altitudine quinque pedum ex quo clare videri poterat quicquid in loco illo pœnali agebatur. Ad hunc igitur murum sancti predicti astabant de foris cernentes et discernentes quicquid miseri deintus patiebantur. At vir ille adductus stabat inter cos quasi

¹ "Siquidem...traditæ sunt" omitted by W.

² "pristina" inserted here by W.

sub muro delitescens, ne¹ a dæmonibus videretur multociensque ad nutum sancti Domini caput erigebat et omnia quæ interius agebantur clare prospiciebat.

(4.) De superbo. Residentibus per circuitum ministris Tartareis ad Indibriosum spectaculum, ait princeps illius nefandæ cohortis qui scilicet sanctos paulo ante processerat "Abstrahatur nunc superbus violenter de sedili suo et veniat in medium et ludat coram vobis." Abtractus a dæmonibus ille et indutus veste nigra omnem gestum hominis ultra modum superbientis coram dæmonibus ad invicem cachinnantibus exereuit. Cervix erigitur, vultus attollitur, oculi surgunt in obliquum cum arcuatis superciliis, tumidis verbis imperiose intonat, ludunt humeri vix ferre brachia per fastum valentes, ardescit oculis vultuque minatur, in articulos surgens, crure stat inverso, in pectus tenditur, collumque supinat, vultu candet atque oculis ignitis pronosticat iram nasumque digito feriens magna minatur. Sic ventosa superbia de facili turgens præbebat risum monstruosis spiritibus. Et cum de vestibus gloriaretur manicasque cum acu consuendo constringeret, subito vestes in igneam qualitatem mutatæ totum corpus ejus exurebant. Dæmones vero ira excandescentes tridentibus et uncis igneis miserum coram eis paulo ante ludentem membratim discerpserunt. Unus autem ex eis, adipem cum pice et aliis liquaminibus in sartagine ferventi torrens, singula membra discerpta cum quodam instrumento respersit illo bullienti unguine, et ad singulas dæmonis respersiones membra stridorem magnum emittebant, velut cum aqua frigida in bullienti sagimine injicitur. Dicebatque² dæmon ille præsiciens sanctis qui exterius astabant, quod majorem cruciatum inferebat misero hujus unguenti concremabilis stridor quam aliquod aliud tormentorum genus. Cumque omnia membra hoc execrabili unguine torrefacta fuissent et ad invicem compaginata, in priorem statum et formam rediit miser superbus denuo redivivus ac redintegratus. Moxque ad miserum infernales malleatores cum malleis et tribus laminis ignitis, triplici ordine clavatis, accesserunt duasque laminas in anteriori parte corporis ad dextram et ad sinistram applicuerunt et cum clavis candentibus crudeliter cum malleis affixerunt. Hæ autem laminæ a pedibus incipientes ducebantur per tibias et femora usque ad humeros et ita recurvabantur in collo. Tercia vero lamina a genitalibus incipiens per ventrem usque ad verticem protendebatur. Cumque miser ille clavis et laminis ardentibus dirissime constringeretur atque supra omnem humanam estimationem exurendo exeruciaretur, a dæmonibus in priorem sedem truculenter retrudebatur, in qua repositus undique clavis candentibus v digitorum in longitudine protensis miserabiliter ex omni parte transfigebatur.

(5.) De sacerdote. Illo sic autem ab irrisorio et pœnali loco de medio sublato et in sede propria quam sibi adhuc in carne degeus fabricaverat reposito, quidam sacerdos ex cathedra sua ignita a ministris Tartareis violenter extrahitur. Extractus in theatri ludibrio coram monstruosis larvis eidem exprobantibus sistitur, ejus linguam per medium secti gutturis crudeliter extrahentes radicatus amputaverunt, eo quod populum sibi commissum nec sermone sanctæ predicationis nec exemplo piæ actionis instruxerat, sed nec pro temporalibus stipendiis ab eo receptis missarum aut orationum suffragia digne persolverat.

¹ "ne a dæmonibus...erigebat" omitted by W.

² "Dicebatque...tormentorum genus" omitted by W.

Postea vero miserum uncis ferreis membratim discerpentes membraque discerpta predicto unguine frigentes corpus denno redintegratum tribus laminis candentibus, sicut de superbo jam diximus, constrinxerunt constrictumque in cathedra sua tormentali reposuerunt.

(6.) De milite. Post hunc adductus est de sede sua quidam miles qui in cædibus et rapinis et torneamentis vitam suam peregerat. Hic¹ omnibus armis suis velut in procinctu belli armatus equo nigerrimo insidebat, qui piceo flammam cum fœtore et fumo per os et nares, cum calcearibus urgeretur, in supplicium sessoris sui efflabat. Sella equi clavis igneis et prælongis undique præfixa fuerat; lorica et galea, scutum et ocreæ, ex toto flammantia nimio sui pondere militem graviter onerabant sed non minor ardoris cruciatu eum medullitis exurebant. Qui miles, postquam equum præcipiti cursu agitaverat hastamque contra dæmones sibi obvios eique illudentes vibraverat priores militiæ suæ gestus replicando, ab ipsis equo dejicitur ac membratim discerpitur membraque discerpta exacerabili liquore torrentur, torrefacta et ad invicem compaginata tribus laminis modo quo superiores constringuntur sicque iterum redivivus in sedem propriam violenter retruditur.

(7.) De quodam justiciario.² Post hæc in medium adducitur quidam mundanarum legum peritissimus cum magno cruciatu a sedili suo abstractus, quod per diutinum tempus, male vivendo et multa judicia acceptis muneribus subvertendo, sibi fabricaverat. Hic autem per totius Angliæ fines inter summos et mediocres famosissimus habebatur pro sua exuberanti eloquentia et legum peritia; sed eodem anno longævam sed illaudabilem vitam illaudabili morte terminaverat. Nam sine testamenti executione subito decedens quicquid de mamnone iniquitatis et mercedibus injuste per linguam satis venalem acceptis sibi aggregaverat et in thesauro reposuerat ab alienis rapaci ingluvie distracta sunt et consumpta. Placitis regalibus ad scaccarium domini regis sicut³ unus de capitalibus justiciariis residens munera libenter ab utraque parte litigantium accipere consueverat prout fama volitans divulgavit. Cum autem hic in theatrâli ludibrio coram malignis spiritibus adduceretur omnesque ei acclamarent et cachinnando insultarent, coactus est gestus et modum vitæ transactæ representando replicare. Nam nunc ad dexteram nunc ad lævam se huc illucque divertens quasi cum utraque parte litigantium loquebatur, nunc istos de proponenda causa informans, nunc illos de responsione et causarum contradictione munens; manus ipsæ a mobilitate sua interim non quiescebant, sed nunc ab his nunc vero ab illis pecuniam accipiebant acceptamque numerabant, numeratam alicubi reponebant. Cumque de hujusmodi gestu miseri hominis dæmones ad invicem ludificando cachinnarent, subito

¹ Compare a passage in Subprior Adam's *Vision of Eynsham* (a work highly praised by the present writer, in the *Preface*, for its elegance of style): "Principem quendam quondam præpotentem ibi videbam, equo insidentem, qui piceam ore et naribus flammam cum fumo et fœtore tartareo jugiter in supplicium sessoris efflabat. Armis omnibus sicut equos paratus ad bellum erat indutus, quæ non præsidium sed supplicium ei inenarrabile præstiterunt....Sella vero ejus clavis et verubus igneis hinc inde præfixa," etc. This passage, which is omitted in Wendover's abridged *Vision of Eynsham* (in his *Chronicle*, under 1196), occurs in the last of the extracts from Adam's work in Harleian MS. 3776 (fol. 92).

² "Placitatore" in W.; "legista" in Matthew Paris.

³ "sicut...justiciariis" omitted by W., and the sentence otherwise altered.

nummi pro litigantium patrocinio accepti igniti et velut ardentes effecti sunt et miserum exurebant, quos ante se positos digitis contrectavit et in os suum ardentes jactavit atque in ore receptos deglutire compulsus est. Quibus absorptis accesserunt duo dæmones cum rota plaustrī ferrea, verubus et clavis per circuitum affixa, et super dorsum peccatoris eam truculenter volventes, totum dorsum crebro et flammanti rotatu obriverant et nummos, quos hianti ore angustiose degluttierat, angustiosius per vomitum ejicere coegerunt. Quos cum evomisset, jussit dæmon eos colligere, collectos¹ in vase reponere, eisdem postea simili modo cibandus. Post hæc ministri infernales in favorem versi miserum membratim cum tridentibus ignitis crudeliter discerperunt, similique tormentorum genere sicut priores exercebant, laminisque ardentibus constrictum in sede tormentali reposuerunt. Uxorem² quoque predicti militis in illo loco pœnali in quadam sede ignita et aculeata locatam conspexit vir ille, eo quod in pluribus ecclesiis excommunicare fecerat pro anulo quodam aureo quem in conelavi suo reposuerat et furatum esse credebat, a quo transgressionis piaculo nunquam absoluta fuerat adire mortis subitanea necessitate præventa.

(8.) De adultero et adultera. Postmodum adductus est ad cœnam furiosorum adulter cum adultera, qui ad invicem fœda copula juncti venereos motus et impudicos gestus palam omnibus cum multa sui confusione et dæmonum exprobatione replicaverunt. Deinde quasi in insaniam versi se alternatim dentibus corrodingo lacerabant ac totum illum superficiale amorem, quem prius adinvicem habere videbantur, in furem et in odii crudelitatem commutaverunt. Postea membris omnibus e furiosa turba frustratim dissectis similem aliorum sortiti sunt pœnam. Similiter fornicatores et impudici quique immunda solitæ libidinis opera ibidem cum magna turpitudinis confusione et tormento replicantes in conspectu omnium incomparabilibus affligebantur tormentis quæ pro horrenda suppliciorum confusione a scripto silentium expetunt.

(9.) De detractoribus. Inter alios duo de numero³ detractorum in medium adducti sunt, quorum os usque ad auriculam distorquendo dehiscens, versis ad invicem vultibus sese torvis prospiciebant ocalis. Apposita sunt duo capita ejusdam hastæ ardentis et flammantis in ore utriusque, quam in ore distorto commasticantes et rodentes celeriter ad medietatem hastæ rodendo pervenerunt sibi approximantes, sicque sese mutuo dentibus laniantes totum vultum suum masticando eruebant.

(10.) De furibus qui ecclesias confringunt. Adducti sunt præterea fures et violatores sacrorum locorum et incendiarii, qui a ministris Tartareis impositi sunt super rotas ferreas aculeis et sudibus infixas, quæ ex nimia succensione igneam imbrem scintillabant. Super has itaque miseri volutati horrendum cruciatum sustinebant.

(11.) De perversis agricolis.⁴ Agricolæ et bubulci mercede conducti tam misero cœtui non defuerunt, qui terras dominorum suorum ex industria perverse arando excolunt, ac boves inique stimulando ob vindictam alienjus rei sibi a dominis irrogatæ exagitant ac pabula eorum subtrahentes eos nimia macie et indiscreto labore ex industria

¹ "collectos...reponere" omitted by W.

² Wendover reads "Uxor vero ejus in sede quadam ignita et aculeata compressa sedebat."

³ W. reads "collegio".

⁴ Section 11 omitted by W.

perimunt. Qui in medio monstruosorum adducti pristinam protervitatem cum aratro et bobus coram eis representant. Ac boves exagitati et quasi in amentiam versi in bubulcos sæviunt eosque cornibus impetunt ac dentibus laniant.

(12.) De molendario.¹ Nec molendinarius farinam et bladum in molendino latrocinans huic ludibrio defuit, quin gestus furtivos ad dæmonum cachinnum replicaret. Sed post furti irrisoriam representationem, farina a manibus furantis per totum corpus velut ignea diffluens miserum nimis ejulantem atrociter incendebat.

(13.) De mercatore. Affuit et mercator cum stateris et ponderibus dolosis, necnon et illi qui pannos novos in tentoriis ita vehementer in longum et latum trahendo extendunt ut fila rumpantur et scissura fiat. Quas scissuras subtiliter refarcientes pannos in umbrosis et subobscuris locis vendunt. Longum² supra modum nimisque legentibus pariter et audientibus tediosum foret si omnium in illo loco pœnali degentium crimina singulatim juxta proprietates suas vellem describere, cum omnium conditionum graduum et ordinum et officiorum personæ utriusque sexus in illo theatrâli ludibrio de sedilibus suis adducti scelorum priorum gestus ad sui confusionem et poenarum augmentationem explicabant. Quibus explicitis sicut de prioribus descripsimus a dæmonibus torquebantur.

(14.) De sedibus adhuc vacantibus.³ Præterea innumeras tormentales sedes adhuc vacuas ibidem conspexit, quarum quædam ex toto jam fabrefactæ sunt, quædam usque ad medietatem, quædam aliquantulum inchoatæ. Nonnullæ autem ex toto jam fabrefactæ iterum confringebantur ablatis tribus circulis sive amplius. Harum sedium vacuitatem inchoationem aut perfectionem sive in parte confractionem dæmon qui præsidebat sancto Dominico exposuit. Dicebatque quod homines adhuc in carne degentes has sedes vacantes sibi de die in diem per hanc cumulationem malignorum operum fabricant, qui, dum carnis habitaculum deposuerint, in his veluti in propriis sedibus collocabuntur. Si qui vero eorum a malignis operibus declinantes emendatiorem vitam elegerint et peccata perpetrata per penitentiam et elemosinas redemerint, circulos sedium suarum cotidie confringunt atque iterum ad peccata redeuntes easdem instaurant. Expressitque sancto vocabula personarum, viro illo audiente, quæ has sedes post mortem sortituræ erant, quarum quasdam vir ille cognovit atque nomina retinuit ipsisque postea reductus intimavit, unde nonnulli eorum correctiores effecti a perpetratis nequitiiis resipuerunt. Quorum nomina et actus divulgare incongruum duximus ne pudoris elogio adhuc nobiscum degentes et sui compotes dententur.

(15.) De quatuor plateis. In fine harum platearum in quibus tam innumeras sedes locatas diximus quatuor plateæ erant permaximæ tam in latitudine quam in longitudine quasi ex transverso predictarum platearum secus introitum inferni inferioris. Quarum prima innumeras continebat fornaces et caldarias amplas et latas, ferventi pice et aliis liquaminibus usque ad summum repletas. In singulis animæ congestæ valide bulliebant, quarum capita velut nigrorum piscium in ferventi liquamine nunc sursum eminebant ex vi ebullitionis nunc deorsum ruebant. Secunda platea similiter habebat caldarias sed nive et rigida

¹ Section 12 omitted by W.

² "Longum...ludibrio" omitted by W.

³ Section 14 omitted by W.

glacie refertas in quibus animæ quasi capita animalium in superficie glaciæ apparentes horrido et intolerabili frigore cruciabantur. Caldariæ vero quæ in tertia platea locatæ fuerant aqua sulphurea bullienti et ceteris herbarum feculentis quæ foetorem teterrimum emittere solent cum horribili fumo repletæ erant, in quibus omnibus animæ in foetore luxuriæ vitam terminantes specialiter torquebantur. Quarta platea continebat caldarias aqua salsissima ac nigerrima plenas, cujus aquæ austeritas ex sua salsedine quodlibet lignum cum cortice ibidem immersum confestim decorticaret. In his autem caldariis multitudo peccatorum, homicidarum, furum, rapacium, veneficarum mulierum, nobilium, qui homines suos injustis exactionibus violenter opprimebant, indesinenter bulliebat. Animæ vero assiduæ bullitionis intolerabilem cruciatum effugere aliquo modo cupientes, a ministris Tartarcis undique astantibus cum furcis et fusciniis ferreis et candentibus introrsum impellebantur. Notandum autem quod illi qui in ferventi pice per vii dies bullierant in viii^o die in frigus illud horridum, quod in secunda platea erat, deponebantur, et e converso illi qui conceiati erant in frigore ponebantur in bullienti liquamine. Similiter illi qui in salsa aqua bullierant in foetoribus cruciabantur et e converso. Has vero mutationum vicissitudines semper per octonos dies observabant. Præterea¹ illi qui in sedibus aculeatis residebant sicut jam diximus omni quarta feria his ferventibus liquoribus profundebantur. Omnia enim quæ ibidem gerebantur dæmon sancto Dominico audiente viro illo exposuit.

(16.) Quomodo reversi sunt ad basilicam Sanctæ Mariæ et qualiter profecti sunt ad montem dei. Cum theatrale ludibrium jam fuisset completum, et cruciatorum adauctum esset supplicium, reversi sunt ambo sancti cum viro sæpius memorato, quem secum adduxerant ad tam horrendi spectaculi genus, illucescente aurora dominicæ diei, diverteruntque ad basilicam beatæ Mariæ ubi erat animarum congregatio. De² distinctionibus horarum au[t] termino diei vel noctis vir ille ignorabat nisi a ductore edoctus. Ingressis igitur basilicam accepit sanctus Dominicus aspersorium suum et intinguens in aquam benedictam aspersit omnes animas candidas quæ infra basilicam jam convenerant, et candidiores ex aspersione reddebantur. Deinde per³ viam gramineam incedentes quæ protendebatur orientis tramite usque ad montem gaudiî perrexerunt per ignem purgatorium et per stagnum ac per pontem aculeis obsitum de quibus superius mentionem fecimus, perveneruntque usque ad atrium quod erat in occidentali parte predicti templi quod situm erat in monte, eratque porta quædam speciosa atque amplissima semper patens in occidentali fronte ipsius templi, per quam introducebantur a sancto Michael animæ ex toto candidatæ. In atrio vero predicto congregabantur animæ expiatæ quæ sub magno expectationis desiderio felicem illius ecclesiæ introitum præstolebantur.

(17.) De animabus quæ erant in australi parte domus. Cumque antem sanctus Michael plurimas ex numero candidarum introduxisset animas, deduxit virum illum quem sanctus Julianus secum adduxerat in australem partem templi exterius, ubi innumeras conspiciatur animas quæ omnes versis vultibus ad ecclesiam cum magnæ fatigationis expectatione suffragium viventium amicorum desiderabant per quod

¹ "Præterea...exposuit" omitted by W.

² "De distinctionibus...reddebantur" omitted by W.

³ "per viam...tramite" omitted by W.

adipisci mererentur eternæ felicitatis introitum. Et quanto specialius adjuvabantur parentium seu amicorum suffragiis tanto vicinius templo efficiebantur et ad introitum approximabant. In hoc loco plures de notis et amicis suis necnon et parrochianis recognovit, necnon et illos quorum noticiam vel leviter in sæculo habuerat. Ibi¹ etiam vidit Rogerum Picoth quondam dominum suum existere qui ideo ab introitu templi illius arcebatur quod xl denarios ex mercede mercenariorum suorum adhuc vivens non persolverat et quendam annum redditum, quem canonicis sanctæ Osithæ debebat, retinuerat. Mandavitque Willelmo filio suo et heredi quatinus omni tergiversatione postposita debitum quantocius persolveret ne ulterius optata requie suspenderetur.

(18.) De quodam monacho qui subito exspiraverat.² Ibidem etiam recognovit quendam monachum ejusdam vicinæ domus qui e pueritia usque ad senectutem pie et laudabiliter in religione, quantum ad humanum arbitrium spectat, semper conversatus fuerat. Hic autem cum quodam cive Londoniensi ad quandam grangiam pro utilitate domus suæ profectus ac inedia diutini jejunii fatigatus quædam cibaria complexioni suæ incongrua et ægritudini quæ frequenter laborare solebat contraria absque potu cum predicto Londoniensi aliquantulum intemperantius sumpsit et statim hora meridiana in lecto se collocans obdormivit et in ipso sopore spiritum subito exhalavit, civis vero ille citius morbidus effectus vix mortem evasit. Sed super monachi subitaneo interitu diversi diversas protulere sententias. Veruntamen commonsalis sui cita ægritudo et nigrorum apostematum per corpus eruptio magis attestantur monachum fuisse extinctum ex violenta invasione illius nocivi humoris, quo antraces fieri subito solent et quemlibet extinguunt, quam ex animadversione ultionis divinæ. Hic vero jam ab omnium pœnalia locorum cruciati extorris præstolabatur cum magno desiderio introitum eternæ felicitatis, quem adipisci non tam velociter poterat nisi per suffragium xl missarum, archangelo hoc intimante. Siquidem sanctus Michael de singulis animabus quas ibidem cernebat et quarum noticiam habebat viro illo intimabat quot missarum suffragiis unaquæque anima potuit ab illa diutina expectatione liberari ac ingressum templi adipisci. Animæ vero quæ ibidem expectando subsistebant nulla alia pœnalitate afficiebantur nisi quod diutina expectationis fatigue ab introitu templi suspendebantur, præstolantes aliquod speciale suffragium, quamvis omnes de die in diem approximant ad januam ecclesiæ et paulatim magis ac magis dealbentur per generalia totius ecclesiæ suffragia.

(19.) De animabus quæ erant in aquilonari parte templi.³ Eductus ille nimium sollicitus de patre et matre sua videnda a sancto Michaelæ audivit ut diligenter perscrutaretur sicubi inter reliquos patrem aut matrem in illa australi plaga posset reperire. Quibus non inventis deduxit eum in aquilonarem partem templi ubi erat multitudo copiosa nimis procumbens super acutissimos silices, et frigus horridum, quod ab aquilone veniebat, patiebantur. Omnes autem hærentibus in terram vultibus et manibus ad templum protensis super ventres et genua procumbebant. Sed vir ille aliquos ex his minime noscere potuit, propter vultus ad terram demissos, donec archangelus omnes a terra surgere fecit ac sursum erectos in pedibus stare jussit. Quorum vultus

¹ "Ibi etiam vidit Rogerum Picoth" to end of *Section 17* omitted by W.

² *Section 18* omitted by W.

³ *Section 19* omitted by W.

vir ille discernens inter alios patrem suum deprehendit nimia macie et horrido squalore per omnes artus tabefactum. In tantum ejus effigies terribilis ac deformis visa est, ut ipse testatur quod timorem et horrorem multis milibus populorum hujusmodi effigiem in presenti intuituum incutere posset. Pater vero filium quem genuerat recognoscens fatetur se pro fraude subdola mercimoniorum quam aliis intulerat tantam ac tam diutinam sustinuisse pœnam. Archangelus autem viro dixit, quatinus triginta missas pro patris liberatione celebrari faciat, demumque duas partes predicti numeri illi remittit quia pauper erat. Quod ille gratanter annuens et tot missarum celebrationem fideliter spondens mox beatus Michael animam patris, filio cernente eamque comitante, in templum illud gloriosum introduxit. Plures alios quos hic cognoverat in illo pœnali loco recognovit et quot missis expiari poterant angelo docente didicit. Recognovit ibidem conversum cujusdam religiosæ domus qui in multis ordinis transgressor sæpius extiterat quem posse didicit liberari per xl missarum celebrationem. Matrem vero suam nusquam reperire poterat nec aliquem de ejus statu habere certitudinem.

(20.) De templo in monte gaudii sito. Introductus autem vir ille in templum a sancto Michael conspexit ibidem multo utriusque sexus quos in sæculo viventes cognoverat. Omnes candidi fuerant qui in templum illud conscendebant ac magno felicitatis gaudii fruebantur. Et quanto magis per gradus templi superius versus orientalem frontem ascendebant, tanto candidiores ac nitidiores efficiebantur. Multæ præclaræ mansiones in illa magna domo videbantur in quibus mansitabant justorum animæ, nive candidiores, quorum vultus et coronæ velut aurea luce rutilabant. Singulis diebus per nonnullas horas cantica de cœlis audiunt velut si omnia musicorum instrumentorum genera concordi melodia simul concrepant. Quæ cœlestis armonia in templum illud a cœlis demissa ita omnes quadam suavitatis dulcedine interius demulcet ac refovet ac si omnium ferculorum deliciis reficerentur. Illi vero qui exterius in atriis templi assistebant nullum sonum de hoc ecclesti concentu merebantur audire. In hac autem domo plurimi sanctorum quasi propria habebant domicilia, ubi suos sibi specialiter post deum in aliquo famulantes feliciter recipiebant, quos postmodum ante conspectum dei præsentaturi erant.

(21.) De animabus in stagno constitutis.¹ Post hæc vero sanctus Michael deduxit virum usque ad stagnum superius memoratum ubi animæ expiandæ post purgantis incendii invasionem immergebantur. Quo pervenientes reperiunt animas in locis et in gradibus sibi deputatis astantes totamque aquam a stagno fuisse dilapsam omnemque laci illius superficiei profunditatem ab omni humore velut pavementum alicujus ecclesiæ desiccata et mundatam. Sanctus enim Uriel angelus, qui interpretatur ignis dei, sicut sanctus Julianus viro narravit, erat custos ignis purgatorii superscripti necnon et istius stagni, custodiebatque predicta pœnalia loca ab incursione malignorum spirituum ne animas in his pœnis constitutas in aliquo possint infestare aut pœnas eorum exaggerare. Qui sanctus angelus qualibet die sabbatorum post horam nonam aperit quendam aquæ ductum omnemque aquam a stagno dimittit quatinus animæ infra stagnum a cruciati aquæ frigidissimæ et salissimæ ob reverentiam dominicæ diei usque ad exortum diei lunæ efficiantur immunes, illucescente aurora secundæ

¹ Section 21 omitted by W.

feriæ alium aquæductum ab aquilone reserat ac statim aqua influente repletur stagnum usque ad summum, animabus in gradibus sibi deputatis per ordinem consistentibus. In hoc pœnali loco plurimos, quos in carne degentes conspexerat, recognovit. De quibus etiam per sanctum Michaelē certificatus est quot missis unus quisque a tanto cruciati liberari potuit. Quidam enim per quingentas missas, sicut Robertus de Clivelande quem in aquæ profunditate recognovit, alii per ducentas, alii per centum et quadraginta, prout unus quisque in profundo aquæ immergebatur. Duos etiam conversos ibidem conspexit quorum noticiam habuerat qui per ducentas quadraginta missas expiari poterant. Tantæ eorum pœnalitatis vir ille causam scire desiderans audivit a sancto Michaelē iccirco eos hujusmodi pœnis detineri quia proprium pariter et alienum confregerant jugum. Qualiter vero hoc sit intelligendum norunt illi qui eorum secreta per confessionem noverunt. Quanta autem sit divinæ pietatis circa delinquentes clementia quantaque virtus confessionis in extremis, etiam si insufficienter sit edita, in hoc articulo perpendi potest, quod viro huic et transgressorum pœna et causa, non tamen transgressionis genus in modo et qualitate peccati, sit detectum, quatinus et reorum pœna manifestata per sodalium suffragia expiaretur et reatus qualitas per infamiam non detegeretur.

(22.) De primo parente sub arbore quiescente. Redeuntes ergo a stagno perrexerunt ad orientalem plagam predicti templi, ubi in quodam loco amœnissimo et splendido herbarum et florum varietate, arborum et fructuum redolentia referto, conspicatus est fontem lucidissimum, quæ ex se quatuor rivulos diversi liquoris et coloris scaturiebat¹ qui tandem in unum fluvium coierunt. Super hunc fontem exitit arbor pulcherrima miræ magnitudinis, immensæ proceritatis, quæ omnigenum fructuum abundantia ac specierum redolentia ubertim affluebat. Sub² hac arbore prope fontem requiescebat homo quidam venustæ formæ ac gigantei corporis eratque a pedibus usque ad pectus quodam vestimento varii coloris mirabili pulchritudine intexto indutus. Ex uno oculo videbatur ridere et altero lugere. "Hic" inquit Sanctus Michael "est primus parens humani generis scilicet Adam, qui per unum oculum ridentem innuit lætitiā quam habet de filiorum suorum salvandorum ineffabili glorificatione et per alium lacrimantem portendit tristitiā de filiorum suorum damnandorum reprobatione. Vestimentum, quo tegitur, sed nondum ex toto, est stola immortalitatis et vestis gloriæ qua spoliatus fuit in primaria prævaricatione. De hoc autem potes satis instrui a viris litteratis.

¹ W. reads "emittebat", and omits "qui tandem... coierunt".

² The corresponding description in Gunthelm's *Vision*, as given by Helinand of Froimont (see Migne's *Patrologia Lat.*, tom. 212, col. 1062) is as follows: "Cumque novitius vellet pausare juxta fontem, duxit eum angelus ad aliam arborem miræ altitudinis et pulchritudinis super [*sic*, subter ?] qua erat homo pulcherrimus et prægrandis staturæ quasi gigas, vestitus veste diversorum colorum a pedibus usque ad pectus. 'Hic est', inquit angelus, 'primus pater humani generis protoplastus Adam, per sanguinem Jesu Christi Filii Dei redemptus. Vestimentum ejus est vestis illa gloriæ, qua spoliaverat eum humani generis inimicus per transgressionem divini mandati. Ab Abel filio suo primo justo cœpit ipse recuperare vestem suam per bona opera filiorum suorum et filiarum. Quando totus vestitus erit, erit sanctorum numerus consummatus et finem habebit sæculum.'"

Nam a primo Abel justo filio suo usque nunc cœpit recuperare paulatim hanc vestem per totam filiorum suorum justorum successionem, et sicut variis virtutibus in vita mortali electi enituerunt, ita quoque hæc vestis vario virtutum colore picturatur. Cum vero completus fuerit numerus electorum filiorum tunc ex toto vestiatur Adam stola gloriæ et immortalitatis sicque finem mundus sortietur.

(23.) De conspectu trium Sanctarum virginum. Ex hoc tandem loco paululum progredientes pervenerunt ad portam speciosissimam lapidibus preciosis et gemmis ornatam. Murus in circumitu¹ quasi aureus choruscabat. Statim ut portam intraverunt apparuit quoddam templum aureum multo magnificentius priori in omni pulchritudine et suavitatis dulcedine ac chorscantis luminis splendore ita ut nullius jocunditatis aut amoenitatis reputaret loca prius visa ad hujus loci respectum. Cunque hujus templi pavementum in ipso introitu vix attigisset, conspexit in una parte a latere quandam ædiculam mirabili decore refulgentem, in qua residebant tres sacræ virgines et martyres mirabili scemate et inedicibili pulchritudine rutilantes. Hæ autem fuerunt sicut, ab archangelo edoctus est, Sancta Katerina ac sancta Margareta sancta quoque Ositha martyr et virgo. Cum autem illas nimis² desideranter contemplaretur earum venustatem admirando, confestim sanctus Michael ait beato Juliano, "Redue festinanter virum hunc ad corpus suum quia, nisi citius reductus fuerit, jam aqua frigida, quam nunc in os suum astantes moliuntur inicere, ex toto pernicioso interitu suffocabitur." His dictis continuo ad corpus proprium nesciens quo ordine reductus absque mora veluti in momento expergefactus est, atque in stratu suo residens "Benedicite" dixit,³ referens postmodum omnia quæ circa ipsum clementer gesta sunt, sicut in hac presenti pagina simplici eloquio ad simplicium eruditionem summatim descripsimus, qui plerumque in hujusmodi descriptis revelationibus magis in profectu virtutum proficiunt, quam ex perplexis et profundis theologiæ disputationibus.

¹ W. reads "per girum" instead of "in circumitu".

² "nimis desideranter" omitted by W.

³ "Benedicite dixit" to the end omitted by Wendover, who concludes with an account of the length of the trance, and of the declaration of the Vision, condensed from our *Introduction*. This conclusion occupies twenty-two lines in the Rev. H. O. Coxe's edition of *Rogeri de Wendover Chronica*, vol. iii (1841), p. 209; and seventeen lines in the Rev. H. R. Luard's edition of *Matthæi Parisiensis Chronica Majora*, published for the Master of the Rolls, vol. ii (1874), pp. 510-11.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 338.)

MONDAY, AUGUST 10, 1874.

THE Bristol Congress of the British Archæological Association was concluded on Monday by a series of exceedingly pleasant excursions in the most attractive part of Somersetshire. The members mustered at the Bristol and Exeter Station at 9.50 A.M., and travelled by ordinary train to Worle, where, on their arrival, they were taken up by several omnibuses, and driven through some four miles of charming country to Woodspring Priory.

The party having duly paid their admission fee, entered the grounds, and were conducted over the place by Mr. T. Blashill, who imparted a good deal of interesting information relative to the old building. Mr. Blashill's paper will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*. The church is still standing almost in its original state, though we cannot say it is applied to its original purpose, for the nave is inhabited as a dwelling house. The tower is a beautiful piece of architecture, and the interior vaulting was much admired. Mr. Blashill pointed out a building now used as a stable; but some difference of opinion existed as to its former use, some authorities believing it to be the infirmary, while others thought it was the abbot's house. In another portion of the grounds was the Priory barn in a very fine state of preservation; and it was pronounced by many of the visitors to be among the finest specimens of its class. Mr. Blashill gave an interesting historical account of the place, associating it with the murderers of Thomas à Becket, and said that at the dissolution the value of the property of the Priory was put down at £87:2:7. An examination of the present building showed that at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century the canons undertook the rebuilding of the place. The existing remains were chiefly of the Tudor style.

Some discussion ensued as to whether the building called the infirmary was in the Tudor or Perpendicular style. Mr. Blashill said the only early part of the place he could discover was a capital of the early part of the twelfth century, before the monks were moved there.

After partaking of cider with Mr. Petheridge, who occupies the nave

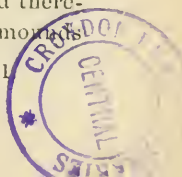
of the Priory church as a dwelling-house, the party had another drive of several miles to Worle Hill, where they alighted, and ascended the Hill by St. Kew's Steps,—a very curious and ancient flight of stone steps. On arriving at the top, the Rev. Prebendary Searth said the whole of the lower part of the road, and all the lower portion of the country before them, was once under water. The Channel was now only kept back by the artificial banks which he pointed out, and all the low-lying land behind it was previously under water. They could see, from the shape of it, that it was an estuary, and the probability was that there was an anchorage at the bottom of the steps by which merchandise was brought up. They were called St. Kew's Steps; but whether they had any connexion with St. Kew was another matter, and one which he could not decide. There was a Welsh word "*keweh*", which sounded very much like Kew, and which meant *a boat*; and Kew-Stoke might, therefore, have derived its name from merchandise having been brought up there by water.

Proceeding onwards, the party had a long walk through a thick wood, and the overhanging brambles which spread thickly over the narrow pathway were a sore trial to the ladies. Fortified, however, by the magnificent scenery they had just witnessed from the top of the hill, and the anticipation of the pleasures before them, they marched bravely forwards. They came at length to a deep ditch which the Rev. Prebendary Searth described. He said they were then on their way to the camp, and formerly this ditch formed a sort of enclosure for the cattle of the residents. There was a series of such enclosures, one behind the other; and in case of an attack, the residents, if repulsed at one point, would drive the cattle to the next enclosure, and so on until (if necessary) they would fall back upon the camp itself.

Mr. Nicholls pointed out that the approach to these places from the ravine was guarded by a number of pits thrown up in a similar manner to that in which riflemen in the present day might throw them up. They were breast high, and always towards the point from which an enemy would ascend. There was no doubt that these pits were formed to protect that part of the camp.

The visitors walked on for about half a mile through pleasant foot-paths until they came to the outer fortifications of the camp, which are amazing works of their kind. Having scaled half a dozen stone ramparts, a halt was called, and Prebendary Searth explained that the excursionists had passed the cattle-enclosures, and had come to "half-moon" fortifications¹ which cut off the eastern from the western portion of the hill. They had passed five or six consecutive half-circles of a rampart and ditch. This was the weakest part of the camp, and therefore had been most strongly fortified for defending it. In the morning

¹ These are not the "half-moon" structures mentioned at p. 271.



they had passed they saw nothing but the stones that had been thrown up out of the ditch ; but they had to pass over a mass of irregular, broad walls which varied from 10 feet to 100 feet in thickness. These walls were originally built of loose stones of all shapes, put together without cement, and were built with perpendicular facings. In the course of time and the natural decay, the upper part of the walls had toppled over, and now presented vast, irregular piles ; but there were numerous portions still remaining which showed the original frontage, some of which he pointed out. The party having ascended with great difficulty the last and highest of these astonishing relics, the reverend gentleman pointed to the landscape before them, one of striking beauty. He pointed out to them Brean Down, Clevedon, the church at Uphill, and the Roman road over the Mendips, on the summit of which there was formerly a complete system of camps extending from the Bristol Channel to Old Sarum and Southampton. The camp they were then in was, perhaps, one of the most curious of its kind. There were similar camps in Brittany, in Wales, and, he had no doubt, in Ireland ; but this was probably the most ancient of its kind, and the strongest in England. It was believed that it existed before the Roman occupation, and that the Romans drove away the British, or placed them under tribute, as they did the people in the Mendip Hills. In later times the Romano-British occupants seem to have been driven out by the Saxons, because Saxon weapons had been dug out of the hut-circles. The approaches to the camp, all along the side of the hill, were guarded by platforms just large enough to hold two or three slingers who could harass an approaching enemy, and retire within the walls as he advanced. These platforms had been carefully examined, and there could be no doubt that was the purpose for which they were used.

Mr. J. F. Nicholls said that in corroboration of what the reverend Prebendary had said, he might tell them that he had examined three of these platforms himself, and had found close by them several small round pebbles which were in all probability the ammunition used by the slingers. He had searched everywhere else for them, but had not been able to discover any except by these platforms.

The party then proceeded into the interior of the camp, and numerous pits, looking more like wells than anything else, were pointed out as the places in which the original inhabitants dwelt. Prebendary Scarth said they had never been counted, the camp being now so thickly covered with trees, but he estimated their number at from two hundred to three hundred. They were extremely narrow, and this fact elicited the remark that they had the advantage of not requiring much furniture. Mr. Nicholls' says of these pits : "Up to the year 1851

¹ In his interesting little work, *Pleasant Trips out of Bristol*.

the great number of these curious concavities, shallow pit-pans in the surface of the limestone rock, had arrested attention and inquiry, especially before the hill was planted with trees, which is within these forty years. In that year certain archæologists opened a number of these depressions, and found them all to be of one character. Not far from the ditch, which separates the keep from the fortress city, is one differing in form, being square, with a round well-like opening of dry masonry in its bottom; this commences three feet six inches below the surface, and is about twenty-four inches deep, and four feet three inches in diameter. Now, just within the masonry of this well, three skeletons were found, lying almost across each other, doubled up, as though thrust into the opening by violence. One of these had two clean cut gashes at the base of the skull, evidently inflicted with a sharp clean cutting implement, such as the short Saxon sword. Another had a huge stone still embedded in the fractured skull, and the collar-bone driven forcibly up into the arch of the jaw; the third had the left thigh wounded, and an iron spearhead was sticking in the vertebral column. In the grassy sod close by Roman coins were found in considerable numbers, whilst other pits contained occasional skeletons, broken pottery, beads, spearheads, a short sword or dagger, etc. Slain in defence of the spot, the bodies had evidently been hastily tumbled into these pits, and rudely covered over with stones; the farmers, who in after ages folded their sheep on the hill, filling the cavities, to save their flocks from accident."

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth has, since the visit, laid his written account of the camp before the Association, and it has been printed at pp. 266-275 of the *Journal*.

Having thoroughly examined this wonderful monument of bygone ages, and pronounced it to be the finest camp they had ever seen, the visitors walked on to Weston-super-Mare.

The parting luncheon was served in the Town Hall, Weston-super-Mare, to which about fifty ladies and gentlemen sat down. Mr. E. Roberts presided, and on the removal of the cloth he said no one who had been round the encampment that day could fail to feel very grateful to Prebendary Scarth for the great pains he had taken to show them everything worth seeing, and for the vast amount of information he had imparted. On behalf of the Association he tendered Mr. Scarth their best thanks. They had also to tender their thanks to Mr. Reynolds, the local secretary, for the great pains he had taken to make the Congress a success.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth said he need not tell them it had been a great pleasure to him to be of service to them, and to take them round what he considered to be one of the most interesting monuments in England. His acquaintance with the camp had been long, for he

used to go over it when under examination by Mr. Warre, who gave much attention to it, and who had left a plan of it. He only regretted that the time allowed for visiting the camp was so short, as there were many things which might have been shown and spoken upon, for probably of all the monuments that could be found it was the most interesting and most ancient. Since Mr. Warre called his attention to it, he had examined other places in England and elsewhere, but he had never seen any camp with more prominent features. He hoped that in the progress of building which they saw going on all around, that camp might not be destroyed, like the one on Leigh Down near Clifton. That had now been pretty well covered with villas, and its three ramparts taken away to make the approaches. He hoped the day would never come when the Worle Hill camp would be destroyed. He thought that the most interesting feature of a camp was that it showed the growth of the nation. In going over that place, and contrasting the condition of its primeval inhabitants with the present occupants of Weston, they saw the progress that had been made, and such monuments ought to be guarded with the greatest care. One of the great objects of societies like their own was to prevent the destruction of such monuments, and he hoped this would be preserved among other ancient relics as an indication of the national growth. He hoped that some day he might have the pleasure of showing them over the camps on the Mendips. The Association had paid a visit to the western part of England, and had seen something of what they had to show them; but they had not seen all; they had only seen a small portion. They had seen some fine church towers, but there were finer ones to show them. He hoped they would meet the same happy faces next year in Cornwall, and that they would there meet with the same hospitable reception they had had in Bristol.

Mr. J. Reynolds also returned thanks.

The Chairman proposed "The health of Mr. Blashill", who had shown them over the Priory at Woodspring. He also gave "The health of the Ladies."

Mr. G. R. Wright returned thanks in a humorous speech, and after a few remarks from Mr. A. Kinglake, the party resumed their journey.

Banwell Church was next visited, and the visitors were greatly delighted, especially with the beautiful rood screen.

A pleasant drive brought the party to Axbridge Church. Mr. Roberts described the building, which he said is a fine cruciform structure of no very great date, but in the most dirty, desolate condition that one can imagine. Several of the windows are just on the point of falling to pieces; only the glass seems to hold them together. The pews are the worst he had ever seen. The altar is disfigured by an erection that would make a shabby summer-house front. A wretched

organ loft stands over the western entrance, and a heavy sounding-board over the pulpit threatens the incumbent with a sudden end every time he mounts its stairs.¹

Yet there are good features; indeed, properly restored it would be a grand old church. There is a good south porch, and, strange to say, a western entrance close by. It has two aisles, and transepts, with a short chancel. One of the pillars of the chancel stands on a slab of Purbeck marble, having a foliated cross in each corner. There is a turret for a staircase outside the church; also a staircase in the first chancel pillar to the roodloft, which was inside, or the chancel side. In the other pillar is a squint. A handsome brass to Roger Harper and his wife in robes of the fifteenth century (date 1493). Other brasses (formerly on an adjoining stone) of a couple praying to the Virgin in Heaven, have been stolen. The roof of the central tower has the fine fan groining of the county style. In its centre is the round hole by which the bells were hoisted into place; and through the fan nearly above the pulpit, descend the ropes of two of the bells, so that parson or clerk can if they please, almost without leaving their seats, toll the bell. There are many incised stones of the seventeenth century, and a bier having on it the date of 1654.

The church book, carefully kept, has in it the parish accounts from 1573. Two pictures on panel were shown as great curiosities, being found under the lead on the roof. There is a very old picture, part of a Triptych, thoroughly Archaic in character; it is of our Saviour, and, strange to say, is a Palimpsest, if the word is applicable to a painting on panel, for the figure is evidently painted over an inscription: the effigy is older than the church, and the writing perchance a century earlier than that. The oaken roof of the aisles is good, and shows traces of colour in good taste; the roof of both the nave and chancel has been judiciously restored. Mr. Roberts firmly but courteously pointed out the condition of the building to the incumbent and some of the townsmen, and begged them to burn the pews and to conserve so fine a building. The tower, we should have said, is good. In the upper story is an arcade of three arches, with the centre one only pierced.

A hasty visit to the romantic gorge of Cheddar and its picturesque cavern was made; and then, after a somewhat lengthened ride, the party returned to Bristol at 10.40 p.m.

¹ The church is now in process of restoration under good auspices.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11 (EXTRA DAY).

Although the proceedings of the Congress terminated, strictly speaking, on Monday, some of the members determined to avail themselves of the opportunity which the visit of the Association to Bristol afforded them of having a peep at the beauties of Chepstow and Tintern. Accordingly they organised an extra day's excursion for that purpose, and it took place on this day. About eighty ladies and gentlemen proceeded thither yesterday morning *via* the South Wales Union Railway. The rain came down in heavy showers in the morning, but romantic Tintern and the lovely Wye offered such temptations as few could resist. It was a general desire to visit the solitary aisles of Tintern and the gloomy walls of Chepstow. Some were so ardent that they crossed the Severn by the first boat, and reached Chepstow almost before the main body of the party had risen. There was something to be seen at Magor, where some gaunt ruins suggest a monastic house, but of this nothing is known.

Chepstow is world-renowned as the great citadel on the Wye. Its grey towers have long been famed as the historic home of the Fitz-Osbornes and the De Clares, and on the weather-beaten tower of the old church some of the earlier work of the Norman masters of the castle can be seen. Its deeply recessed doorway and carved arcade beneath the tower were much admired, but there was too much of the restorer's hand visible in the rest of the church to attract much attention from an archæological eye. When the castle was reached it was found to be the scene of festivity, for the Duke of Beaufort had thrown it open to a gay party from Cheltenham, who made its walls ring with revelry and laughter. They had no thought of the memories of the place. They hardly knew that this was the home of Strongbow, who subdued Ireland. That it was once in the possession of the Bigods, who even in feudal times could beard the sovereign in his palace. Here Edward II met his faithful Despencers, and from hence he sent the elder to guard the town and castle of Bristol, which was soon taken, and the Despencer hanged within its precincts. Edward could see from here the site of Berkeley Castle, in which his own unhappy life was ended in the following year. Here Henry of Richmond found a home until he could escape to France, and here the weak and beautiful Elizabeth Woodville sojourned. One tower has memories of Jeremy Taylor, another was long the prison of Henry Marten the regicide. The Castle underwent more than one siege during the civil wars, and the present knocker attached to the battered old gate appears to be a portion of a chain-shot of the period. On passing through the portals, the portcullis-groove and the

openings for pouring missiles on the heads of the besiegers first strike the eye. The long slits were for the longbowmen, and the cross openings were for the crossbowyers. The early date of the great entrance-towers was shown by the absence of stone machicolations on the summits of the towers. The Castle itself stands on a bold escarpment of limestone rock, above the Wye, and possesses four baileys or wards, all defended with consummate skill, and wrought with the greatest strength. The fine proportions of the central hall, and the beauty of its Early English mouldings, the elegance of the windows, as well as the general plan of the Castle, were duly commented on. There are but few castles which illustrate to a greater extent the science of mediæval fortification.

After luncheon at the Beaufort Arms the party made their way, in a long procession of carriages, along the Wye, and climbing the lovely Wind Cliff to Tintern, had an opportunity of again observing the fine eye for natural beauty which marked the Cistercian monks. Whilst revelling amongst these romantic ruins, occasion was taken to discuss Mr. Edmund Sharpe's theory with respect to the *Domus Conversorum*, a point earnestly discussed at the Ripon Congress. Opinions were divided on the subject, and it will probably be the theme of a paper at one of the ordinary meetings of the Association. The great patrons of Tintern were the owners of Chepstow, or Strigul as it was called. The monks were good farmers, yet there are indications that so beautiful an Abbey was by no means rich. It fell, at the dissolution, into the hands of the ancestors of the Beauforts, and in their loving care it still remains. There is but little history attached to Tintern. Its memories are poetic and picturesque, for Tintern is the gem of the beautiful Wye.

Shortly after Tintern Abbey was reached, Mr. Roberts gave a detailed description of the history and architectural remains of the Abbey, and read several extracts from Mr. J. Taylor's work on *Tintern Abbey*.

The party then returned by the same route, and reached Bristol in the evening, where the members finally separated, and the proceedings of the Bristol Congress were brought to a successful termination.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 17.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following associates were elected :

Lord Northwick, Northwick Park, Moreton in the Marsh
 Thomas Byrmand Trappes, Stanley House, Clitheroe
 Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, M.A., St. Peter's, Newlyn
 John Brinton, Moor House, Stourport
 Walter Money, Herborough House, Newbury
 Charles Burlinghame, Bridge House, Evesham
 Courtenay C. Prance, Hatherley Court, Cheltenham
 W. W. Green, Bristol
 J. C. Cox, Chevin House, Belper
 C. W. Dymond, Penalt, Weston-super-Mare
 Dr. Bush, Bristol
 Rev. W. de Bentley, Bengeworth, Evesham
 C. Martin, 4, Portland Place, W.
 Herbert New, Green Hill, Evesham, Hon. Secretary of the Association at the Evesham Congress
 Captain H. Josephs, 16, Queen Square, Bloomsbury

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents to the library of the Association :

- To the Society*, the Royal Archæological Institute, for Archæological Journal, Nos. 125, 126, 127, vol. xxxii.
- „ „ Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, Nos. 21 and 22, vol. iii, Fourth Series.
- „ „ Archæologia Cambrensis, the Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association, Nos. 23, 24, Fourth Series.
- „ „ Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. xxvi.
- „ „ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Second Series, vol. vi, No. IV, 1875.
- „ „ Journal of the East India Association, vol. ix, Nos. 1, 2.

To the Society, Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. iv, Part I. London, 1875.

„ „ Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. Nouvelle Série. Copenhagen, 1873-4.

„ „ Eighth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology. Cambridge, Mass., 1875.

„ „ Verhandlungen des Vereins für Kunst und Alterthum in Ulm und Oberschwaben. Neue Reihe. Siebentes Heft. Ulm, 1875.

„ „ Bulletin of the Essex Institute, Massachusetts, vol. vi. Historical Collections. Parts 2, 3, 4, 1874; Part 1, 1875.

„ „ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. ix, Part 2; vol. x, Part 1. Edinburgh, 1873, 1874.

„ „ Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Mass., 1874.

„ „ Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Erforschung der Rheinischen Geschichte und Alterthümer in Mainz. Dritten Bandes, zweites Heft. Mainz, 1875.

To the Authors. Notice Historique sur Bouteilles, près Dieppe. Par D. Bourdet. Havre, 1875.

„ „ Handbook to Fairford Church and its Stained Windows. By J. P. [? Powell.] Fairford, 1875.

„ „ The Conquest of Wales, and other Poems. By Grace M. Barrow. London, 1875.

„ „ The Coinage of the Ancient Britons, and Natural Selection. By John Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A. London, 1875.

To the "Parnassus" Philological Society of Athens, for a collection of Transactions and other Publications in connexion with the Society.

Mr. E. P. Brock, Hon. Secretary, announced that an endeavour of the Association to rescue the spire of St. Antholin's, Friday Street, city of London, from impending destruction, had taken the form of a petition to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which would be presented without delay, and it was earnestly hoped that this interesting work of Sir Christopher Wren would not be destroyed.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a portion of a letter dated Sept. 27th, 1875, which he had received from Mr. Lionel Oliver, giving an account of a curious discovery of Roman remains a few miles from Walton in Norfolk. Mr. Oliver states that in excavating for the railway between Walton and Swaffham the men came upon "a pit lined with oak, 4½ feet square and 40 feet deep, containing a number of Roman vases laid in layers on leaves of nut-bushes, with a layer of stone on top of each layer. The urns had been placed there at different seasons of

the year, for they found nuts in different states of advancement, and on the top the nuts were in a perfect state. The urns did not appear to be cinerary vessels, and it is difficult to assign a cause for their being laid in the position in which they were found. The fosse of a camp could easily be traced in the adjoining fields; and where the cutting of the railway crossed the fosse, bones and teeth of animals, and wood, were discovered: in fact, I dug some out myself." Mr. Oliver's communication was accompanied by some pieces of the oak lining of the pit, and the tooth of a horse exhumed in the fosse.

Mr. Cuming said that the interesting account just read reminded him of a discovery recorded in the *Archæologia* (xxvii, p. 148), and which was made some forty years since in excavating for a sewer through Moorgate Street. The workmen there found a *puteus*, or pit, 20 feet deep, and nearly 3 feet square, boarded down the sides with planks from about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches in thickness, and in which were regularly packed on their sides *gutturnia*, *lugenæ*, and other terra-cotta vessels of much larger capacity, the whole being carefully planked over with thick boards. At the bottom of the pit lay the iron handle of a bucket, an iron boat-hook, and a coin of Allectus, who was killed in the year 297. This piece of money may, perhaps, indicate the date of the deposit. We have no evidence before us to determine why the Norfolk and London pits were constructed; but the question may be asked, Did they ever contain stores of wine, oil, or dried fruit, all of which had evaporated and perished centuries before the exhumation of the vessels?

With regard to the tooth, or rather portion of the tooth, submitted, Mr. Cuming pronounced it to be the first or mid incisor—or, to use the language of the veterinarians, a "centre nipper"—of a horse full eight years of age.

Dr. Kendrick sent for exhibition the lower half of a brass thurible discovered in a grave at Warcop, near Burgh, Westmorland. It is a hemisphere, $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. diameter at the mouth, with a low foot which, when perfect, was full $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch diameter; the bowl and base together measuring about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. At equal distances round the edge of the vessel project three loops to which the suspending chains were fixed. The upper part of the body is ornamented with an incised band of diagonal strokes, with two or three dots between each pair of strokes.

Mr. Cuming pointed out the resemblance between the specimen submitted and the thuribles given in our *Journal* (xix, p. 83) from a MS. attributed to the tenth or eleventh century. He, however, believed that the Warcop example could not be earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It may be added that the church of Warcop is of ancient foundation, and dedicated to St. Columba.

Dr. Kendrick also sent a fine original impression of the first great seal of King James I, in green wax, once appended to a document by plaited cords of red and white floss silk.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, Hon. Secretary, said that he had read a paper upon several examples in the British Museum and other libraries. The paper, with illustrations, appeared in the twenty-sixth volume of the *Journal*.

Mr. Loftus Brock exhibited three small pewter brooches recently recovered from the Thames. The largest is a pilgrim's sign representing King Henry VI with a stag at his feet; and for other *signacula* of this monarch, see *Journal*, xxiv, p. 228. A second pilgrim's sign is in the form of a crescent moon with a male personage reclining within it, —a very novel type. The third object is a cat, resembling the example described in this *Journal*, xxiii, p. 198. The one referred to has beneath it the words *VIS. IS. MV* (this is Mew). These three brooches are of late fifteenth century work.

Mr. Brock also exhibited an abbey piece of usual type, lent by the Rev. Josselyn Beck, rector of Bermondsey. It was recently found in the formation of the new Surrey Docks, formerly part of Rotherhithe Marsh.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, Hon. Secretary, read an extract from a letter of an associate, Mr. J. T. Irvine of Rochester, as follows: "During excavations made for the purpose of underpinning the north aisle-wall of the nave of this Cathedral, a portion of the early Norman Cathedral built by Bishop Gundulph has been laid open, extending westward from the west wall of the present great north transept nearly the space of four bays; the lower portions of three of his buttresses having been discovered standing perfect to a height of 3 feet, on the tops of which the plinths of the later Norman buttresses are placed, but not having quite the same centre lines. Gundulph's quoins, as always in his work, are of tufa; those of the later Norman always of Caen stone. Gundulph's wall had as a foundation a trench cut in the Saxon churchyard to a depth which, however, fell short of the brick earth which here everywhere overlies the flat 'lawn' or 'launch' on which the ancient Cathedral stood. This trench was filled in with about 2 feet 6 inches of chalk, on which two courses of ragstone footings were placed, about 11 inches in thickness, on which his wall was then built, and from which his buttresses rose at once, without any sort of plinth whatever,—a peculiarity found in his tower on the north side of the Cathedral; in the Castle wall at Rochester, next the river (also his); and in his work at Malling. We also found the foundation prepared at a later date for a western tower which had never been erected; so that probably, at one period, there had been the intention to have two western towers, but abandoned when the nave was completed, or at

least the present front was added. On the south side of the nave Gundulph would seem to have built his wall quite west to the staircase, but in this case without buttresses.

"I would also strongly urge those of our members who visit Rochester to have a look into the garden on the south side of the cloisters, the site of the old refectory built by Bishop Ernulph, part of whose wall remains; and also a most interesting and beautiful fragment of the vaulted passage to the refectory pulpit, a small part of which is Ernulph's, but the greater part of Pointed work. Also to a very beautiful piece of the Norman town wall of Rochester, to the south of the old East Gate, which can be seen from the gardens in Crow Lane, and to which that part built by the monks after 1290 joins on. These items, exceedingly interesting, are seldom or never seen by those who visit the town. The early town wall probably dates as far back as the time of Bishop Ernulph, though not his erection."

Mr. Birch stated that he had discovered among the MSS. in the British Museum a note in the handwriting of James West, the well known literary scholar and collector of the past century, showing that the portraits of the abbots of Evesham, painted on glass, had been purchased by him and placed in windows of the church of Preston-upon-Stour in Gloucestershire, not very far from Evesham. Of this church, J. West was the patron, and the patronage is still in the hands of the West family. The following is the note contained in the MS. :

"LANSDOWNE MS. 451.—This curious MS. was bought of old Mr. Fowler at Evesham, and formerly belonged to the Abbey, by Mr. Somers when a Councill on the Oxford circuit, and was afterwards bought by James West at St Joseph Jekyll's auction after his death: I purchased the fine *antiphonarium* which laid on that altar, and *the heads of some of the abbots of Evesham*, of the same person, who was a rigid Quaker. *The heads were painted on glass, and are in my church of Preston upon Stour in Gloucestershire.*—J. WEST."

Immediately on making this remarkable discovery, which was too late by only a few days space to be announced to the Congress then sitting at Evesham, Mr. Birch wrote to the Rev. H. Scriven, incumbent of Preston-upon-Stour, and received the following account of the present state of these interesting and unique portraits of abbots:—"I myself have no doubt that the heads alluded to are now in the windows of the chancel of my church. The north and south windows, somewhat small in size, consist of a number of apparently *portrait-heads*,—*some, without doubt, abbots*. I fancy the J. West mentioned by you bought the few, and had other heads (kings and queens apparently) painted to fill windows. The church was either rebuilt or restored to a great extent about 1745. Such is the date in the east window. I have no doubt as to the chancel being in the same state,

in all respects, now as then ; and J. West, grandfather of the present Squire, had the work done. I remember, some years back, asking Mr. J. R. West, the present Squire, if he had any record explanatory of the windows, and he said he had not."

Mr. Cuming made some graceful allusions to the loss recently sustained by the Association by the decease of Mr. Edward Roberts, F.S.A., who had filled the post of Honorary Secretary for many years, and had laboured continuously and successfully to improve the condition and enlarge the usefulness of the Association. Mr. Cuming also spoke of the decease of Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, F.R.S., and Vice-President of the British Archæological Association, with deep feelings of regret.

Mrs. J. Baily kindly forwarded for exhibition a statuette, in carved oak, of Sir John Falstaffe ; and Mr. Cuming exhibited some drawings and a stoneware jug illustrating the carving, and read a paper upon the object, which will find a future place among the records of the Association.

Mr. Loftus Brock, who had been elected during the recess to fill the vacant post of Honorary Secretary, gave an interesting account of a visit paid by several associates and others to a remarkable vault beneath the roadway of Oxford Street, and presented the following report of the proceedings on that occasion :

"THE SUBTERRANEAN CHAMBER IN OXFORD STREET.

"The discovery of an ancient chamber beneath the level of Oxford Street, almost immediately opposite Stratford Place, attracted much public attention in the autumn of this year ; and on investigation it proved to be a large reservoir for the collection of the water from the Marylebone springs for the supply of ancient London, and which had been arched over in brick and abandoned.

"This discovery was shortly followed by that of another chamber under the footway on the south side of Oxford Street, a short distance east of its junction with North Audley Street ; and statements were made of this having been constructed of thin Roman-like bricks, and of being a Baptistry. It had, however, been long known to the parochial authorities.

"Some members of the Association being desirous of examining the building, the Vestry of Marylebone with much courtesy granted leave, and had it cleared out for the examination of the party. It was found to be a small chamber measuring 11 feet 1 inch from west to east, and 9 feet 1 inch from side to side. The walls are of brick of a little smaller size than usual, of a dull red, 5 feet 7 inches high ; and the whole is arched over with a stone barrel-vault, being in shape a depressed semicircle, 8 feet 8 inches high from the floor to the crown.

The side-walls have on each side three small recessed niches with four centred arches chamfered ; and the chamfers are carried down to the sills, close to the floor-level. There are two other precisely similar niches in the west wall, facing the entrance. There are four small cavities, L-shaped on plan, as if for lamps, two being right and left of the niches of the west wall, and the others on each side of the entrance. The floor is paved with brick ; but is occupied to a great extent by a cistern extending quite up to the west wall, and which is 7 ft. 7 ins. by 5 ft. 5 ins. wide. This still contains water which seems to stand at an uniform level. One of the party sounded its depth. A bottom was felt at a depth of 7 ft. 6 ins, of which fully 3 ft. was water.

"The entrance is on the east, not in the centre of this side, and it is reached from the footway of Oxford Street by thirteen steps of brick on edge, a portion of which is covered by a semicircular stone arch, and the remainder by an iron trapdoor in two flaps, level with the pavement. The floor-level of the vault is 10 ft. below that of Oxford Street.

"The date of the building is somewhat difficult to determine ; but it is probably fully fifty years earlier than a date (1621) roughly scribbled, with other markings, on a plaster flat band which goes round the building as a sort of cornice beneath the arch. It is needless to add that nothing of Roman date was visible. The cistern was, doubtless, for the collecting of water from a spring ; and it is probable, from the ornamental appearance of the walls, that this dark chamber was in frequent use for obtaining small supplies of water by hand.

"The party, which was attended by Mr. Hallett, the Sub-Surveyor of the parish, separated after thanks had been expressed to the Vestry of Marylebone.

"Afterwards a stone tablet was inspected in the Marylebone Stone-yard. It is of Portland stone, tooled and broken into two. It is 4 ft. long and 3 ft. high, and covered with a chamfered capping, which shows that it stood apart from any wall. Three of the sides are plain, and the other is divided into three panels, the central one containing the arms of the city of London, with the date 1627 over it ; while in the panel below is a rough aperture, as if for the passage of a water-pipe. It most probably marked a water-supply, and was found about fifteen years ago, 11 ft. below the carriage-way in Oxford Street, between the Marylebone Court House and Duke Street, at some little distance from the vault."

Mr. W. de G. Birch read a paper by the Rev. M. E. C. Walcott, B.D., F.S.A., Precentor and Prebendary of Chichester, "On the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of the Cliff, Old Cleeve, Somersetshire", and exhibited two plans and a diagram of several very beautiful pavements and details, discovered by Mr. Walcott during excavations made

by him on the site of the Abbey by permission of the landowner, Mr. Luttrell of Dunster Castle.

Mr. Blashill desired that the liberality of Mr. Luttrell in allowing these discoveries to be prosecuted, and his good services to the cause of archaeological investigation, should not pass unrecorded.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1875.

T. MORGAN, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following distinguished gentlemen were elected honorary foreign associates, and the diplomas recording their election were signed :

M. Francisque Michel,

Chevalier J. de Silva, *President of the Royal Archaeological Society of Lisbon.*

The following Associates were elected :

Francis Brent, 19, Clarendon Place, Plymouth

Sir Robert Hamilton, Bart.

T. Rowley Hill, M.P.

Sir Lushington Tilson, Bart.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents :

To the Society, for the Canadian Journal, vol. xiv, No. 5. July, 1875.

„ „ the Powysland Club, for Collections Historical and Archaeological relating to Montgomeryshire and its Borders. Part XVII. October, 1875.

Dr. Kendrick sent for exhibition a cordiformed amulet of hematite, one inch and a half high, three-tenths thick, and one inch and one-tenth at its greatest breadth ; mounted with a gold clip and ring to enable it to be worn about the person.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming produced a pyriformed amulet of the same variety of peroxide of iron, measuring two inches and three-eighths in height, seven-tenths thick in the centre, its greatest breadth being one inch and eight-tenths, which was discovered many years since at Troy. The pointed end is slightly tooled, and drilled with a good sized aperture to permit the charm to be suspended. This nodule of ore may be regarded as a *lusus naturee*, for on either side is discerned what looks very like a nude standing figure, one of them having remarkably robust thighs resembling those of the Cyprian Aphrodite. Mr. Cuming said that the fantastic shapes assumed by hematite could not fail of attracting attention at an early period, and the semblance of humanity on either face of the Trojan amulet doubtless caused it to be highly prized in ancient times. The metal of which these pendants are formed

derived its ancient name of *hematites* from its blood-like hue ; and this sanguinolent aspect led to its adoption as a remedy in various diseases, and as a talisman against the mischances of life. Pliny is diffuse on the virtues of hematites. He acquaints us, in his *Historia Naturalis* (xxxvii, 60), that it is found in Arabia and Africa, but the finest kind is that of Ethiopia. He adds that the magicians affirm that this stone discovers to its possessor the treacherous designs of the barbarians ; and further tells us that Zachalias of Babylon, in his work on precious stones, dedicated to King Mithridates, extols the merits of hematites as a cure for eye and liver complaints, recommends it as ensuring the success of petitions addressed to monarchs, speaks of its efficacy in lawsuits and judgments, and declares it is highly beneficial to be rubbed with it on the battlefield. Who can say that Priam, Hector, Paris, Æneas, or their foes, Agamemnon, Achilles, Patroclus, Ajax, may not have been rubbed over with our Trojan amulet some time during the ten years' contest raised by the fair Helena.

Among the amulets in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh is a heart-shaped nodule of iron ore equipped with a band of copper forming a handle on which are incised letters, etc ; and it is contained in a small ebony casket partly covered with copper plates set with polished pebbles, and within the lid is a tablet of lead inscribed MADE BY GEORGE HEARIOT, and on a lozenge of copper is the date 1588. These two curious objects were exhumed together at Crockbet, in the parish of Carmichael, Lanarkshire, and the discovery tends to show how much the mineral was esteemed in North Britain in the days of James VI.

The tooling on the pendant submitted by Dr. Kendrick is indicative of considerable age ; but its gold mounting is certainly not over two centuries in date. And we must bear in mind that a superstitious belief in the talismanic virtues of the hematite still lingers in various countries ; and its success in staying hæmorrhage of the nose, when applied to the back of the afflicted person in like way as the street-door key is occasionally done, has aided in no small degree to keep alive a faith in the mysterious properties and powers of the "blood-stone".

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition a card of small objects exhumed in June 1868, on the site of the Eye Infirmary, Blomfield Street, Finsbury. Mr. H. Syer Cuming said the little group of relics now before the meeting was submitted with a view of showing at a glance how vast a period of time might be represented by a mere handful of tiny bits obtained from one small spot of ground, bits extending in date from that mysterious and undefined period known as the pre-historic down to about the middle of the eighteenth century. But the term bits must not be taken as implying worthless fragments, for on exami-

nation it will be found that the card contains objects of no trifling interest. The oldest of these mementoes of bygone times is a bone pin of a Britannie savage, wrought of the radius of a good sized bird, a perforation being made through its proximal end to enable it to be hung to the skin garment by a cord or thong in the same manner as the Maories were wont to attach bodkins to their woven mantles, for the purpose of closing them over the breast. This archaic pin is nigh 4 inches in length, and in perfect condition. Bounding over many centuries we arrive at the Roman era which is represented in the group before us by an iron *stylus*, but which has lost the little flat blade employed in smoothing the waxen tablets. The mediæval items are various in date and character. Among them is a stout lozenge-shaped stud of copper, measuring over $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. from point to point, and having a broad verge surrounding a large B, the field having been tooled out for the reception of enamel by the *champlevé* process. This curious thirteenth century stud has a strong peg at back, by which it was affixed to some piece of furniture. Next in age to the foregoing are two little ovate buckles of brass, with differently formed appendages to attach to leathern straps, probably of shoes, of the early part of the fourteenth century. A trace of military equipment exists in a white metal termination of a leathern sword belt, nearly 2 in. long by $1\frac{1}{8}$ in breadth, with its front engraved with a perpendicular band of stiff, foliated pattern, characteristic of the fourteenth century. The letter S, doubtlessly a portion of a collar of S's of the fifteenth century, is worthy of attention, from its exact resemblance to the initials on the collar surrounding the arms of John of Ghent, in the painted window formerly in the old cathedral of St. Paul's, of which a woodcut is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1842, p. 479. The ends of this pretty little silver letter are divided, so that the thing looks much like an *amphisbæna* with expanded jaws. It may be compared with the remains of the livery collar discovered at Brook Wharf, Queenhithe, in 1867, and mentioned in our *Journal*, xxiii, 282. Fully equal in age with the last specimen is a little cascabel of white metal, such as was attached to the legs of hawks by means of leather rings or *bewits*, as they are termed in *The Boke of Saint Albans*. Dort in Holland, and still more Milan in Italy, stood in high repute for the manufacture of hawks' bells. Another reminiscence of olden sporting comes to us in a whistle of white metal, which at first sight might be mistaken for a model of a banded cannon of the fifteenth century. It has two little loops in the place of trunnions, through which passed suspending links of wire. On December 9th, 1874, we were favoured with the sight of three religious relics from the same locality as the specimens before us, and to these we may now add what seems to be the terminal ornament of the limb of a crucifix, consisting of a sort of quatrefoil with a many-rayed star in

its centre. It is of thin cast pewter, and cannot differ much in date from the year 1500. Of about the same age as the fragment of the cross is the eye or loop of a book clasp of cast brass. The main portion is a rosette, the sunken details of which remind us of the empty sockets of a jewel. It has a sharp pointed stem to drive through the book cover and clench within it. The last objects calling for special notice are three portrait buttons. The smallest may be as early as the fourteenth century, and has its top and shank cast together of brass. The convex front has a diapered field on which is displayed a profile bust to the left with long hair. This, although the presence of a beard is doubtful, may still have been intended for the effigy of the Saviour. The remaining buttons are both of pewter, the one bearing the profile to the left of ANNA. D. G., the other a profile bust, in armour to the right, of Frederick King of Prussia, dividing the letters K.P. It must now be apparent that these few objects from a limited area are not simply the representatives of a long succession of ages, but also of many phases of human requirements. We have fragments appertaining to peace and war, honour and religion, costume, literature and sport, and though they be of small dimension they constitute a group illustrative of varying fashion, suggestive of thought, and impulsive of inquiry.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited two examples of what have hitherto been called the eyes or loops of book clasps, of neatly cast brass. The earliest is of the fifteenth century, and was recovered from the Thames in 1865. It consists of a shield with pearled edge, charged with three fleurs-de-lys, and ensigned with an open crown of three fleurs-de-lys, from which rises a square loop to receive the hook of the clasp. From the base of the shield projects a stem, the pointed end of which passed through the cover of the book and was clenched within it. The second specimen is of the sixteenth century, and was discovered at Queenhithe December 15th, 1866. It represents a rope or cord twisted into a three-looped knot with tasselled ends, with a bar crossing from one to the other to form the eye of the clasp. From the centre bow, and on the same plane with it, emanates a slender pointed stem to secure the object to the book cover.

Mr. Cuming said that some might probably wonder why he should think it worth while troubling them with so trifling a matter as the eye of a book clasp, and he would therefore tell them briefly his reason for so doing. He had by chance opened the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 250, and beheld to his surprise what at first sight appeared to be a woodcut of the relic from Queenhithe which was now before the meeting; but on reading the text he found it was a delineation of a specimen in the collection of his friend Mr. Fitch of Norwich. The two examples are of the same size, and seem to have been cast in the same mould for the same purpose, whatever that may have been. The

Journal referred to gives figures of two other "bronze hooks" of like kind, but of rather earlier date; the one found at Stretham, near Ely, has the sacred monogram in the centre of its disc-shaped body; the other exhumed at Diss, in Norfolk, has its body pierced with ten round holes. Mr. Fitch possesses four of these "hooks", discovered at Felixstowe and Dunwich, Suffolk, and the remarks on them in the *Institute Journal* winds up with these words: "The singularity of the objects now under consideration having been found *only* in East Anglia is worthy of notice." Mr. Cuming went on to say that so far from the presence of these "bronze hooks" being confined to East Anglia, he knew for certain that some had turned up in Kent, and that full a dozen of them had been found in London, and the meeting had at that moment three specimens before it, for besides those from the Thames and Queenhithe there was another in a group of relics exhumed in 1868 in Blomfield Street, and submitted by Mrs. Baily. In the account of the "hooks" in the *Archæological Journal* it is said that "the flat pierced head, through which a band or ribbon could be passed, shows that they must have been used for the suspension of a curtain or other object, probably for ecclesiastical purposes—the sharpness of the hook seems to oppose the suggestion of their having been used about the person." Mr. Cuming stated that such "hooks" as these had been show to him as portions of book clasps; and he could affirm that two or three had been obtained from the banks of the Thames with their stems passing through thin pieces of board and clenched to fix them in their place. All, however, he now contended for was that the objects in question had no special connection with East Anglia, but were not unfrequently brought to light in London.

Mr. Loftus Brock exhibited several fragments of enriched plaster ornaments, flowers and fruit, from the ceiling of an old house in Kennington Lane, recently pulled down to form a new road. They were remarkable for their beauty and for the great labour bestowed on their production, each of the leaves having been prepared and fixed separately, the result in the room being an appearance of great richness. The decorations were fixed between the heavy mouldings of the ceiling, and were of ordinary lime and hair with a large admixture of plaster of Paris. The house was known as "The Manor House", and was on the right hand side of Kennington Lane on coming from London, and exactly opposite Carlisle Chapel. Mansion House Street, nearly opposite, most probably derived its name from the building. It was a large lofty house of plain, dull red brickwork, three stories in height above basement, and slightly V-shaped on plan. The parapet was formed of plain battlements; and at one angle the walls were carried up somewhat higher than the rest, thus forming the appearance of a low tower. The entrance was in the centre, and the door had a large pro-

jecting half-round canopy of wood and plaster containing figures and scroll-work. The garden-entrance was similar. The history of the building is but little known. It appears never to have been a manor-house, and it was for many years used as a female industrial school. The style of the building showed that it had been erected in the early part of the seventeenth century. There is a local tradition that Charles I paid it several visits; and it is also said that two subterranean passages extend, one to the site of the stables of Kennington Palace or Manor-House, and another in the direction of Lambeth Palace. This building is not to be confounded with the old Manor-House of Kennington, the site of which is half a mile away from it. The entrance-gate, of ornamental ironwork, had the initials W. E. E. W. entwined. Many of the rooms were heavily panelled. A drawing showing the plan of the elaborate ceiling was also exhibited.

A very interesting discussion took place respecting this exhibition, in which Mr. H. S. Cuming and the Rev. S. M. Mayhew took part.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, in illustration of the paper on "Falstaff", read by H. S. Cuming, Esq., Nov. 17, exhibited a fine Burslem figure of Sir John Falstaff; also of recent London finds,—a Fulham jug ornamented with floral decoration in blue and grey, bearing the initials G. R., probably the Latin of William III, since Mr. Mayhew has seen, examined, and hopes to exhibit, an undoubted specimen of Fulham ware on which the portrait of that monarch is displayed; a jug of brown ware (seventeenth century) bearing three roughly modelled portraits between the handles; an earthen candlestick, green glaze (sixteenth century), with a bow handle; two large and finely iridescent pieces of Roman glass. As part of the fruit of an autumnal tour in the west of Ireland, Mr. Mayhew laid on the table three crucifixes in silver, of Irish work, and referable to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; also one of the rare, fine, and hereditary marriage-rings of the Claddagh, Galway. It is of solid gold, large and heavy, modelled with the cognisance of a heart crowned, borne by two hands; a cyathus of black Nola ware, found in a tumulus in the field of Cannæ by Richard Jones, Esq., of Newport, South Wales, whilst engaged on the system of Italian railways; also four tesserae, or discs of terra-cotta, fully described in a paper by Mr. Cuming. Suffice it to note that, apart from peculiar rarity, these objects may claim the office of pass-tickets, once enabling the Roman populace to receive certain measures of corn under the Clodian law.

Mr. Morgan read a paper by Dr. Wake Smart "On the Ancient Worship of Springs", which evoked much interest. The paper will be inserted in a future part of the *Journal*.

Mr. Morgan said "Dr. Wake Smart's interesting paper which you have just heard illustrates the ancient worship of springs by compar-

ing the discovery of one hundred and thirty-nine coins and seven fictile vases, and other remains, in the bed of a streamlet in Dorsetshire, with a somewhat analogous discovery of coins and votive offerings within the foundations of a temple at the sources of the Seine river, near Besançon; and Dr. Smart brings to bear upon the subject the knowledge handed down to us of this worship by the various classical authors which he has referred to. In our English find, the small size of the vases (the largest being only $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and the 'thumb-pots' only 3 inches) would favour the supposition that they were intended as offerings rather than for domestic use; yet the large quantity of *débris* of other vessels, out of which the seven only were found entire, throws some doubt about so large a collection of vessels being dedicated to the supposed purpose. Then, although the range of time over which the dates of the coins extend, would also favour the idea of a temple near the stream in which the coins might have been deposited, and preserved during the long period of two centuries and a half, yet this is not conclusive, as the older and better coins of the earlier emperors, from their great abundance and weight of metal, were hoarded up and put into circulation, or offered up at shrines long afterwards, and might as well have been deposited during the reigns of the Constantine family as at the time they were first current.

"There were but few coins of the earlier emperors. If we can fix the deposit of the coins at about the end of the fourth century, as suggested by Dr. Smart, this will also fix the date of the fictile ware, which is important, some chronological arrangement of *ollæ* being much needed, that of British, Roman, Saxon, and Norman, being far too vague and inexact.

"Then we have no remains recorded of a temple, but only know that the coins and vases were found in the bed of a river; the connexion, therefore, of the articles with the worship of the springs or nymphs is not so complete as in the example given of the "find" at the sources of the Seine, where eight hundred and thirty coins were actually in a vase within the foundations of a temple, which from its position might be taken for a Nymphæum, even if we had not the actual dedication which is inscribed on a stone, and the statues and *ex voto* offerings which prove it to have been a temple, etc. To the general observations of Dr. Smart on the worship of the nymphs of the springs I may add that the field where Ordgar, Earl of Devon, slices off the heads of deer, reminds me of that meadow recorded by an ancient author (*Codinus de origin. Constan.*), where the deer and fish fed in the same pastures:

Ἐνθ' ἰχθὺς ἐλαφὸς τε νομὸν βόσκεισι τὸν αὐτὸν,

where the two rivers Cydarus and Borbyzes unite their streams, and the Greeks were sacrificing at the altar of the nymph Sesimeter to

propitiate the deity in favour of the new city of Byzantium about to be founded. A crow dropped down upon the altar and carried off a slice of the victim and deposited it on the shore of the Bosphorus, where complying with the omen, there they built the great city. Both stories have much of the mythical about them; let us refer to actual remains of the worship. A Roman inscription, 'Numini nympharum Aquar.' (Spon. *Misc. erudit. Antiq., Lugduni*, 1685, ii, 7) exists on a bas relief representing three female figures, each holding in one hand an inverted vessel, not dissimilar in shape from some of those in Dr. Smart's drawing, from which issues a stream of water; and in the other hand they hold a leaf, probably the ivy, sacred to Bacchus, a god over whom the water-nymphs seem to have some control. On one side of the bas-relief stands a boy holding a patera over an altar; and on the other side a serpent, emblem of divinity.

"One of the most beautiful inscriptions at Rome under a figure of a nymph of the waters is one of four lines, which I will give in English as follows:

'Nymph of the font, I guard this sacred spot.
I sleep, yet sleeping hear the gentle rill,
Strangers who enter here, disturb me not;
Drink ye or wash at pleasure, but be still.'

'Hujus nymphe loci, sacri custodia fontis,
Dormio dum blandæ sentio murmur aquæ.
Parce meum quisquis tangis cava marmora somnum
Rumpere; sive bibas, sive lavere, tace.'

"Silence was enforced in places sacred to the nymphs, and one of these is brought before our eyes in an ancient picture of a Nymphæum found in the garden of the Barberini palace at Rome. (Lucii Holsteuii *Comment. Lugd. Bat.*, 1684), supposed by Donatus to be the spot where the old capitol of Numa stood, and we know how this king made as-signations with the nymph Egeria in her grotto outside the city gate:

'Ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ'.

The picture showed a cave with a ceiling of native turf and stone, and the rock arched in the form of a chamber, rills of water running down into copious fountains were received and carried into cisterns. At the entrance of the cavern were miniature temples, with cups placed upon their roofs, goats were browsing around, bees flying in the air, and various images of the gods of roads—*εὐοδῶν*—placed about. The goats represented Amalthæa, and the bees Melissa, two famous nymphs whose history I need not now recount.

"I cannot leave the subject of a Nymphæum without referring to that underground chamber which many of us visited lately in Oxford Street, and which was described by Mr. Brock at our last meeting.

The arch, the fountain in the middle, the niches around, and particularly those at the end in which to deposit either lamps or offerings, all recall the ancient model, and as this chamber was erected about the time of Henry VIII, it is an interesting instance of the revival of classical forms in architecture at the time of the renaissance after the reformation. We have, too, an inscription on a stone over a holy well at King's Newton, in Derbyshire, in similar taste: 'Fons sacer hic struitur Roberto nomine Hardinge, 1660.' " (See *Journal*, vii, p. 357.)

Messrs. Mayhew, G. Wright, Brock, Cuming, and Birch, made several remarks upon the universal and profound veneration for wells and springs, and instanced several examples in England and Ireland.

Mr. J. Jeremiah was much interested with the paper on Ancient Well Worship, although he thought the learned author did not enter so fully on the subjects connected with the philosophy of well and water worship. He said: "The Rev. Mr. Stock refers to the ancient custom of burying coins in and near sacred wells. Singular to relate, Sir John Lubbock, in his *Origin of Civilisation* (1st edit., pp. 188-9) says, 'In the Scotch islands are many sacred wells, and I have myself seen the sacred well in one of the islands of Loch Maree surrounded by the little offerings of the peasantry, consisting principally of rags and halfpence'. Votive offerings have been made even in recent times at other well known sacred wells, and in Hunt's *Romances and Drolls of the West of England*, will be found a most valuable chapter on well worship and native offerings. 'At St. Madron's Well (Cornwall)', he says, 'each visitor is expected to throw in a crooked pin, and if you are lucky, you may possibly see the other pins rising from the bottom to meet the most recent offering. Rags and votive offerings to the genius of the waters are hung around many of the wells', and at Madron Well, near Penzance, I observed (quoting Mr. Couch) the custom of hanging rags on the thorns which grew in the enclosure.

"The curious instance of a holy well existing at Glastonbury, inside the church of St. Joseph, mentioned during the discussion, reminds one of a sacred well inside the porch of the church of St. Donagh's, in the county of Dublin, which is said to be the only one of its kind in Ireland.

"The celebrated Dr. Lynch, in his well known attack on Giraldus Cambrensis (his *Cambrensis Eversus*) cites numerous customs in relation to Irish well and spring worship, which is added to by Dr. Donovan in his valuable notes to that erudite work. For example, Saint Mullins, or St. Moling's Well (Ross): on that patron saint's day devotion is paid by young children, one being carried and immersed in the water. At St. John's Well (Kilkenny), St. Kieran's Well (Kells):—praying in the cold water of these wells as a penance can be traced back (says Dr. Donovan) to the earliest ages of the Irish church.

"The pebbly sand of a holy well in Connaught, if only applied to the mouth, will assuage thirst. In Munster, it is said, if you look at the holy well there, or touch it, the whole country will be deluged with rain.

"Dr. Donovan (from whose notes I am now quoting) says it is a popular belief that a spring well, if defiled, would dry up and emigrate.

"Mr. E. B. Tyler gives the fullest account of well worship in his *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, and his explanation of its origin appears incontestable. The worship of water occupies a higher place in the series of developmental phases of man's culture than some have felt inclined to give it. The poetry of water spirits (good and bad) was philosophy to early men, 'the water spirits of primæval mythology (says Tyler) are as souls which cause the water's rush and rest, its kindness and its cruelty; that, lastly, man finds in the beings, which with such power can work him weal and woe, deities with a wide influence over his life, deities to be loved and feared, to be prayed to and praised, and propitiated with sacrificial gifts' (p. 191).

"The yearning after the truth, and the various forms man's anxiety takes when surrounded by disturbed elements, and the pleasure he derives when nature favours him in his fondest desires for happiness, constitute together the sum total of primitive worship, and in well worship we find some signs of advancement for a ruder form of religion, of which here and there remnants still exist to attest to the whence of man's culture."

Mr. Birch read a communication kindly forwarded to the Association through Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., being an account by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., of Roman remains near Aynhoe :

"These were found in a field called 'Spitchel', in Aynhoe parish, near the boundary of Croughton parish, about three-quarters of a mile south-east of Rainsborough Camp, on the south-east of the road from Charlton to Croughton, about forty yards from the road. The land is the property of W. Cartwright, Esq., of Aynhoe. It is sandy, but with patches of limestone near the surface.

"In November, 1874, the plough dislodged some stones of oolite which covered the mouth of a large vase; one large thin one over the mouth, and some smaller ones on it. The vase is $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet high, and 1 foot 11 inches wide, of red pottery; perfect, except a chip in the rim; 10 inches wide in the mouth, and 10 inches wide at bottom. It was placed upright, and one thin stone was placed upright on each side of it. The top was about 7 inches under the surface. Nothing was found in it except a little soil which had apparently trickled in. Round it were found bits of pottery and burnt stones; and about three or four yards south were many pieces of pottery and bones of cow, sheep, and pigs. Many stones were red from fire. The pottery was of about

fifteen vessels of red and black ware; all of common make, and apparently Roman. Either the vase was empty when last covered over by the users, or contained matter (corn or other substance) which had completely decayed. Probably some dwelling had existed close by, and this jar was for storing corn or other dry matter. The texture of the large jar was too porous to hold liquids. The broken pottery and bones were probably part of a domestic rubbish deposit. About two years ago were found, near the same spot, about 10 yards in length of large stones on edge, about 2 feet deep, and coming within a few inches of the surface.

"There is said to be in the Museum at Oxford a similar jar, from some railway cutting. At Brixworth was found, in 1874, a somewhat similar one, but smaller."

Mr. Brock read a paper on "The Discovery of an Ancient War-Ship near Botley", which will be printed in a future place in the *Journal*.

Mr. Cuning read a paper on "Some Roman Tesserae of Terra-Cotta", and exhibited several interesting specimens from Mr. Mayhew's collection, which will also be printed hereafter.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Horman Fisher, Mr. Birch, and the Rev. Mr. Mayhew took part, and the proceedings terminated with the following

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS AT THE EVESHAM CONGRESS.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

"It has been said on more than one occasion that the development as well as utility of our Congresses begin when the meeting has come to an end. With your permission I will briefly refer to some of the leading features of the country traversed, in the hope that one train of ideas may suggest others in you which may be developed into substance for the benefit of our *Journal* next year, when Evesham topics will be entered upon.

"We were particularly fortunate in having the assistance of two enthusiastic archæologists, the Rev. Mr. Holland, Chairman of our Local Committee, and Mr. Herbert New, our Local Secretary. The latter had at his fingers' ends the topography and details of the battle-field near his own residence at Green Hill; and he will, I hope, speak of the battle of Evesham in print, as he has to us *virâ voce* on the spot. Mr. Holland was on his own ground in the two ancient churches now undergoing restoration, All Saints and St. Lawrence, both which stand contiguous to the famous bell-tower that is now the only remaining portion of the Abbey of Evesham, if we except one Decorated archway leading to the cloisters, and a few remains of very early work embedded in some old buildings. The exterior of Lich-

field's chapel in the church of St. Lawrence was so placed that we were able to compare the buttresses, bays, and base mouldings of its architecture with those of the bell-tower, both buildings being seen together at one view.

"Every vestige of monastery, church, and cloisters, has departed, except the small remains I have referred to. The ground-plan of Evesham Abbey can now only be traced in print as mapped out after excavations made by Mr. Rudge (in *Vetusta Monumenta Soc. Antiq.*, vol. v), whose grandson threw open for our inspection the beautiful grounds and museum of the Abbey Manor. Both were rich in sculptured stones of the old Abbey; and well taken care of, in a secure recess, was the abbot's oaken chair, and many relics taken from the tombs of the monks.

"Evesham Abbey and that of Winchcombe, though to 'memory dear', are now quite 'lost to sight'; but they are two out of a cluster of Benedictine abbeys seated on the banks of the Severn and Avon rivers, which form a marked feature of our Congress. Founded on the territory of the Wiccii or Wixses, these establishments tell of the great monastic revival at the end of the tenth century, as set on foot in the reign of Æthelstan, in whose palace the Danish Dunstan was educated, and continued during the reign of King Edgar, who founded forty-eight monasteries. History leads us to expect to find remains of their massive architecture, such as in Norway was called Byzantine, with its gigantic columns and apses, crypts and triforia. The mind is carried back to the great prototype of such edifices, the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, built in Justinian's reign, in the sixth century. Its central dome, of 115 feet diameter, supported upon four huge pillars, and the eight columns of 4 feet diameter in the nave (four on each side), are replaced in our northern churches by a central tower, and the thick columns are doubled in number in the nave, to form the extra length of the lower limb of the Latin cross in place of the Greek, where the four arms were equal. The *atrium*, or vestibule, at the western entrance of the Byzantine church is traceable in some of our own. The more humble foundations of three hundred years before, or at the end of the seventh century, under King Æthelred of Mercia, have probably also left their traces in some of the buildings we visited.

"The architecture of one or other of the two periods can be seen at Deerhurst, Pershore, Tewkesbury, as well as in the cathedrals of Worcester and Gloucester; and we have specimens of more humble pretensions in Fladbury, Wire, Wick, and Bredon. The influence of the Christian Danes both upon the architecture and politics of the period is as manifest as is that of the heathen Danes in the surrounding forts and hyppathral temples which crown the heights of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Oxfordshire. The deeds of a Rollo, a Guthrun,

or an Æthelstan, are traceable in the circles of Stanton Drew and Rollrich as well as in the megalithic temples raised to the God of the Christians by the earnest and grateful devotion of the early votaries. In the *Quarterly Review* for October ('Icelandic Illustrations of English') a traveller is mentioned who, on board a steamer where the Danish language was spoken, fancied he heard the very accents and much of the same language as his own on the east coast of Lincoln and Yorkshire. Is it only now this discovery has been made? And does the tree of self-knowledge grow so slowly, and are its blossoms so tardy of development?

"I have mentioned Dunstan's Benedictine foundations as the first grand feature of our Congress, and affording matter for interesting discussion, without detracting from the merits of many fine examples brought before us of the later and well understood styles, less open to question as to date. And I think any further information which can be given us by our professional friends on the subject of the architecture of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, will be carrying out the views of many able writers on the subject throughout the pages of our *Journal* from the beginning. Mr. Blashill and Mr. Brock were indefatigable in their pursuit of abbeys and priories, whether Benedictine or Cistercian; but the former at Evesham, and the latter at Winchcombe and Hayles, had little more than the '*magui nominis umbra*' to point to, yet the history of those foundations was not the less interesting.

"Under the second head I would class the numerous private houses where we were entertained. We have been sometimes criticised for accepting too many invitations; but this cannot be cited as a fault where our hosts are the lords of such interesting historical mansions as Clopton Hall, Coughton Court, the Tudor House of Lord Wemyss, where Mr. Brock gave us an admirable account of the building, and the baronial residence of Miss Jones of Chastleton, which seems to stand, with its furniture, tapestry, armour, and pictures, as it did in the days of Charles, of whom many interesting relics are treasured up by the fair lady of the domain. Each of these mansions abounds in historical associations, and they are in themselves museums of antiquities and the fine arts. There is plenty of work, too, for our heralds in the counties visited, if they tell us of the deeds and chivalric renown of the Beanchamps and Nevilles, the Dudleys and Grevilles, the Seymours, Moretons, Berkeleys, and Somersets, as well as the Botclers, Lucies, Throckmortons, and others too numerous to mention.

"I trust our host at Clopton Hall, who so gracefully did the honours, and introduced us to the ghost of Lady Arabella Stuart, will favour us with a written contribution to perpetuate the memory of our visit; and I may express the same wish as to our hostess at Sudeley Castle, who,

as I am informed, is eminently qualified to give us a description of the older glories as well as the later aggregation of curiosities and works of art which the Castle can boast of, as well as the chapel in the park, where repose the mortal remains of Henry VIII's last wife, Catherine Parr. Our late lamented Secretary, Mr. Roberts, fully described to us the buildings on the spot. Then we may look forward to a written account of that most interesting locality, Broadway and Buckland, referred to in *Domesday Book*, where we were received and entertained in the most hospitable manner by our old associate, Mr. J. O. Halliwell Phillipp. The old church and manor-house have each their tale to tell, as well as the Grange which once belonged to the Abbey of St. Mary of Pershore, and thither the abbot or some of the monks would resort as to a country house, while looking after their rents and pleasure at the same time.

"The third great feature of our congress was the excursion to Stratford-on-Avon and our visit to the well-known birth-place of the poet and site of the house of his father. The church of Stratford and the 'Gilde Chapel' have much architectural and historical interest, and the school-room must not be forgotten, dating back to before the time of Shakespeare, and though each of them has been so fully described and written upon, yet at each visit some fresh idea may start up from the infinite variety of subjects they suggest, and particularly in that storehouse of the poet's works and relics which Mr. J. O. Halliwell Phillipp has done so much to illustrate and to preserve at the renowned birth-place in Henley Street. The same may be said of that valuable collection of MSS. belonging to the corporation of Stratford, dating from the thirteenth century up to the year 1750, which have been so admirably arranged and classified by Mr. Phillipp, and have been calendared by him and described in a folio volume, of which only a limited number of copies were printed. (Fol. London, 1863).

"Among the most remarkable is the ledger of the 'Gilde', a fraternity which erected the chapel in the High Street, for the purpose of there maintaining hourly prayers or masses for the souls of the departed 'brethoryn' and 'sustoryn' of the fraternity, and in which lamps were kept burning, and to which periodical processions were made. The formal admission to the fraternity of the 'Gilde' of the souls of persons deceased is curious, and equally so the fines for their admission to be paid by their representatives, for instance, Fo. civ, A.D. 1474. The soul of Thomas Decon of Stamford, pewterer; fine, seven pewter dishes and ten pewter saucers. Fo. cix, A.D. 1478. John Hues of Stratford, and the soul of Elizabeth his wife, and their parents; fine, a shop in the middle rowe, to remaine to the gilde after his death. Fo. 177 (26th Henry VIII.) The soule of Thomas, foole in the family of the Lady Anne Graye xx*d*.

"The admirable arrangement of this collection of MSS. by Mr. Thomas Hunt, the town clerk, on a table in a large room where they could be seen and examined by our numerous party was duly appreciated.

"It only remains for me to speak of the hospitable reception we had at the end of the week in the ancestral mansion of our noble president at Ragley, whose halls and rooms, full of antiquities and works of art, were thrown open for our inspection, as well as the terraces, gardens, and park, which again flourish under the eye of a resident landlord and his amiable marchioness, who both so well know how to engage the esteem and respect of their numerous neighbours and tenants. And I may say that the hospitality shown us at Ragley was a supplement to what we received throughout the week, not only on the public occasions to which I have referred, but by the inhabitants of Evesham and neighbourhood in receiving in a private manner many of our associates into their houses; and foremost among these I should mention His Royal Highness the Duke d'Aumale, who gave *carte blanche* to any of our members to stay at his mansion at Wood-Norton during the whole congress, and that they should be furnished with everything to make them feel comfortable and at home, and some did avail themselves of this privilege. Then Mr. Herbert New, at Greenhill, had his doors always open to us, and I am sure that the kindness and hospitality of Mr. Prance, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Bellingham and others will not be forgotten by those among us who were their guests, and the same must be said of our friends at Pershore, who regaled us after our sail down the Avon, and who will be remembered with pleasure in connection with that agreeable excursion.

"Before leaving Evesham the many ancient timbered houses should be mentioned, and among them the old market house, and in the main street leading up from the stone bridge across the Avon, which communicates with Bengeworth, is an old carved oak door, which still hangs on its hinges and posts as when it formed the enclosure to some building connected with the Abbey. Many outbuildings, such as the abbot's stables, and one house which contained a fine stone chimney-piece were pointed out by Mr. Holland.

"The museum formed in the Town Hall for the occasion contained objects of which the catalogue should be given, as many are of the greatest interest, and among these the ancient deeds with seals attached, exhibited by the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral, and described by Mr. Hooper, will doubtless be duly recorded with the comments upon them. I have said nothing hitherto of the assiduous attention paid to the affairs of the congress and the zealous endeavour to make it successful by Mr. Edward Roberts, our late lamented secretary, and Mr. George Wright, who have even exceeded all their former

endeavours in this respect, though our secretary was then labouring under a fatal illness, and of course much of the work devolved upon our excursion secretary, Mr. George Wright, rendered easier no doubt by the admirable organisation of our local committee, but Mr. Roberts had the head to plan and the will to direct, and he exercised both in the interests of our Association to the last hour of his life. The presence of many of our vice-presidents and members of our council and associates contributed also much to the success of our congress, which has resulted in a considerable accession of new members, upon which I may congratulate the Association.

"The varied narrative of the scenes and buildings visited have been so well given in the public prints as our work proceeded that our thanks are due to the gentlemen of the press who so ably reported both our excursions and abstracts of the papers read at our evening meetings."

Antiquarian Intelligence.

OUR associate, Mr. W. C. Lukis, M.A., F.S.A., Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen : Corresponding Member of the "Société Polymathique du Morbihan", Brittany; of the "Société Archæologique de Nantes"; and of the "Société de Climatologie Algérienne"; etc., announces an important essay entitled *On the class of Rude Stone Monuments which are commonly called in England Cromlechs, and in France Dolmens, and are here shown to have been the Sepulchral Chambers of once-existing mounds*. In this he applies himself to a refutation of prevailing errors on the subject, by a critical examination of the monuments referred to by the maintainers of these errors. It is printed for the author by Johnson and Co., Market Place, Ripon.

A very rare and interesting discovery respecting *Primeval man in the Lower Thames Valley* was made in the well known "elephant pits" at Erith, in July last, during an excursion of the West London Scientific Association and Field Club. In the pit about half a mile east of Erith Station, where the old deserted bed of the Thames is excavated for brick earth, and has yielded two species of British elephant and one of a lion, Dr. Gladstone, F.R.S., President of the above Association, was so fortunate as to find at the base of the brick-earth beds a large flint implement, of palæolithic make—the first indubitable specimen of the kind which these mammalian beds of the Lower Thames

Valley have yielded to show the contemporaneity of man with the great quadrupeds of the pleistocene age. The implement is a long and slightly convex flake, chipped on its outer face into three longitudinal facets. It has, consequently, four working edges. At the butt end there is an echinus or "sea-urchin" in the flint, and this natural ornament has evidently guided the artificer in the process of manufacture.

The Hill-fort of Worlebury.—The *Saturday Review*, in an article on the Ancient Monuments Bill, says:—"On one of the promontories overhanging the Bristol Channel, looking forth on the British hills on one shore and the English hills on the other, taking in at one glance the battle-fields of successive ages, looking out on the islands where Gildas wrote his book of sorrow and where Gytha sought shelter from the arms of the Conqueror, stands the great hill-fort of Worlebury, the greatest in itself and the richest in historic associations of all monuments of its class, at least in the southern parts of our island. There, wall within wall, ditch within ditch, we may still see the bulwarks of the primæval fortress, the fortress which overlooked land and sea in the days before Cæsar, and which again was called into life when Cealwin, fresh from the overthrow of the three kings, first carried the English arms to the hills of Mendip and the stream of Axe. There, within those bulwarks, were found the speaking memorials of the last struggle between Englishmen and Briton for the lands between the Axe and Avon. There were found, not only the stores treasured up by the besiegers, but the very combatants themselves; the skeleton of the West Saxon giant, and beneath him the skeletons of the two smaller and more supple Britons who even in death had found means to slay their slayer. Such is the spot; none is more worthy of protection; in none is protection more needed. Every year, every day, the buildings of the growing town at the foot of the hill encroach on the venerable remains. We know not how much may have perished since we last saw it for ourselves. Yet, strange to say, this wonderful and unique monument, the living record of one of the great stages in our national history, a monument of such surpassing interest and threatened with far more than ordinary danger, has found no place in any of the schedules successively attached to the Bill. We could draw out a longer list of objects whose omission is very strange; but Worlebury stands out before all of them."

Some interesting Roman remains have been found just lately by men engaged in excavating for building operations at Portslade, near Brighton, showing that on the spot there had probably been a place of interment. One urn, which is unusually perfect, contains a quantity of bones closely packed. There is also a water jug and a plate, which

is reckoned to be a valuable specimen of Roman earthenware. The remains are in the care of the bailiff to the Rev. Mr. Hall, the owner of the estate.

The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset, etc. By John Hutchins, M.A. The third edition, corrected, augmented, and improved, by William Shipp and James Whitworth Hodgson. Printed by John B. Nichols and Sons, 25 Parliament Street, 1874.

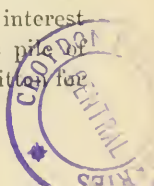
The publication of the third edition of *The History of Dorset* marks an era in topographical literature. It is a great work and well executed. The second edition, which was completed by John Bowyer Nichols in 1814, having become so scarce and costly that copies were rarely in the market, and when found there, the price beyond the means of ordinary purchasers; it was, under these circumstances, a public benefit for any enterprising person to undertake the publication of a new edition; but the difficulties would have deterred most people who were not gifted with the energy and experience of Messrs. Shipp and Hodson. These gentlemen did undertake the task, and in such a manner as to place the history of Dorset within the reach of the middle classes. It was published in parts at one guinea each; the first part bears date 1861, the last, or fifteenth, in 1874. Thus in the space of fourteen years this great work was brought to a conclusion, the whole binding up in four thick volumes folio, containing numerous engravings, woodcuts, plans, pedigrees, etc., and we hesitate not to assert that it takes the lead of all other works of its class, though we fear it has not proved a remunerative undertaking. The expense involved in publishing such a work is very great; besides which, there is an expenditure of mental and physical toil, of which the world knows nothing, but which in this instance was well nigh overwhelming, and for which no recompense is or can be made. The editors, it is true, started with a very goodly array of subscribers, but unforeseen difficulties arose which threw the whole brunt of the battle on Mr. Shipp, and it was his indefatigable energy and perseverance alone that carried the work through to a successful issue. It was not the desire of fame or any other less worthy or selfish motive that cheered him on single handed to the end, but it was simply his love for his native county, and for that antiquity of which such a rich inheritance is hers, in all its various forms and branches. The editorship of such a work was no child-play; it was not a mere reprint of the existing text, but a thorough revision of it, necessitating most extensive and patient enquiries, for the purpose of making corrections, improvements, and additions in the light of modern experience and knowledge, so as to bring it up to the level of the learning of the present day. The sixty years which have elapsed since the completion of the second edition doubtlessly called

for many modifications and improvements of the text, and such have been ably introduced in this edition. But alas ! the editor, Mr. Shipp, was not permitted to see the completion of his work ; the hand of death was upon him whilst he was compiling the index, and he lived not long enough to enjoy that meed of fame which posterity will accord to his memory, nor is it beyond the truth to say, that his death was hastened by his anxious and unceasing application to the task which he had in hand. We may give a ready response to the hope so modestly expressed in the preface by his sorrowful widow—"The republication of *The History of Dorset* will, I trust, serve as a permanent record of his industry and research, more honourable and more durable than monumental brass !" Assuredly it will.

The History of Dorset has been sadly and singularly attended with fatalities from the first. Hutchins himself, after thirty years of patient labour, died whilst the first edition was passing through the press in 1773 ; the title page bears the date 1774, hence exactly a century had elapsed when a similar fatality occurred to the editor of this, the third edition. The second edition was doomed to a still greater fatality, for not only was General Bellasis, Hutchins' son-in-law, who had undertaken the publication, removed by death before he saw the termination of his labours, but the greater part of the volumes which had been printed were consumed by fire in 1808, within three days of his death in India, but happily without his knowledge of the calamity. Then John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., the printer of this edition, and who was most deeply interested in its success, and assisted most earnestly in its publication, was also summoned to cross that bourne from which there is no return, a short time before his friend Mr. Shipp.

The county of Dorset will do well to honour the memory of her historians. They have laboured hard in her service, expending money, time, health, even life itself, with very little hope or prospect of recompense but that which encourages every ingenious mind in the performance of a duty owing to his country. What return will she make? We know not, unless it be to treasure and preserve as a sacred trust all those ancient memorials of bygone ages, which are scattered broadcast over the surface of her soil, and transmit them as heirlooms to her sons of future generations.

Worksop, the Dukery, and Sherwood Forest. By Robert White, 1875. The issue of this work was announced to the associates last year, but we are enabled on the present occasion to present to our readers a more definite account of it. Mr. White has spared no pains or expense to produce a handy volume of the principal points of interest which centre round the Forest of Sherwood, and the historic pile of Worksop Priory. Several chapters in the book have been written for



Mr. White by the Rev. J. Stacey, to whom the Association was indebted at the Sheffield Congress for much literary and archæological assistance: by Archdeacon Trollope, and by C. Tylden-Wright. Captain A. E. Lawson Rowe contributes to it his pedigree of the early Lords of Worksop. Other contributors help to bring up the volume to a most excellent standard, and the whole forms one of the most complete works upon local archæology and natural history that has ever been set before the public. The large number of illustrations, including several of the Priory Church, Roche Abbey, Welbeck Abbey, and Rufford Abbey; views at Clumber and Thoresby, in Sherwood Forest, of Steetley Chapel; maps of the district; facsimiles of deeds and seals; are of great assistance and embellish the book in no inconsiderable degree. Mr. White commences with an account of the Ancient Lords of Worksop, of the family of De Builli or Busli, of whom some unpublished deeds remain at the British Museum, the Lovetots of the twelfth century, the Furnivals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Talbots and the Howards, Dukes of Newcastle, in whose representatives the manor is now vested. The interesting history of the Priory, from its foundation by the pious de Builli to its dissolution by the rapacious Henry; the conversion of the church into the present parish church; the architecture of the remains; the early history of the town, its trades, manufactures, and other special features belonging to the locality; the churches and chapels, the manor house and park, are all carefully treated. Separate chapters are devoted to the Shireoaks, which stood at the junction of three counties, Derby, Nottingham, and York; to the hamlets of Gateford, Ratcliffe, Sloswicks, Kilton, Rayton, Manton, Osberton, Scofton, and Hardwicke; to Clumber and its ducal park, in which are some venerable cedar trees;—with woodcuts of remarkable Roman cists, and a list of the pictures in the gallery: Steetley chapel, now, we understand, in course of restoration; Roche Abbey, of the Cistercian order, founded in 1147; Welbeck, an abbey of Præmonstratensian canons; Welbeck Park; Thoresby, the seat of Earl Manvers; Rufford, another Cistercian abbey, founded only a year after Roche. The Rev. J. Stacey's chapter on the "Ancient History of Sherwood Forest" is as interesting as any in the book, and contains accounts of the customs of the Forest, the game, the gradual progress of the incarcation and enclosure. "The Land of Robin Hood" is a chapter contributed by Dr. Spencer T. Hall, and brings before us in lively imagery the life and times of the merry hunter and his boon companions. "The Zoology of Sherwood Forest" by W. J. Sterland, author of the *Birds of Sherwood Forest*, the Geology, (already mentioned), and the "Flora of the Forest" by J. Bohler, make a very interesting collection of papers on the natural history of the district, and the volume aptly terminates with some extracts from the

churchwardens' books, which enable us to see how the local affairs of the parish have been carried on from the time of Queen Elizabeth. The numerous woodcuts with which the matter is illustrated are very beautifully executed, and cannot be surpassed for delicacy and pictorial effect.

Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire.—The proprietors of the *Derbyshire Times* have the pleasure of inviting a limited number of subscribers to the first volume of *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*. Owing to the great popularity of the original articles which appeared in the *Derbyshire Times* upon these ancient edifices, and the numerous applications for copies of the paper containing them, their re-publication, in a greatly enlarged and extended form, was decided upon, and the first volume is now in the press, and will be issued in a few weeks. It includes the whole of the ancient churches and chapels in the Hundred of Scarsdale,—that is, in the eastern division of the county. Our associate the author, Mr. J. Charles Cox, a writer on kindred subjects in our high-class archæological journals, has founded his "Notes" not merely on personal observation and a full consultation of printed authorities, but has also gathered together a large amount of original matter from independent researches in the Public Record Office, and amongst the manuscript collections at the libraries of the British Museum, the Bodleian, Lambeth Palace, and the College of Arms. The student of the heraldry and genealogy of the county will here find the church notes of the visitations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries published for the first time, and every endeavour made to identify the arms therein mentioned. We have, therefore, every reason to hope that the work will not only prove interesting and instructive to all who love our parish churches—those grand old records of our common faith—but that it may prove a standard work of reference in connection with the topography of our county. The work will be illustrated by heliotypes (printed from photographs taken specially by Mr. Keene, of Derby), of nearly all the principal churches; and there will be several additional plates of architectural details from original drawings. The whole work will be completed in four uniform volumes, royal 8vo., handsomely bound, viz.: 1. The Hundred of Scarsdale, or East Derbyshire (now in the press). 2. The Hundreds of Wirksworth and the High Peak, or North Derbyshire; and 3 and 4. The Hundreds comprised in the southern division of the county.

Mr. Cox has already completed a considerable portion of the second volume, on the churches of North Derbyshire, which will be issued before the close of 1876, and for which subscribers' names are now invited. Or subscribers may, if they prefer it, give their names for the whole series. Orders should be sent in at once, directed to the proprietors of the *Derbyshire Times*, Chesterfield. The list of subscribers

will very shortly be closed, when the remaining copies will be issued at an enhanced price. The first volume (price, to subscribers only, 10s. 6d), will comprise full historic and descriptive accounts of each of the following churches or chapels :—

Alfreton	Walton	Pinxton
<i>Riddings</i>	Clowne	Pleasley
Ashover	Dronfield	<i>Shirebrook</i>
<i>Dethick</i>	<i>Dore</i>	Scarliffe
<i>Lea</i>	<i>Holmesfield</i>	Shirland
Barlborough	Eckington	Staveley
Barlow	Elmton	Sutton Scarsdale
Beauchief Abbey	Hault Hucknall	<i>Duckmanton</i>
Beighton	Heath	Tibshelf
Blackwell	Killamarsh	Whittington
Bolsover	Langwith	Whitwell
Brampton	Morton	<i>Steeley</i>
Chesterfield	<i>Trinity Chapel</i>	Winfield North
<i>Brimington</i>	Normanton South	Winfield South
<i>Newbold</i>	Norton	Wingerworth.
<i>Temple Normanton</i>		

History of Hampstead. By John James Park. A new and illustrated edition, revised and augmented by Mr. Walter de Gray Birch.

It is proposed to publish, in about sixteen Parts, to be issued monthly, a new edition of this scarce and interesting history of the parish of St. John, Hampstead. The great and increasing demand for copies of the work induces the publisher to believe that a re-issue, carefully revised and augmented with information brought down to the present time, will prove valuable to all who desire to become acquainted with the past history of this interesting suburb. The old text will be faithfully preserved, it being the intention of the editor to produce, as nearly as possible, a facsimile of this well-known and valuable work. There will be copious additions and corrections, especially in those portions devoted to natural history, botany, geology, and biography, but they will appear as an appendix. The new edition will be liberally illustrated with facsimile reproductions of those plates which appeared in the original edition, and will be further enriched with rare and unique engravings in the possession of the editor and others who have kindly placed their parochial treasures at the service of the publisher. As the impression will be limited, it is requested that the names of intending subscribers be immediately forwarded to Mr. G. S. Jealous, Holly Mount, Hampstead.

Those who have in their possession any views, pictures, engravings, or MSS. of importance to the history of Hampstead, will confer a great obligation by intimating the same to the publisher.

The work will be issued in monthly parts, price 2s. 6d. each. Each part will contain thirty-two pages demy 8vo. The work when completed will contain about sixty or seventy facsimile engravings, which

will include all those to be found in the original work, and many others.

Diocesan Churches of Hereford.—The series of notices of the See, Cathedral Church, and Diocesan Churches of Hereford, now publishing (January, 1875) in the *Ross Gazette*, has, through the kind assistance of the resident clergy, already reached about thirty parts, in regular weekly succession. The interest which has been taken, both by the clergy and laity, has induced the editor of the notices to extend them to all the more interesting churches in the county of Salop (including those in North Salop which are in the diocese of Lichfield); and also to the parish churches, situate in Worcestershire, which form a part of the diocese of Hereford. To render the work more complete, succinct histories of Worcester and Lichfield Cathedrals will be given. The time, labour, and expense incurred in the publications are somewhat considerable. These have been undertaken *con amore*, inasmuch as they contain much matter valuable both to ecclesiastical and archæological inquirers.

The continued aid, both of clerical and lay contributors, is therefore very much required, without which the editor would be left at great disadvantage. All literary communications, embracing particulars of the fabrics of the churches, their history, ancient monuments and brasses, stained windows, etc., with lists of past incumbents, acreage of the parish, patron, present incumbent, rent-charge, glebe, population, and church sittings, will be much esteemed. Copies of the papers containing the church notices may be had upon orders sent to Mr. William Hill, *Gazette* office, Ross, Herefordshire. All literary matter to be addressed to Mr. J. H. James, 3, Grenville Street, London, W.C.

Our associate, Mr. H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A. Scot., V.P., speaks of the General Index, just issued, as follows:—

“The long talked of and much desired general index to the volumes of our *Journal* has at last emerged from the press, but in such a limited number of copies that those who require its assistance should lose no time in striving to provide themselves with it. The growing need of such an index has been keenly felt for years, and two unsuccessful attempts to supply it have already been made. The late Mr. Pettigrew did something towards combining the indices of volumes I and II, and there stopped: and another member, it is said, got as far with a general index as volume XV, but of his labours the Association reaped no advantage, and the honour and triumph of its completion were reserved for our Honorary Secretary, Mr. W. de Gray Birch. It is only those who have watched the progress of this laborious undertaking who can duly appreciate the toil of head and hand it has entailed; for though based upon the indices of the thirty volumes already published,

it is by no means a servile copy of them. The first five volumes of the *Journal* were fairly indexed, and the indices to the last eight volumes are carefully and conscientiously compiled, but those of volumes VI to XXII inclusive were the work of incompetent persons, and are of little service. The general index now presented contains many hundred references we may search in vain for in the indices of the several volumes, and indicates, far more fairly and distinctly than hitherto has been done, the immense variety of objects and subjects treated of in our Transactions, and the vast amount of work performed by some of our leading members. But it is melancholy in turning over the pages of this useful tome to see how often the chronicle of those labours close with the words 'memoir of,' or 'obituary notice'.

"It may be interesting to those who cannot obtain a copy of the volume under review to learn something respecting its construction and contents. Mr. W. de Gray Birch opens with a brief preface in which he states some of the difficulties he has had to contend with, and the fixed purpose he has steadily kept in view; and illustrates his allusion to our annual congress with a very useful map of England, showing at a glance where each congress has been held. This will serve as a valuable guide in the selection of future places of assembly. This preface is followed by the index of upwards of 400 columns, giving the names of exhibitors of objects, and contributors of papers, of localities where objects have been discovered, and of the various articles described; and also of the proceedings at each congress, the whole of these references being arranged in alphabetic order. The work closes with the 'Titles of the papers contained in the volumes of the *Journal*,' which are printed distinct from the minor ones embodied in the 'Proceedings.' To say that the work we are describing is perfection would be ridiculous, there are occasional errors, inherent in all first editions, that call for correction; but in spite of these inevitable drawbacks, a great and needful task has been accomplished, and not only our own members but every archæological student ought, nay must, feel grateful to the author for having undertaken and brought to so successful an issue a general index to the first thirty volumes of our *Journal*."

Among the works most recently issued in the Masters of the Rolls series are: *A History of the Reigns of Edward III and Richard II*, from a MS. in the British Museum, edited by our associate, Mr. E. M. Thompson, assistant keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. *The Life of Thomas Becket*, from an Icelandic Saga, with an English translation, by M. Eirikr Magnusson, under librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. *The Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense* of Bishop Kellawe,

1311-1316, edited by Sir T. D. Hardy, D.C.L., deputy keeper of the Public Records : and *Lives of Archbishop Dunstan*, edited by Professor Stubbs. All these works recommend themselves to students of the ancient and mediæval history of our country.

Our readers will learn with pleasure that the Rev. Præcentor Walcott, B.D., F.S.A., has published his *Scoti-Monasticon, The Ancient Church of Scotland, a History of the Cathedrals, Conventual Foundations, Collegiate Churches, and Hospitals of Scotland*. Such a work has been long wanted, and the present one helps to make up the deficiency. As such it will be hailed with delight by all whose studies have led them into this rich field of inquiry, by no means yet exhausted. It is published by Virtue, Spalding, and Daldy.

The following account of the Tabard Inn, Southwark, a relic of Old London, extracted from the *Standard*, will be read with interest.

“At the present moment, when so many of the ancient landmarks are passing away from the London of our youth, it may be well to take note of one of its historic hostelries which is in the course of being demolished, and the last traces of which will have vanished in the course of a very few weeks, if not sooner. The ‘Tabard’ was an inn at the beginning of the year of grace 1875, and there is reason to believe that it was already an inn as far back at least as 1375. The High Street of Southwark, on the eastern side of which was the ‘Tabard’, is well stocked even at the present day with hostelries of a venerable age. In bygone days it is probable that these inns were still more numerous, as all the traffic from the south and south-west of England must have entered London by that route at a time when old London Bridge was the only entrance into the City for traffic and travellers from the south of the Thames.

“We need not go back into the Roman or early English days, but will simply say here that from and after the Norman Conquest the great ecclesiastics of the southern counties had ‘inns’, or town mansions in this neighbourhood. The Bishop of Rochester, the Prior of Lewes, the Abbots of St. Augustine, Canterbury, of Battle, and of Hyde, near Winchester, were among these churchmen. The land on which the ‘Tabard’ stands, it would seem, was owned as far back as the year 1307 by the Abbot of Hyde, who built upon it a hostel or town house for the use of such members of his brotherhood as might happen to be brought to London on business. In due course of time an inn was erected adjoining this house for the reception of travellers, its profits swelling the income of the brethren available for the use of the poor. Its chief income arose from the fact of its furnishing accommodation to the hosts of pilgrims who flocked from all parts of Eng-

land to London on their way to the shrine of St. Thomas a Becket at Canterbury—

“The holy, blissful martyr for to seek”.

“Honest John Stow, the antiquary, tells us that in this locality there once stood ‘many fair inns for the receipt of travellers’, among which he distinguishes by their signs the ‘Spur’, the ‘Christopher’, the ‘Bull’, the ‘Queen’s Head’, the ‘George’ (no doubt in those days Saint George), the ‘Hart’, the ‘King’s Head’, and the ‘Tabard’. The last of these he expressly terms the ‘most ancient’, and explains the meaning of its sign. A ‘Tabard’, he tells us, ‘is the proper name of a jacket, or sleeveless coat, whole before, open on both sides, with a square collar, winged at the shoulders—a stately garment of old time, commonly worn by noblemen and others, both at home and abroad, in the wars; but then (to wit, in the wars) their arms embroidered or otherwise depict upon it, that every man by his coat of arms might be known from others. But now’, he adds, ‘these tabards are worn only by the heralds, and be called their coats of arms in service.’ It may be remarked here that some of the scholars or exhibitioners at Queen’s College, Oxford, are or were till within the last few years called ‘Tabarders’, although they had long ceased to wear the dress from which they derived their name.

“Every reader of early English literature will, of course, remember how Geoffrey Chaucer selects the ‘Tabard Inn’ in Southwark as the place of rendezvous for his ‘Pilgrims’ in the ‘Canterbury Tales’. The time was the month of April:—

‘Byfel that in that seasoun on a day,
In Southwark at the Tabbard as I lay,
Redy to wenden on my pilgrimage
To Canturbury with ful devout corage,
At night was come into that hostelrye
Wel nine and twenty in a companye,
Of sondry folk, by aventure infalle,
In felaschipe, and pilgryms were thei alle
That toward Canturbury wolden ryde.
The chambres and the stables weren wyde,
And wel we weren esyd atte beste.’

“We have already quoted Stow, who wrote his *Antiquities* in the year 1598. Four years later, in an edition of Chaucer, by Speight, we are informed that, ‘Whereas through time it (the Tabard) is much decayed, it is now, by Master John Preston, with the abbot’s house thereto adjoined, newly repaired, and with convenient rooms much increased for the receipt of many guests’. What were the character and extent of Master Preston’s repairs we have no means of ascertaining; but it is probable, judging from ancient prints, that he did not materially change the general appearance of the old edifice.

“The ancient Tabard Inn was built of wood, as, indeed, was the case with most of the houses in London in the times even of our Tudor and early Stuart kings. Accordingly when, in 1676, a terrible fire laid waste some eight or ten acres of ground in and around the High Street of Southwark, there can be little doubt that the veritable ‘Tabard’ of Chaucer—the hostelry in which the pilgrims supped, lodged, and slept the night before starting on their journey—perished in the flames. Apparently, however, the inn was rebuilt, not only on the same site but as nearly as possible on ‘the old lines’, and preserved in more than its sign the proofs of its identity with the former edifice. It, too, was built of timber; and judging from the perfect state of the timbers in the roof and in the crypt of Ely Chapel in Holborn, we see no difficulty in believing that some of the solid timbers yet standing may have belonged to the former house.

“When the inn was rebuilt after the fire, unfortunately the sign-board was nowhere to be found, and a new one was not painted forthwith. If such had been the case, it is scarcely possible, or conceivable, that, as the well-known antiquary, Aubrey, tells us, ‘The ignorant landlord or tenant should have, instead of the ancient sign of the Tabard, have set up the Talbot, or Dog.’ Aubrey tells us further that before the fire it was an old timber house, ‘probably coeval with Chaucer’s time.’ It was probably this old part, facing the street, that was burnt. In Urry’s edition of Chaucer, published in 1721, there is a view of the Tabard, or Talbot, as it then stood, the yard apparently open to the street, if the drawing be correct. The sign was then suspended to the middle of a beam extending across the street, and supported by a timber post at each end. It appears then to have become a great inn for carriers and for posting, and a well-known place of accommodation for visitors to London from distant parts of the country. Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., remarks, ‘When my grandfather visited London towards the close of the reign of George II, or early in that of George III, he tells me in his ‘Autobiography’ that he and his companions took up their quarters as guests at the Talbot, in Southwark.’ A print of the Talbot in the middle of the last century shows a sign-board swinging across the street, just as we sometimes notice to the present time in quiet country towns.

“Early in the present century the study of the literature of the middle ages led to a rectification of the stupid landlord’s blunder, and the ‘Talbot’ hound was made to give way to the ‘Tabard’ which he had displaced. Many persons, too, not yet beyond middle age, can well remember the sign of the ‘Tabard’, handsomely painted, hanging in the inner court of the hostelry; but of late years the sign and the inscription below it, ‘This is the old ‘Tabard’, had become decipherable.

“Till this very last winter the entrance to the inn-yard was under an old and picturesque gateway; this, however, has been removed altogether within the last few months; and in its place, on our left hand, a new public-house, approaching the gin palace in its flaunting appearance, has been erected. This bears the name of the Talbot, as if determined to part company, once and for ever, with the old poetical associations, and seems likely to become a luncheon bar. As we walk down the yard, however, we see before us some large and spacious wooden structure, one half of which is now lying in rubbish on the ground. The other half, the ground floor of which has been occupied till now as a luggage office, and a place of call for carmen and railway vans, is all that now remains of the structure erected, in the reign of Charles II, out of the old materials after the fire. The upper part of it once was one large apartment, but it has been so much cut up and subdivided from time to time to adapt it to the purpose of modern bed rooms that it presents but few features of interest.

“There is an exterior gallery, also of wood, on our left, which, with the rooms behind it, will shortly be levelled with the ground, in order to make room for a new pile of warehouses. The rooms, dull, heavy, dingy apartments as they are, are said by tradition to occupy the veritable site, or rather to have been carved out of the ancient hall, the room of public entertainment of the hostelry, or, as it is popularly called, ‘The Pilgrims’ Room’; and here it is conjectured Chaucer’s pilgrims—if that particular Canterbury pilgrimage was a reality, and not a creation of the poet’s brain—spent the evening before wending their way along the Old Kent Road towards the shrine of St. Thomas.”

The Fac-Simile of a MS. by William Smith, Rouge-Dragon, 1597, entitled—The XII Worshippful Companies, or Misteries of London. With the Armes of all of them that have bin L. Mayors, for the space almost of 300 yeares, of every Company p'ticularly. Also most part of the Sherifes, and Aldermen. Ano. 1605.

This choice yet little known MS., preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, is in course of reproduction by the courtesy of the Rev. H. O. Coxe, the librarian. As an example of Elizabethan caligraphy and heraldic drawing, it is admirable, and coming, as it does, from the hand of one of the most accomplished of heralds, its importance to the student of history and the genealogist is obvious; while to those who are descended from ancient civic dignitaries, it is an authoritative and interesting memorial.

William Smith, of Oldhaugh, Cheshire, and citizen of Nuremburg, a “paine-full”, “well-languaged”, and travelled scholar—the author of King’s *Vale Royal*—is mentioned by Brooke as the *first* compiler of an alphabetical list of families in England bearing arms; so, it would

also seem, he was the *first* to draw up an authentic collection of the arms of the Lord Mayors, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Worshipful Companies of London. Upwards of 450 coats of arms, of as many companies and illustrious citizens, are here set forth in their true colours. The arms of the companies bear the date of incorporation, with other particulars; and the personal shields are almost invariably accompanied by biographical notices. Where omissions occur, it has been the care of the editor to supply them. A sketch of the life of William Smith, including new and interesting matter, with notices of his works—among which will be found some hitherto unmentioned by bibliographers has been undertaken by Mr. W. W. Waddington, B.A. Oxon. This preface contains a few illustrations from drawings now edited for the first time. The plates and text are reproduced in chromolithography, and, to ensure accuracy, this work has been entrusted to Mr. F. C. Price, whose numerous fac-similes from the collections of the British Museum and the University libraries of Oxford and Cambridge are well known. The book (small 4to.), of 160 folios, printed upon paper expressly manufactured by Messrs. John Dickinson and Co., is fully indexed. The impression is limited to two hundred copies, at £3 3s., and twenty-five on large paper, at £6 6s., and will be ready for delivery to subscribers (a list of whose names will be bound up in the volume), before the end of the year. Five copies on vellum may be subscribed for, price £12 12s. Subscribers' names may be sent to Messrs. Price and Co., 36, Great Russell Street, British Museum, W.C., where specimens of the plates may be seen.

An interesting antiquarian discovery has been made in the early part of the year, during the progress of an effort to restore the ancient church of Althorpe, Lincolnshire. The Rev. R. Charlton, the rector, has lately discovered a fine memorial brass, with an effigy and legend of William de Lound, whose appointment to the rectory dates as far back as 1355. The brass, which is in a state of excellent preservation, has been hid for centuries, having been buried under the solid masonry of the richly canopied sedilia in the chancel, the seat of which now proves to be the slab of the tomb. The legend, in the character of the period, runs thus:—"HIC JACET WILLS DE LOVND QVONDAM CLERICVS CANCELLARIE DOMINI REGIS CVJVS ANIME PROPICIETVR DEVS."

A most interesting discovery has been made at the Dockyard Extension Works, Chatham. Whilst the convicts were engaged in excavating for the fitting-out basin which is being made, they came across much old timber, and shortly afterwards, at a depth of nearly 40 ft. from the surface, they came across the remains of a vessel, her outlines being very distinct. It is supposed that she is an old war vessel which was probably sunk a century or two back, in one of the creeks of St. Mary's

Island—the site of the Dockyard Extension—and that the creek, through the lapse of time, has been filled up. A large number of shot have been discovered, and it is expected that other discoveries will yet be made.

Archæological Survey of Western India, Jas. Burgess, Esq., M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.—This is the report of the first season's operations in the Belgam and Kiladgi districts. It is published for the India Museum by the publishers to the India Office (Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co.), and contains, besides the report, more than fifty illustrations, including numerous exquisite photographs of Indian temples and antiquities. One ceiling, of which there is a full page photograph facing page 4, is a most exquisite work of art. The publication is in large quarto size.

Mr. W. de G. Birch has just published in the *Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine* his lengthy *Collections towards a History of the Cistercian Abbey of Stanley*. These comprise a transcript of the hitherto unknown Calendar of Abbey Muniments, from a MS. in the British Museum; a list of abbots, several of whom have until now been forgotten; and a series of charters, extracts, and references of great importance to the historian of the Order, the county, or the abbey itself.

Mr. Street, R.A., has just finished the restoration of the interesting parish church of Bere Regis, in Dorset, the works having cost £7,000. The edifice is of the Norman transitional period, a portion being assigned to the time of King John, who, during his short and troubled reign, had a palace in the vicinity. The church has a very elaborately carved roof. It was visited by the Association on the occasion of the Weymouth Congress, in the summer of 1871; and an account of the church will be found in the *Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 289.

The Rev. W. Price, vicar of Llangwm, in co. Monmouth, diocese of Llandaff, forwards the following notice respecting the beautiful carved Rood-screen in his church.

“The Right Reverend Lord Bishop of the diocese, Dr. Ollivant, has remarked of this magnificent work—which, though sadly mutilated, still occupies its original position within the church—that ‘it is one of the most interesting things to antiquarians and archæologists in the county.’

“Mr. Seddon, the architect engaged upon the restoration of the church, has recently published an illustration and description of this screen, of the former of which the above view is a reduction; and from the latter the following is an extract:—

“‘Rood screens were often wrought with an amount of elaboration

that is truly astonishing, and seem to have been made quite a labour of love. Of such, that in the church of Llangwm, in Monmouthshire, may be considered a typical example.

“The church of Llangwm is situate about three miles from Usk, on the Chepstow Road, and, though now an isolated country village, its former importance is indicated by the fact that it still gives the title to two prebendal stalls in Llandaff Cathedral.

“The church consists of simple nave, porch, and a chancel, with a well-proportioned tower, projecting nearly midway from it on the north side—an unusual position, but one which has conduced to an excellent grouping; and the entire structure is a picturesque and charming example of a village church.

“The screen stretches across the nave, which is 19 ft. in width in front of the chancel arch, and consists of eighteen narrow traceried divisions, in two heights. Of these the folding doors occupy the four central ones, there being two panels to each door; the next four divisions on each side have the upper panels open, through which the chancel can be seen; and the three remaining ones on each side, being against the responds of the chancel, are close boarded, and have been decorated with panels. All the lower panels are filled with rich linen-moulded patterns under delicate traceried heads. A cornice beam is continued through above as a finish to this part of the screen. This is about foot deep, and has three enrichments between two beads worked in the solid. The coved portion which connected this beam with the upper part of the screen has been destroyed, but there are the sinkings to receive the moulded vertical ribs on the back of the lower beam of the upper portion. The restoration of this coving is, therefore, necessarily conjectural, so far as the horizontal intersecting ribs shown in the drawing are concerned, and also the bosses which cover the intersections and the fringe of carved work carried round each of the square panels.

“The next part in order is the noble lower beam of the rood-loft, for the whole of which, as shown in the engraving, fortunately, there is authority. It is nearly 2 ft. deep by 9 in. at the top, tapering to about 4 in. at the bottom, and has five beads at various distances, and a moulding at the bottom worked in the solid; and all the carved enrichments have been separately wrought and let in between these several beads and mouldings, as well as a strawberry leaf cresting inserted below the moulding and continued round the curve of the side traceried brackets, which are supported by corbels, suggesting in their treatment fan vaulting.

“For the upper beam, the same authority in the shape of actual remains exists. This is about 1 ft. 4 in. deep, 9 in. wide at top, and 4 in. at bottom, and has four beads and lower moulding worked in the solid, and has three carved enrichments and carved crestings at top and bottom.

“ ‘For the treatment of the intermediate space there is less certain authority, as all the panels have vanished, as well as the buttresses or other ornamentation to the front of the standards. The small strips of tracery, however, which run up the sides of each standard, and are continued round the soffit of the panels under the beam, between two beads worked in the solid, are to a considerable extent in a good state of preservation.

“ ‘For the manner in which this part of the front of the rood-loft is restored, reference has been made to the somewhat similar and more perfect, though less rich, screen at Patricio, near Llanthony Abbey. In that example traceried panels of similar description to those shown in the illustration remain, and also the buttresses in front of the standard. Grooves for such panels, and the nails which once attached some such decoration of the standard, are to be found at Llangwm.

“ ‘The flooring of the rood-loft still remains ; and also the whole arrangement of the filling in of the chancel arch at the back of the rood-loft is either perfect or evident. This consisted of a beam 2 ft. wide and 1 ft. deep, placed level with the floor and top of the lower rood-beam, seen in the illustration, worked with a bold cavetto moulding, and two edge beads on the under sides, next the chancel. Upright boarding was carried up from the top of the lower screen to this, while above from its outer edge other boarding was continued up the curve of the second chamfered order of the arch, to a wood moulding fitted to the curve, and this boarding had four narrow slips with cusped arched heads, to enable the occupants of the loft to look into the chancel.

“ ‘No remains of any superstructure or sockets for any rood cross or figures can be discerned on the top of the upper beam ; but it will be noticed that the central and the side standards of the gallery are wider than the others, and it is an open question whether they may have had figures with canopies on them, but there is nothing to prove this. The central one has, therefore, been filled, as it seemed most probable, with perforated tracery. Those at the side are worked triangularly on plan, and set with the back flush with the rest, and front facing the nave anglewise, the lower edge projecting over the enrichments below without any finish, so that it would seem that they may have been concealed by some projecting figure or a corbelled pedestal.

“ ‘As, no doubt, the rood-loft would be continually surmounted by the rood-cross and attendant figures, it is supposed these must have been independent, and placed simply upon the beam, or supported from behind the gallery. The whole is executed in oak which has attained a lovely, silvery hue from age, and is tolerably sound. Originally, without doubt, the whole was richly illuminated, traces of colour and gilding having been found throughout.

“‘It would appear that behind all the ornaments and traceries, red and green were alternately used, and the ornaments themselves more or less gilt. It is impossible, in such a drawing, even approximately to represent the exquisite beauty of the carvings. It must suffice, therefore, to say that they are simply unsurpassed in point of refinement and delicacy.’

“It has been determined to retain the screen exactly in its original position, and to restore it thoroughly; but to do this is quite beyond the means of the rural congregation; an appeal, therefore, for aid to the public is now made for that purpose, and a fine large engraving of the screen, taken from the drawing prepared by Mr. Seddon for the restoration, will be sent to each subscriber to the Restoration Fund, as well as a photograph from the completed work itself, should the effort now made prove so far successful.”

Treasure Trove.—The leases of the greater part of the property on the east side of High Street, Shoreditch, having recently lapsed, nearly the whole of the shops between Bethnal Green Road and the parish church are about to be pulled down and rebuilt. Early in October, while the workmen were engaged in excavating the foundations of the shop known as “The Bonnet Box”, an immense chest, 6 feet long, $3\frac{3}{4}$ wide, and 3 deep, was discovered buried at a considerable depth from the surface, in that part which has not hitherto been built upon. It was with difficulty the chest was removed, the weight being very great. On being opened it was found to contain a large quantity of church plate, consisting, among other things, of a *ciborium*, two silver pyxides, an antique chalice, an elaborately chased sanctuary lamp of great size, and a number of articles the exact uses of which have not yet been ascertained. Near this spot, in pre-Reformation times, stood a convent; and it is known that at the dissolution of the monasteries many objects of art which decorated the churches disappeared, and were never accounted for. A local antiquary who examined these articles, states that in the middle of the last century other treasure was found near the spot, and amongst it was a quantity of stained glass.

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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 97, line 27, for Harcombe read Haccombe.

„ 215, l. 24, for ursigned read ensigned.

„ 411, l. 30.—“*Converts' house*. I must withdraw this term altogether. According to the statutes of the order, and distinct notices of the arrangement at Kirkstall (*Monasticon*, 856) and Meaux (*Chron.*, i, 326), the lay brothers had a separate refectory and dormitory, which formed in the latter Abbey a structure in two storeys. M. de Caumont has shewn that this line of building formed the Guest house over cellarge, and that the lay brothers had their lodgings and dining-room in another part of a monastery.” (*Abécédaire*, 42, 52.)

“The cloister library, owing to the existence of wall-aumbries, I would place next the Slype; and the inner or regular parlour, between the sacristy and chapter house; and to avoid ambiguity, distinguish the day-room as the calefactory, from the substructure of the refectory as chambers, which may have formed chequers or houses of office of the Obedientiaries and Miseri-cord. The gateway porch would make the outer parlour.” (M.E.C. Walcott.)

„ 413, between lines 33, 34, insert 1248, John Godard, a Kentish man, late Abbot of Newenham (*Monasticon*, 931). “He presided many years.”

„ 415, l. 15, for abbeyes read abbey.

„ 419, l. 17, for June 26 read June 24.



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